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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

FROM THE

ORIGINAL GREEK,

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND CHRONOLOGICAL.

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D. AND WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M.A.

WITH

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Explanatory Tables of Chronology, History, and comparative Geography.

COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES.

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TO

THE RIGHT HON. LORD FOLKESTONE.

MY LORD,—The style and genius of Dedications, in general, have neither done honour to the Patron nor to the Author. Sensible of this, we intended to have published a work, which has been the labour of years without the usual mode of soliciting protection. An accident has brought us into the number of Dedicators. Had not you accompanied your noble father to our humble retreat, we should still have been unacquainted with your growing virtues, your extraordinary erudition, and perfect knowledge of the Greek language and learning; and Plutarch would have remained as he did in his retirement at Chæronea, where he sought no patronage but in the bosom of philosophy.

ACCEPT, my Lord, this honest token of respect from men, who, equally independent and unambitious, wish only for the countenance of genius and friendship. Praise,

my Lord, is the usual language of Dedication: But will our praise be of value to you? Will any praise be of value to you, but that of your own heart? Follow the example of the EARL of RADNOR, your illustrious father. Like him, maintain that temperate spirit of policy which consults the dignity of Government, while it supports the liberty of the Subject. But we put into your hands the best of Political Preceptors, a Preceptor who trained to virtue the greatest monarch upon earth: and, by giving happiness to the world, enjoyed a pleasure something like that of the benevolent Being who created it. We are

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient, and

Very humble Servants,

J. & W. LANGHORNE.

THE PREFACE.

IF the merit of a work may be estimated from the universality of its reception, Plutarch's Lives have a claim to the first honours of literature. No book has been more generally sought after, or read with greater avidity. It was one of the first that were brought out of the recesses of the learned, and translated into the modern languages. Amiot, Abbe of Bellozane, published a French translation of it in the reign of Henry the Second; and from that work it was translated into English, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

It is said by those who are not willing to allow Shakespeare much learning, that he availed himself of the last-mentioned translation; but they seem to forget, that, in order to support their argument, it is necessary for them to prove that Plato, too, was translated into English at the same time; for the celebrated soliloquy, "To be, or not to be," is taken, almost verbatim, from that philosopher; and we have never found that Plato was translated in those days.

Amyot was a man of great industry and considerable learning. He sought diligently in the libraries of Rome and Venice for those Lives of Plutarch which are lost; and though his search was unsuccessful, it had this good effect, that, by meeting with a variety of manuscripts, and comparing them with the printed copies, he was enabled in many places to rectify the text. This was a very essential circumstance; for few ancient writers had suffered more than Plutarch from the carelessness of printers and transcribers; and, with all his merit, it was his fate, for a long time, to find no able restorer. The Scholiasts despised his Greek, because it had not the purity of Xenophon, nor the Attic terseness of Aristophanes; and, on that

acquainted very unreasonably bestowed their labours on those that required them less. Amiot's translation was published in the year 1559; but no reputable edition of the Greek text of Plutarch appeared till that of Paris in 1624. The above-mentioned translation, however, though drawn from an imperfect text, passed through many editions, and was still read, till Dacier, under better auspices, and in better times, attempted a new one, which he executed with great elegance, and considerable accuracy. The text he followed was not so correct as might have been wished; for the London edition of Plutarch was not then published. However, the French language began at that time to arrive at great perfection, and the fashionable language of almost every court in Europe. Dacier's translation came not only into the libraries, but into the hands of men. Plutarch was universally read, and no book in those times had a more extensive sale, or more through a greater number of impressions. The translator had, indeed, acquitted himself in one respect with great happiness. His book was not found to be French Greek. He had carefully followed that rule, which no translator ought ever to lose sight of, the great rule of honouring the genius, and maintaining the structure of his own language. For this purpose, he frequently broke the long entangled periods of the Greek; and, by dividing and shortening them in his translation, he gave them greater perspicuity, and a more easy movement. Yet still he was faithful to his original; and where he did not mistake him, which indeed he seldom did, conveyed his ideas with clearness, though not without verbosity. His translation had another distinguished advantage. He enriched it with a variety of explanatory notes. There are so many readers who have no competent acquaintance with the customs of antiquity, the laws of the ancient states, the ceremonies of their religion, and the remote and minuter parts of their history and genealogy, that to have an account of these matters ever before the eye, and to travel with a guide who is ready to describe to us every object we are unacquainted with, is a privilege equally convenient and agreeable. But here the annotator ought to have stopped. Satisfied with removing the difficulties usually arising in the circumstances above mentioned, he should not have swelled his pages with idle declamations on trite morals and

made their book appear still more like Otway's Old Woman, whose gown of many colours spoke

Variety of wretchedness.

This translation continued in the same form upwards of thirty years. But, in the year 1758, the proprietor engaged a gentleman of abilities, very different from those who had formerly been employed, to give it a second purgation. He succeeded as well as it was possible for any man of the best judgment and learning to succeed in an attempt of that nature: that is to say, he rectified a multitude of errors, and in many places endeavoured to mend the miserable language. Two of the Lives he translated anew; and this he executed in such a manner, that, had he done the whole, the present translators would never have thought of the undertaking. But two Lives out of fifty made a very small part of this great work; and though he rectified many errors in the old translation, yet, where almost every thing was error, it is no wonder if many escaped him. This was indeed the case. In the course of our Notes we had remarked a great number; but, apprehensive that such a continual attention to the faults of a former translation might appear invidious, we expunged the greatest part of the remarks, and suffered such only to remain as might testify the propriety of our present undertaking. Besides, though the ingenious reviser of the edition of 1758 might repair the language where it was most palpably deficient, it was impossible for him to alter the cast and complexion of the whole. It would still retain its inequalities, its tameness, and heavy march; its mixture of idioms, and the irksome train of far-connected periods. These it still retains; and, after all the operations it has gone through, remains

Like some patch'd dog-hole eked with ends of wall!

In this view of things, the necessity of a new translation is obvious; and the hazard does not appear to be great. With such competitors for the public favour, the contest has neither glory nor danger attending it. But the labour and attention necessary, as well

to secure as to obtain that favour, neither are nor ought to be less. And with whatever success the present translators may be thought to have executed their undertaking, they will always at least have the merit of a diligent desire to discharge this public duty faithfully.

Where the text of Plutarch appeared to them erroneous, they have spared no pains, and neglected no means in their power, to rectify it.

Sensible that the great art of a translator is to prevent the peculiarities of his Author's language from starting into his own, they have been particularly attentive to this point, and have generally endeavoured to keep their English unmixed with Greek. At the same time, it must be observed, that there is frequently a great similarity in the structure of the two languages; yet that resemblance, in some instances, makes it the more necessary to guard against it on the whole. This care is of the greatest consequence, because Plutarch's Lives generally pass through the hands of young people, who ought to read their own language in its native purity, unmixed and untainted with the idioms of different tongues. For their sakes, too, as well as for the sake of readers of a different class, we have omitted some passages in the text, and have only signified the omission by asterisms. Some, perhaps, may censure us for taking too great a liberty with our Author in this circumstance: however, we must beg leave in that instance to abide by our own opinion; and sure we are, that we should have censured no translator for the same. Could every thing of that kind have been omitted, we should have been still less dissatisfied; but sometimes the chain of narrative would not admit of it, and the disagreeable parts were to be got over with as much decency as possible.

In the descriptions of battles, camps, and sieges, it is more than probable that we may sometimes be mistaken in the military terms. We have endeavoured, however, to be as accurate in this respect as possible, and to acquaint ourselves with this kind of knowedge as well as our situations would permit; but we will not promise the reader that we have always succeeded. Where something seemed to

have fallen out of the text, or where the ellipsis was too violent for the forms of our language, we have not scrupled to maintain the tenor of the narrative, or the chain of reason, by such little insertions as appear to be necessary for the purpose. These short insertions we at first put between hooks; but as that deformed the page, without answering any material purpose, we soon rejected it.

Such are the liberties we have taken with Plutarch; and the learned, we flatter ourselves, will not think them too great. Yet there is one more, which, if we could have presumed upon it, would have made his book infinitely more uniform and agreeable. We often wished to throw out of the text into the notes those tedious and digressive comments that spoil the beauty and order of his narrative, mortify the expectation, frequently, when it is most essentially interested, and destroy the natural influence of his story, by turning the attention into a different channel. What, for instance, can be more irksome and impertinent than a long dissertation on a point of natural philosophy starting up at the very crisis of some important action? Every reader of Plutarch must have felt the pain of these unseasonable digressions; but we could not, upon our own pleasure or authority, remove them.

In the Notes we have prosecuted these several intentions. We have endeavoured to bring the English reader acquainted with the Greek and Roman antiquities; where Plutarch had omitted any thing remarkable in the Lives, to supply it from other authors; and to make his book, in some measure, a general history of the periods under his pen. In the Notes, too, we have assigned reasons for it, where we have differed from the former translators.

This part of our work is neither wholly borrowed, nor altogether original. Where Dacier or other annotators offered us any thing to the purpose, we have not scrupled to make use of it; and, to avoid the endless trouble of citations, we make this acknowledgment once for all. The number of original Notes the learned reader will find to be very considerable: but there are not so many

of any kind in the latter part of the work; because the manners and customs, the religious ceremonies, laws, state-offices, and forms of government, among the ancients, being explained in the first Lives, much did not remain for the business of information in the latter.

Four of Plutarch's Parallels are supposed to be lost: Those of Themistocles and Camillus; Pyrrhus and Marius; Phocion and Cato; Alexander and Cæsar. These Dacier supplies by others of his own composition; but so different from those of Plutarch, that they have little right to be incorporated with his works.

The necessary Chronological Tables, together with Tables of Money, Weights, and Measures, and a copious Index, have been provided for this translation; of which we may truly say, that it wants no other advantages than such as the translators had not power to give.

THE

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

AS, in the the progress of life, we first pass through scenes of innocence, peace, and fancy, and afterwards encounter the vices and disorders of society, so we shall here amuse ourselves awhile in the peaceful solitude of the philosopher, before we proceed to those more animated, but less pleasing objects he describes.

Nor will the view of a philosopher's life be less instructive than his labours. If the latter teach us how great vices, accompanied with great abilities, may tend to the ruin of a state;—if they inform us how Ambition attended with magnanimity, how Avarice directed by political sagacity, how Envy and Revenge armed with personal valour and popular support, will destroy the most sacred establishments, and break through every barrier of human repose and safety; the former will convince us that equanimity is more desirable than the highest privileges of mind, and that the most distinguished situations in life are less to be envied than those quiet allotments where Science is the support of Virtue.

Pindar and Epaminondas had, long before Plutarch's time, redeemed, in some measure, the credit of Bœotia, and rescued the inhabitants of that country from the proverbial imputation of stupidity. When Plutarch appeared, he confirmed the reputation it had recovered. He showed that genius is not the growth of any particular soil, and that its cultivation requires no peculiar qualities of climate.

Chæronea, a town in Bœotia, between Phocis and Attica, had the honour to give him birth. This place was remarkable for nothing but the tameness and servility of its inhabitants, whom Anthony's soldier's made beasts of burden, and obliged to carry their corn upon their shoulders to the coast. As it lay between two seas, and was partly shut up by mountains, the air of course was heavy, and truly Bœotian. But situations as little favoured by nature as Chæronea have given birth to the greatest men; of which the celebrated Locke and many others are instances.

Plutarch himself acknowledges the stupidity of the Bœotians in general; but he imputes it rather to their diet than to their air; for, in his Treatise on Animal Food, he intimates, that a gross indulgence, in that article, which was usual with his countrymen, contributes greatly to obscure the intellectual faculties.

It is not easy to ascertain in what year he was born. Ruauld places it about the middle of the reign of Claudius; others towards the end of it. The following circumstance is the only foundation they have for their conjectures.

Plutarch says, that he studied philosophy under Ammonius at Delphi, when Nero made his progress into Greece. This, we know, was in the twelfth year of that emperor's reign, in the consulship of Paulinus Suetonius and Pontius Telesinus, the second year of the Olympiad 211, and the sixty-sixth of the Christian era. Dacier observes, that Plutarch must have been seventeen or eighteen at least when he was engaged in the abstruse studies of philosophy; and he, therefore, fixes his birth about five or six years before the death of Claudius. This, however, is bare supposition, and that, in our opinion, not of the most probable kind. The youth of Greece studied under the philosophers very early; for their works, with those of the poets and rhetoricians, formed their chief course of discipline.

But to determine whether he was born under the reign of Claudius, or in the early part of Nero's reign, (which we the rather believe, as he says himself that he was very young when Nero entered Greece), to make it clearly understood, whether he studied at Delphi at ten or at eighteen years of age, is of much less consequence than it is to know by what means, and under what auspices, he acquired that humane and rational philosophy which is distinguished in his works. Ammonius was his preceptor; but of him we know little more than what his scholar has accidentally let fall concerning him. He mentions a singular instance of his manner of correcting his pupils. "Our master," says he, "having one day observed that we had indulged ourselves too luxuriously at dinner, at his afternoon lecture, ordered his freedman to give his own son the discipline of the whip in our presence; signifying, at the same time, that he suffered this punishment because he could not eat his victuals without sauce. The philosopher all the while had his eye upon us, and we knew well for whom this example of punishment was intended." This circumstance shows, at least, that Ammonius was not of the school of Epicurus. The severity of his discipline, indeed, seems rather of the Stoic cast; but it is most probable that he belonged to the Academicians; for their schools, at that time, had the greatest reputation in Greece.

It was a happy circumstance in the discipline of those schools that the parent only had the power of corporal punishment; the rod and the ferula were snatched from the hand of the petty tyrant; his office alone was to inform the mind: he had no authority to dastardize the spirit: he had no power to extinguish the generous flame of freedom, or to break down the noble independency of soul, by the slavish, debasing, and degrading application of the rod. This mode of punishment in our public schools is one of the worst remains of barbarism that prevails amongst us. Sensible minds, however volatile and inattentive in early years, may be drawn to their duty by many means, which shame, and fears of a more liberal nature than those of corporal punishment, will supply. Where there is but little sensibility, the effect which that mode of punishment produces is not more happy; it destroys that little, which should be the first care and labour of the preceptor to increase. To beat the body is to debase the mind. Nothing so soon or so totally abolishes the sense of shame; and yet that sense is at once the best preservative of virtue, and the greatest incentive to every species of excellence.

Another principal advantage, which the ancient mode of the Greek education gave its pupils, was their early access to every branch of philosophical learning. They did not, like us, employ their youth in the acquisition of words: they were engaged in pursuits of a higher nature; in acquiring the knowledge of things. They did not, like us, spend seven or ten years of scholastic labour in making a general acquaintance with two dead languages. Those years were employed in the study of nature, and in gaining the elements of philosophical knowledge from her original economy and laws. Hence all that Dacier has observed concerning the probability of Plutarch's being seventeen or eighteen years of age, when he studied under Ammonius, is without the least weight.

The way to mathematical and philosophical knowledge, was, indeed, much more easy among the ancient Greeks than it can ever be with us. Those and every other science, are bound up in terms which we can never understand precisely till we become acquainted with the languages from which they are derived. Plutarch, when he learnt the Roman language, which was not till he was somewhat advanced in life, observed, that he got the knowledge of words from his knowledge of things. But we lie under the necessity of reversing his method, and before we can arrive at the knowledge of things, we must first labour to obtain the knowledge of words.

However, though the Greeks had access to science without the acquisition of other languages, they were, nevertheless, suf-

ficiently attentive to the cultivation of their own. Philology, after the mathematics and philosophy, was one of their principal studies; and they applied themselves considerably to critical investigation.

A proof of this we find in that Dissertation which Plutarch hath given us on the word ει, engraved on the temple of Apollo at Delphi. In this tract he introduces the scholastic disputes, wherein he makes a principal figure. After giving us the various significations which others assigned to this word, he adds his own idea of it; and that is of some consequence to us, because it shows us that he was not a polytheist. "ἶ, says he, *Thou art;* as if it were ἶ ἓν, "*Thou art one.* I mean not in the aggregate sense, as we say, one "army, or one body of men composed of many individuals; but that "which exists distinctly, must necessarily be one; and the very idea "of being implies individuality. One is that which is a simple be-"ing, free from mixture and composition. To be one, therefore, in "this sense, is consistent only with a nature entire in its first prin-"ciple, and incapable of alteration or decay."

So far we are perfectly satisfied with Plutarch's creed, but not with his criticism. To suppose that the word ἶ should signify the existence of one God only, is to hazard too much upon conjecture; and the whole tenor of the Heathen theology makes against it.

Nor can we be better pleased with the other interpretations of this celebrated word. We can never suppose that it barely signified *if;* intimating thereby, that the business of those who visited the temple was inquiry, and that they came to ask the Deity *if* such events should come to pass. This construction is too much forced; and it would do as well, or even better, were the εἰ interpreted, *if* you make large presents to the god, *if* you pay the priest.

Were not this inscription an object of attention among the learned, we should not, at this distant period of time, have thought it worth mentioning, otherwise than as it gives us an idea of one branch of Plutarch's education. But as a single word, inscribed on the temple of Apollo at Delphi, cannot but be matter of curiosity with those who carry their inquiries into remote antiquity, we shall not scruple to add one more to the other conjectures concerning it.

We will suppose, then, that the word ἶ was here used, in the Ionic dialect, for ἰώθε, *I wish.* This perfectly expressed the state of mind of all that entered the temple on the business of consultation; and it might be no less emphatical in the Greek than Virgil's *Quanquam O!* was in the Latin. If we carry this conjecture farther, and think it probable that this word might, as the initial word of a celebrated line in the third book of the Odyssey, stand there to sig-

nify the whole line, we shall reach a degree of probability almost bordering on certainty. The verse we allude to is this:

Ει γαρ εμοι τοσσηνδε θεοι δυναμιν παρεθειεν!

"O that the gods would empower me to obtain my wishes!" What prayer more proper on entering the temples of the gods, particularly with the view of consulting them on the events of life!

If it should be thought that the initial word is insufficient to represent a whole verse, we have to answer, that it was agreeable to the custom of the ancients. They not only conveyed the sense of particular verses by their initial words, but frequently of large passages, by the quotation of a single line, or even of half a line; some instances of which occur in the following Lives. The reason of this is obvious: the works of their best poets were almost universally committed to memory, and the smallest quotation was sufficient to convey the sense of a whole passage.

These observations are matters of mere curiosity indeed, but they have had their use; for they have naturally pointed out to us another instance of the excellence of that education which formed our young philosopher.

This was the improvement of the memory by means of exercise.

Mr. Locke has justly though obviously enough observed, that nothing so much strengthens this faculty as the employment of it.

The Greek mode of education must have had a wonderful effect in this case. The continual exercise of the memory, in laying up the treasures of their poets, the precepts of their philosophers, and the problems of their mathematicians, must have given it that mechanical power of retention which nothing could easily escape. Thus Pliny* tells us of a Greek called Charmidas, who could repeat from memory, the contents of the largest library.

The advantages Plutarch derived from this exercise appear in every part of his works. As the writings of poets lived in his memory, they were ready for use and application on every apposite occasion. They were always at hand, either to confirm the sentiments and justify the principles of his heroes, to support his own, or to illustrate both.

By the aid of a cultivated memory, too, he was enabled to write a number of contemporary lives, and to assign to each such a portion of business in the general transactions of the times as might be sufficient to delineate the character, without repeated details of the same actions and negotiations. This made a very difficult part of his work, and he acquitted himself here with great management and address. Sometimes, indeed, he has repeated the same cir-

* Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 24.

cumstances in contemporary lives; but it was hardly avoidable. The great wonder is, that he has done it so seldom.

But though an improved memory, might, in this respect, be of service to him, as undoubtedly it was, there were others in which it was rather a disadvantage. By trusting too much to it, he has fallen into inaccuracies and inconsistencies, where he was professedly drawing from preceding writers; and we have often been obliged to rectify his mistakes by consulting those authors, because he would not be at the pains to consult them himself.

If Plutarch might properly be said to belong to any sect of philosophers, his education, the rationality of his principles, and the modesty of his doctrines, would incline us to place him with the latter Academy: At least, when he left his master Ammonius, and came into society, it is more than probable that he ranked particularly with that sect.

His writings, however, furnish us with many reasons for thinking that he afterwards became a citizen of the philosophical world. He appears to have examined every sect with a calm and unprejudiced attention; to have selected what he found of use for the purpose of virtue and happiness; and to have left the rest for the portion of those whose narrowness of mind could think either science or felicity confined to any denomination of men.

From the Academicians he took their modesty of opinion, and left them their original scepticism: he borrowed their rational theology, and gave up to them, in a great measure, their metaphysical refinements, together with their vain though seductive enthusiasm.

With the Peripatetics, he walked in search of natural science and of logic; but, satisfied with whatever practical knowledge might be acquired, he left them to dream over the hypothetical part of the former, and to chase the shadows of reason through the mazes of the latter.

To the Stoics he was indebted for the belief of a particular Providence; but he could not enter into their idea of future rewards and punishments. He knew not how to reconcile the present agency of the Supreme Being with his judicial character hereafter; though Theodoret tells us, that he had heard of the Christian religion, and inserted several of its mysteries in his works*. From the Stoics, too, he borrowed the doctrine of fortitude; but he rejected the unnatural [illegible]ation on which they erected that virtue. He went back to Socrates for principles whereon to rest it.

* Nothing of Plutarch's is now extant from which we can infer that he was acquainted with the Christian religion.

With the Epicureans he does not seem to have had much [illegible] course, though the accommodating philosophy of Aristippus [illegible] frequently into his politics, and sometimes into the general economy of his life. In the little states of Greece that philosophy had not much to do; but had it been adopted in the more violent measures of the Roman administration, our celebrated biographer would not have had such scenes of blood and ruin to describe; for emulation, prejudice, and opposition, upon whatever principles they might plead their apology, first kindled the fire that laid the Commonwealth in ashes. If Plutarch borrowed any thing more from Epicurus, it was his rational idea of enjoyment. That such was his idea, it is more than probable; for it is impossible to believe the tales that the heathen bigots have told of him, or to suppose that the cultivated mind of a philosopher should pursue its happiness out of the temperate order of nature. His irreligious opinions he left to him, as he had left to the other sects their vanities and absurdities.

But when we bring him to the school of Pythagoras, what idea shall we entertain of him? Shall we consider him any longer as an Academician, or as a citizen of the philosophical world? Naturally benevolent and humane, he finds a system of divinity and philosophy perfectly adapted to his natural sentiments. The whole animal creation he had originally looked upon with an instinctive tenderness; but when the amiable Pythagoras, the priest of Nature, in defence of the common privileges of her creatures, had called religion in to their cause, when he sought to soften the cruelty that man had exercised against them by the honest art of insinuating the doctrine of transmigration, how could the humane and benevolent Plutarch refuse to serve under this priest of Nature? It was impossible. He adopted the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. He entered into the merciful scheme of Pythagoras, and, like him, diverted the cruelty of the human species, by appealing to the selfish qualities of their nature, by subduing their pride, and exciting their sympathy, while he showed them that their future existence might be the condition of a reptile.

This spirit and disposition break strongly from him in his observations on the elder Cato. And as nothing can exhibit a more lively picture of him than these paintings of his own, we shall not scruple to introduce them here: "For my part, I cannot but "charge his using his servants like so many beasts of burden, and "turning them off or selling them when they grew old, to the ac- "count of a mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the "sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But

" goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice. The obligations " of law and equity reach only to mankind, but kindness and be- " neficence should be extended to creatures of every species; and " these still flow from the breast of a well-natured man, as " streams that issue from the living fountain. A good man will " take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, " but when old and past service. Thus the people of Athens, " when they had finished the temple called Hecatompedon, set at " liberty the beasts of burden that had been chiefly employed in " the work, suffering them to pasture at large, free from any other " service. It is said, that one of these afterwards came of its own " accord to work, and putting itself at the head of the labouring " cattle, marched before them to the citadel. This pleased the " people, and they made a decree, that it should be kept at the " public charge so long as it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares, " with which he thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are still to " be seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular marks " of regard, in burying the dogs which they had cherished and been " fond of; and, amongst the rest Xantippus of old, who [illegible] " swam by the side of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians " were forced to abandon their city, was afterwards buried by " him upon a promontory, which, to this day, is called the Dog's " Grave. We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like " shoes or household goods, which, when worn out with use, we " throw away; and were it only to learn benevolence to human " kind, we should be merciful to other creatures. For my own " part, I would not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me; " much less would I remove, for the sake of a little money, a *man* " grown old in my service, from his usual lodgings and diet: for " to him, poor man! it would be as bad as banishment, since he " could be of no more use to the buyer than he was to the seller. " But Cato, as if he took a pride in these things, tells us, that, when " consul, he left his war-horse in Spain to save the public the charge " of his conveyance. Whether such things as these are instances of " greatness or littleness of soul, let the reader judge for himself."

What an amiable idea of our benevolent philosopher! How worthy the instructions of the priest of Nature! How honourable to that great master of truth and universal science, whose sentiments were decisive in every doubtful matter, and whose maxims were received with silent conviction*!

Wherefore should we wonder to find Plutarch more particularly attached to the opinions of this great man? Whether we con-

* Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 15.

sider the immensity of his erudition, or the benevolence of his system, the motives for that attachment were equally [illegible]. Pythagoras had collected all the stores of human learning, and had reduced them into one rational and useful body of science. Like our glorious Bacon, he led philosophy forth from the jargon of schools, and the fopperies of sects. He made her what she was originally designed to be, the handmaid of Nature, friendly to her creatures, and faithful to her laws. Whatever knowledge could be gained by human industry, by the most extensive inquiry and observation, he had every means and opportunity to obtain. The priests of Egypt unfolded to him their mysteries and their learning: they led him through the records of the remotest antiquity, and opened all those stores of science that had been amassing through a multitude of ages. The Magi of Persia co-operated with the priests of Egypt in the instruction of this wonderful philosopher. They taught him those higher parts of science by which they were themselves so much distinguished, astronomy and the system of the universe. The laws of moral life, and the institutions of civil societies, with their several excellencies and defects, he learned from the various states and establishments of Greece. Thus accomplished, when he came to dispute in the Olympic contests, he was considered as a prodigy of wisdom and learning; but when the choice of his title was left to him, he modestly declined the appellation of a *wise man*, and was contented only to be called a *lover of wisdom**.

Shall not Plutarch then meet with all imaginable indulgence, if, in his veneration for this great man, he not only adopted the nobler parts of his philosophy, but (what he had avoided with regard to the other sects) followed him too in his errors? Such, in particular, was his doctrine of dreams, to which our biographer, we must confess, has paid too much attention. Yet absolutely to condemn him for this would perhaps be hazarding as much as totally to defend him. We must acknowledge, with the elder Pliny, *Si exemplis agatur, profecto paria fiant*†; or in the language of honest Sir Roger de Coverley, "Much may be said on both sides." However, if Pliny, whose complaisance for the credit of the marvellous in particular was very great, could be doubtful about this matter, we of little faith may be allowed to be more so. Yet Plutarch, in his Treatise on Oracles, has maintained his doctrine by such powerful testimonies, that if any regard is to be paid to his veracity, some attention should be given to his opinion. We shall therefore leave the point, where Mr. Addison thought proper to leave a more improbable doctrine, in suspense.

* Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 7. † Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 75.

When Zeno consulted the oracle in what manner he should live, the answer was, that he should inquire of the dead. Assiduous and indefatigable application to reading made a considerale part of the Greek education; and in this our biographer seems to have exerted the greatest industry. The number of books he has quoted, to which he has referred, and from which he has written, seems almost incredible, when it is considered that the art of printing was not known in his time, and that the purchase of manuscripts was difficult and expensive.

His family, indeed, was not without wealth. In his Symposiacs, he tells us that it was ancient in Chæronea, and that his ancestors had been invested with the most considerable offices in the magistracy. He mentions, in particular, his great-grandfather Nicarchus, whom he had the happiness of knowing; and relates, from his authority, the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens under the severe discipline of Anthony's soldiers.

His grandfather Lamprias, he tells us, was a man of great eloquence, and of a brilliant imagination. He was distinguished by his merit as a convivial companion; and was one of those happy mortals, who, when they sacrifice to Bacchus, are favoured by Mercury. His good-humour and pleasantry increased with his cups; and he used to say that wine had the same effect upon him that fire has on incense, which causes the finest and richest essences to evaporate.

Plutarch has mentioned his father likewise, but has not given us his name in any of those writings that are come down to us. However, he has borne honourable testimony to his memory; for he tells us that he was a learned and a virtuous man, well acquainted with the philosophy and theology of his time, and conversant with the works of the Poets. Plutarch, in his Political Precepts, mentions an instance of his father's discretion, which does him great honour. "I remember," says he, "that I was sent, when a very young "man, along with another citizen of Chæronea, on an embassy "to the proconsul. My colleague being, by some accident, obliged "to stop on the way, I proceeded without him, and executed our "commission. Upon my return to Chæronea, where I was to "give an account in public of my negotiation, my father took "me aside, and said—My son, take care that, in the account you "are about to give, you do not mention yourself distinctly, but "jointly with your colleague. Say not, *I went, I spoke, I exe-* "*cuted;* but *we went, we spoke, we executed.* Thus, though "your colleague was incapable of attending you, he will share in "the honour of your success, as well as in that of your appoint-

" ment; and you will avoid that envy which necessarily follows " all arrogated merit."

Plutarch had two brothers, whose names were Timon and Lamprias. These were his associates in study and amusement; and he always speaks of them with pleasure and affection. Of Timon, in particular, he says, " Though Fortune has, on many occasions, " been favourable to me, yet I have no obligations to her so great " as the enjoyment of my brother Timon's invariable friendship and " kindness." Lamprias, too, he mentions as inheriting the lively disposition and good-humour of his grandfather, who bore the same name.

Some writers have asserted that Plutarch passed into Egypt. Others allege that there is no authority for that assertion; and it is true that we have no written record concerning it. Nevertheless, we incline to believe that he did travel into that country; and we found our opinion on the following reasons: In the *first* place, this tour was a part of liberal education among the Greeks, and Plutarch, being descended from a family of distinction, was therefore likely to enjoy such a privilege. In the *next* place, his treatise of Isis and Osiris shows that he had a more than common knowledge of the religious mysteries of the Egyptians; and it is therefore highly probable that he obtained this knowledge by being conversant amongst them. To have written a treatise on so abstruse a subject, without some more eminent advantages than other writers might afford him, could not have been agreeable to the genius, or consistent with the modesty of Plutarch.

However, supposing it doubtful whether he passed into Egypt, there is no doubt at all that he travelled into Italy. Upon what occasion he visited that country, is not quite so certain; but he probably went to Rome in a public capacity, on the business of the Chæroneans: For, in the life of Demosthenes, he tells us, that he had no leisure in his journey to Italy to learn the Latin language, on account of public business.

As the passage here referred to affords us farther matter of speculation for the life of Plutarch, we shall give it as we find it. " An " author who would write a history of events which happened in a " foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own, as he has his " materials to collect from a variety of books, dispersed in different " libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some " populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he " will meet with many curious and valuable books, and the parti- " culars that are wanting in writers he may, upon inquiry, be sup- " plied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful reposi-

"tory of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, "and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When "I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study "the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with "which I was charged, and the number of people who came to be "instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late "period in life that I began to read the Roman authors."

From this short account we may collect, with tolerable certainty, the following circumstances:

In the first place, Plutarch tells us, that while he was resident in Rome, public business and lectures in philosophy left him no time for learning the Latin language; and yet, a little before, he had observed, that those who write a history of foreign characters and events ought to be conversant with the historians of that country where the character existed, and where the scene lay; but he acknowledges that he did not learn the Latin language till he was late in life, because, when at Rome, he had not time for that purpose.

We may therefore conclude that he wrote his Morals at Rome, and his Lives at Chæronea. For the composition of the former, the knowledge of the Roman language was not necessary: the Greek tongue was then generally understood in Rome, and he had no necessity for making use of any other when he delivered his lectures of philosophy to the people. Those lectures, it is more than probable, made up that collection of Morals which is come down to us.

Though he could not avail himself of the Roman historians in the great purpose of writing his Lives, for want of a competent acquaintance with the language in which they wrote, yet, by conversing with the principal citizens in the Greek tongue, he must have collected many essential circumstances, and anecdotes of characters and events, that promoted his design, and enriched the plan of his work. The treasures he acquired of this kind he secured by means of a common-place book, which he constantly carried about with him; and as it appears that he was at Rome, and in other parts of Italy, from the beginning of Vespasian's reign to the end of Trajan's, he must have had sufficient time and opportunity to procure materials of every kind; for this was a period of almost forty years.

We shall the more readily enter into the belief that Plutarch collected his materials chiefly from conversation, when we consider in what manner, and on what subjects, the ancients used to converse. The discourse of people of education and distinction in those days was somewhat different from that of ours. It was not on the powers

or pedigree of a horse; it was not on a match of travelling between geese and turkeys; it was not on a race of maggots, started against each other on the table, when they first came to day-light from the shell of a filbert; it was not by what part you may suspend a spaniel the longest without making him whine; it was not on exquisite finesse, and the highest manœuvres of play: the old Romans had no ambition for attainments of this nature. They had no such masters in science as Heber and Hoyle. The taste of their day did not run so high. The powers of poetry and philosophy, the economy of human life and manners, the cultivation of the intellectual faculties, the enlargement of the mind, historical and political discussions on the events of their country; these, and such subjects as these, made the principal part of their conversation. Of this Plutarch has given us at once a proof and a specimen, in what he calls his Symposiacs, or, as our Selden calls it, his Table-Talk. From such conversations as these, then, we cannot wonder that he was able to collect such treasures as were necessary for the maintenance of his biographical undertaking.

In the sequel of the last-quoted passage, we find another argument which confirms us in the opinion that Plutarch's knowledge of the Roman history was chiefly of colloquial acquisition. "My "method of learning the Roman language," says he, "may seem "strange, and yet is very true. I did not so much gain the know-"ledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of "things." This plainly implies, that he was previously acquainted with events described in the language he was learning.

It must be owned that the Roman history had been already written in Greek by Polybius; and that, indeed, somewhat invalidates the last-mentioned argument. Nevertheless, it has still sufficient evidence for its support. There are a thousand circumstances in Plutarch's Lives which could not be collected from Polybius; and it is clear to us that he did not make much use of his Latin reading.

He acknowledges that he did not apply himself to the acquisition of that language till he was far advanced in life: possibly it might be about the latter part of the reign of Trajan, whose kind disposition towards his country rendered the weight of public and political business easy to him.

But whenever he might begin to learn the language of Rome, it is certain that he made no great progress in it. This appears as well from the little comments he has occasionally given us on certain Latin words, as from some passages in his Lives, where he has professedly followed the Latin historians, and yet followed them in an uncertain and erroneous manner.

That he wrote the Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero at Chæronea, is clear from his own account; and it is more than probable, too, that the rest of his Lives were written in that retirement; for if, while he was at Rome, he could scarcely find time to learn the language, it is hardly to be supposed that he could do more than lay up materials for composition.

A circumstance arises here, which confirms to us an opinion we have long entertained, that the Book of Apophthegms, which is said to have been written by Plutarch, is really not his work. This book is dedicated to Trajan; and the dedicator, assuming the name and character of Plutarch, says he had, before this, written the Lives of illustrious men; but Plutarch wrote those Lives at Chæronea, and he did not retire to Chæronea till after the death of Trajan.

There are other proofs, if others were necessary, to show that this work was suppositious: for in this dedication to Trajan, not the least mention is made of Plutarch's having been his preceptor, of his being raised by him to the consular dignity, or of his being appointed governor of Illyria. Dacier, observing this, has drawn a wrong conclusion from it, and, contrary to the assertion of Suidas, will have it, that Plutarch was neither preceptor to Trajan nor honoured with any appointments under him. Had it occurred to him that the Book of Apophthegms could not be Plutarch's book, but that it was merely an extract made from his real works by some industrious grammarian, he would not have been under the necessity of hazarding so much against the received opinion of his connections with Trajan; nor would he have found it necessary to allow so little credit to his letter addressed to that emperor, which we have upon record. The letter is as follows:

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN.

"I am sensible that you sought not the empire. Your natural "modesty would not suffer you to apply for a distinction to which "you were always entitled by the excellency of your manners. That "modesty, however, makes you still more worthy of those honours "you had no ambition to solicit. Should your future government "prove in any degree answerable to your former merit, I shall have "reason to congratulate both your virtue and my own good fortune "on this great event: but, if otherwise, you have exposed yourself "to danger, and me to obloquy; for Rome will never endure an "emperor unworthy of her, and the faults of the scholar will be im-"puted to the master. Seneca is reproached, and his fame still "suffers, for the vices of Nero: the reputation of Quintilian is hurt "by the ill conduct of his scholars; and even Socrates is accused

" of negligence in the education of Alcibiades. C
" have better hopes, and flatter myself that your adm
" do honour to your virtues. Only continue to be w
" Let your government commence in your breast, and lay
" dation of it in the command of your passions. If you make
" the rule of your conduct, and the end of your actions, every t
" will proceed in harmony and order. I have explained to you the
" spirit of those laws and constitutions that were established by your
" predecessors, and you have nothing to do but to carry them into
" execution. If this should be the case, I shall have the glory of
" having formed an emperor to virtue; but, if otherwise, let this
" letter remain a testimony with succeeding ages, that you did not
" ruin the Roman empire under pretence of the counsels or the au-
" thority of Plutarch."

Why Dacier should think that this letter is neither worthy of the pen, nor written in the manner of Plutarch, is not easy to conceive; for it has all the spirit, the manly freedom, and the sentimental turn of that philosopher.

We shall find it no very difficult matter to account for his connections with Trajan, if we attend to the manner in which he lived, and to the reception he met with in Rome. During his residence in that city, his house was the resort of the principal citizens. All that were distinguished by their rank, taste, learning, or politeness, sought his conversation, and attended his lectures. The study of the Greek language and philosophy was at that time the greatest pursuit of the Roman nobility, and even the emperors honoured the most celebrated professors with their presence and support. Plutarch, in his Treatise on Curiosity, has introduced a circumstance, which places the attention that was paid to his lectures in a very strong light. " It once happened," says he, " that when I was " speaking in public at Rome, Arulenus Rusticus, the same whom " Domitian, through envy of his growing reputation, afterwards put " to death, was one of my hearers. When I was in the middle of " my discourse, a soldier came in, and brought him a letter from " the emperor. Upon this there was a general silence through the " audience, and I stopped to give him time to peruse this letter; " but he would not suffer it; nor did he open the letter till I had " finished my lecture, and the audience was dispersed."

To understand the importance of this compliment, it will be necessary to consider the quality and character of the person who paid it. Arulenus was one of the greatest men in Rome, distinguished as well by the lustre of his family, as by an honourable ambition and

He was tribune of the people when Nero caused Soranus to be capitally condemned by a decree of the senate. When Soranus was deliberating with his friends whether he should attempt or give up his defence, Arulenus had the spirit to propose an opposition to the decree of the senate in his capacity of tribune; and he would have carried it into execution, had he not been overruled by Pætus, who remonstrated, that by such a measure he would destroy himself, without the satisfaction of serving his friend. He was afterwards prætor under Vitellius, whose interests he followed with the greatest fidelity. But his spirit and magnanimity do him the greatest honour in that eulogy which he wrote on Pætus and Helvidius Priscus. His whole conduct was regulated by the precepts of philosophy; and the respect he showed to Plutarch on this occasion was a proof of his attachment to it. Such was the man who postponed the letter of a prince to the lecture of a philosopher.

But Plutarch was not only treated with general marks of distinction by the superior people in Rome; he had particular and very respectable friendships. Sossius Senecio, who was four times consul, once under Nerva, and thrice under Trajan, was his most intimate friend. To him he addresses his Lives, except that of Aratus, which is inscribed to Polycrates of Sicyon, the grandson of Aratus. With Senecio he not only lived in the strictest friendship whilst he was in Rome, but corresponded with him after he retired to Greece. And is it not easy to believe, that through the interest of this zealous and powerful friend, Plutarch might not only be appointed tutor to Trajan, but be advanced likewise to the consular dignity? When we consider Plutarch's eminence in Rome as a teacher of philosophy, nothing can be more probable than the former: when we remember the consular interest of Senecio under Trajan, and his distinguished regard for Plutarch, nothing can be more likely than the latter.

The honour of being preceptor to such a virtuous prince as Trajan is so important a point in the life of Plutarch, that it must not hastily be given up. Suidas has asserted it. The letter above quoted, if it be, as we have no doubt of its being, the genuine composition of Plutarch, has confirmed it. Petrarch has maintained it. Dacier only has doubted, or rather denied it. But upon what evidence has he grounded his opinion? Plutarch, he says, was but three or four years older than Trajan, and therefore was unfit to be his preceptor in philosophy. Now let us inquire into the force of this argument. Trajan spent the early part of his life in arms, Plutarch in the study of the sciences. When that prince applied himself to literary pursuits, he was somewhat advanced in life; Plutarch must have been more so. And why a man of science should

be an unfit preceptor in philosophy to a military man, though no more than four years older, the reason, we apprehend, will be somewhat difficult to discover.

Dacier, moreover, is reduced to a *petitio principii*, when he says that Plutarch was only four years older than Trajan; for we have seen that it is impossible to ascertain the time of Plutarch's birth; and the date which Dacier assigns it is purely conjectural: We will therefore conclude, with those learned men who have formerly allowed Plutarch the honour of being preceptor to Trajan, that he certainly was so. There is little doubt that they grounded their assertions upon proper authority; and, indeed, the internal evidence arising from the nature and effects of that education, which did equal honour to the scholar and to the master, comes in aid of the argument.

Some chronologers have taken upon them to ascertain the time when Plutarch's reputation was established in Rome. Peter of Alexandria fixes it in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, in the consulate of Capito and Rufus? "Lucian," says he, "was at this "time in great reputation amongst the Romans; and Musonius "and Plutarch were well known." Eusebius brings it one year lower, and tells us that, in the fourteenth year of Nero's reign, Musonius and Plutarch were in great reputation. Both these writers are palpably mistaken. We have seen that, in the twelfth year of Nero, Plutarch was yet at school under Ammonius; and it is not very probable that a school-boy should be celebrated as a philosopher in Rome within a year or two after. Indeed Eusebius contradicts himself; for, on another occasion, he places him in the reign of Adrian, the third year of the Olympiad 224, of the Christian era 120: "In this year," says he, "the philosophers, Plutarch of "Chæronea, Sextus, and Agathobulus, flourished." Thus he carries him as much too low as he had before placed him to high. It is certain that he first grew into reputation under the reign of Vespasian, and that his philosophical fame was established in the time of Trajan.

It seems that the Greek and Latin writers of those times were either little acquainted with each other's works, or that there were some literary jealousies and animosities between them. When Plutarch flourished, there were several contemporary writers of distinguished abilities; Perseus, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, the younger Pliny, Solinus, Martial, Quintilian, and many more. Yet none of those have made the least mention of him. Was this envy, or was it Roman pride? Possibly they could not bear that a Greek sophist, a native of such a contemptible town as Chæronea, should enjoy the palm of literary praise in Rome. It must be ob-

served, at the same time, that the principal Roman writers had conceived a jealousy of the Greek philosophers, which was very prevalent in that age. Of this we find a strong testimony in the elder Pliny, where, speaking of Cato the censor's disapproving and dismissing the Grecian orators, and of the younger Cato's bringing in triumph a sophist from Greece, he exclaims, in terms that signified contempt, *quanta morum commutatio!*

However, to be undistinguished by the encomiums of contemporary writers, was by no means a thing peculiar to Plutarch. It has been, and still is, the fate of superior genius to be beheld either with silent or abusive envy. It makes its way like the sun, which we look upon with pain, unless something passes over him that obscures his glory. We then view with eagerness the shadow, the cloud, or the spot, and are pleased with what eclipses the brightness we otherwise cannot bear.

Yet if Plutarch, like other great men, found "envy never conquered but by death," his manes have been appeased by the amplest attonements. Amongst the many that have done honour to his memory, the following eulogiums deserve to be recorded.

Aulus Gellius compliments him with the highest distinction in science*.

Taurus, quoted by Gellius, calls him a man of the most consummate learning and wisdom †.

Eusebius places him at the head of the Greek philosophers ‡.

Sardianus, in his preface to the Lives of the Philosophers, calls him the most divine Plutarch, the beauty and harmony of philosophy.

Petrarch, in his moral writings, frequently distinguishes him by the title of the great Plutarch.

Honour has been done to him likewise by Origen, Himerius the sophist, Cyrillus, Theodoret, Suidas, Photius, Xiphilinus, Joannes, Salisberiensis, Victorius, Lipsius, and Agathias, in the epigram which is thus translated by Dryden:

Chæronean Plutarch, to thy deathless praise
Does martial Rome this grateful statue raise;
Because both Greece and she thy fame have shar'd;
Their heroes written, and their lives compar'd.
But thou thyself could'st never write thy own:
Their lives have parallels, but thine has none.

But this is perfectly extravagant. We are much better pleased with the Greek verses of the honest metropolitan under Constantine Monomachus. They deserve to be translated:

Lord of that light, that living power to save
Which her lost sons no Heathen Science gave:

* A. Gellius, lib. iv. cap. 7. † Gell. lib. i. cap. 26. ‡ Euseb. Præp. lib. iii. init.

If aught of these thy mercy means to spare,
Yield PLATO, Lord,—yield PLUTARCH to my prayer.
Led by no grace, no new conversion wrought,
They felt thy own divinity of thought.
That grace exerted, spare the partial rod:
The last, best witness, that thou art their God!

Theodore Gaza, who was a man of considerable learning, and a great reviver of letters, had a particular attachment to our biographer. When he was asked, in case of a general destruction of books, what author he would wish to save from the ruin, he answered Plutarch. He considered his historical and philosophical writings as the most beneficial to society, and of course the best substitute for all other books.

Were it necessary to produce further suffrages for the merit of Plutarch, it would be sufficient to say, that he has been praised by Montaigne, St. Evremont, and Montesquieu, the best critics, and the ablest writers of their time.

After receiving the most distinguished honours that a philosopher could enjoy; after the godlike office of teaching wisdom and goodness to the metropolis of the world; after having formed an emperor to virtue; and after beholding the effects of his precepts in the happiness of human kind; Plutarch retired to his native country. The death of his illustrious prince and pupil, to a man of his sensibility, must have rendered Rome even painful: for whatever influence philosophy may have on the cultivation of the mind, we find that it has very little power over the interests of the heart.

It must have been in the decline of life that Plutarch retired to Chæronea. But though he withdrew from the busier scenes of the world, he fled not to an unprofitable or inactive solitude. In that retirement he formed the great work for which he had so long been preparing materials, his Lives of Illustrious Men; a work which, as Scaliger says, *non solum fuit in manibus hominum, at etiam humani generis memoriam occupavit.*

To recommend by enconiums what has been received with universal approbation, would be superfluous. But to observe where the biographer has excelled, and in what he has failed; to make a due estimate, as well of the defects as of the merits of his work, may have its use.

Lipsius has observed, that he does not write history, but scraps of history; *non historiam, sed particulas historiæ.* This is said of his Lives, and in one sense it is true. No single life that he has written will afford a sufficient history of its proper period; neither was it possible that it should do so. As his plan comprised a number of contemporary lives, most of which were in public characters, the

business of their period was to be divided amongst them. The general history of the time was to be thrown into separate portions; and those portions were to be allotted to such characters as had the principal interest in the several events.

This was in some measure done by Plutarch; but it was not done with great art or accuracy. At the same time, as we have already observed, it is not to be wondered if there were some repetitions, when the part which the several characters bore in the principal events was necessary to be pointed out.

Yet these scraps of history, thus divided and dispersed, when seen in a collective form, make no very imperfect narrative of the times within their view. Their biographer's attention to the minuter circumstances of character, his disquisitions of principles and manners, and his political and philosophical discussions, lead us, in an easy and intelligent manner, to the events he describes.

It is not to be denied that his narratives are sometimes disorderly, and too often incumbered with impertinent digressions. By pursuing with too much indulgence the train of ideas, he has frequently destroyed the order of facts, brought together events that lay at a distance from each other, called forward those circumstances to which he should have made a regular progress, and made no other apology for these idle excursions, but by telling us that he is out of the order of time.

Notes, in the time of Plutarch, were not in use. Had he known the convenience of marginal writing, he would most certainly have thrown the greatest part of his digressions into that form. They are undoubtedly tedious and disgustful; and all we can do to reconcile ourselves to them, is to remember that, in the first place, marginal writing was a thing unknown; and that the benevolent desire of conveying instruction was the greatest motive with the biographer for introducing them. This appears at least from the nature of them; for they are chiefly disquisitions in natural history and philosophy.

In painting the manners of men, Plutarch is truly excellent. Nothing can be more clear than his moral distinctions; nothing finer than his delineations of the mind.

The spirit of philosophical observation and inquiry, which, when properly directed, is the great ornament and excellence of historical composition, Plutarch possessed in an eminent degree. His biographical writings teach philosophy at once by precept and by example. His morals and his characters mutually explain and give force to each other.

His sentiments of the duty of a biographer were peculiarly just and delicate. This will appear from his strictures on those histo-

rians who wrote of Philistus. "It is plain," says he, "that Timæus takes every occasion, from Philistus's known adherence to arbitrary power, to load him with the heaviest reproaches. Those whom he injured are in some degree excusable, if, in their resentment, they treated him with indignities after death. But wherefore should his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works; wherefore should they exhibit him with all the exaggerations of scurrility, in those scenes of distress to which Fortune sometimes reduces the best of men? On the other hand, Ephorus is no less extravagant in his encomiums on Philistus. He knows well how to throw into shades the foibles of the human character, and to give an air of plausibility to the most indefensible conduct: but with all his elegance, with all his art, he cannot rescue Philistus from the imputation of being the most strenuous supporter of arbitrary power, of being the fondest follower and admirer of the luxury, the magnificence, the alliance of tyrants. On the whole, he who neither defends the principles of Philistus, nor exults over his misfortunes, will best discharge the duty of a historian."

There is such a thing as constitutional religion. There is a certain temper and frame of mind naturally productive of devotion. There are men who are born with the original principles of piety; and in this class we need not hesitate to place Plutarch.

If this disposition has sometimes made him too indulgent to superstition, and too attentive to the less rational circumstances of the heathen theology, it is not to be wondered at. But, upon the whole, he had consistent and honourable notions of the Supreme Being.

That he believed the unity of the Divine Nature, we have already seen in his observations on the word ει, engraved on Apollo's temple. The same opinion, too, is found in his Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles; where, in the character of a Platonist, he argues against the Stoics, who denied the plurality of worlds. "If there are many worlds," said the Stoics, "why then is there only one Fate, and one Providence to guide them? for the Platonists allow that there is but one.—Why should not many Jupiters, or gods, be necessary for the government of many worlds?" To this Plutarch answers, "Where is the necessity of supposing many Jupiters for this plurality of worlds? Is not one excellent Being, endued with reason and intelligence, such as He is whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, sufficient to direct and rule these worlds? If there were more supreme agents, their decrees would be vain, and contradictory to each other."

But though Plutarch acknowledged the individuality of the Supreme Being, he believed, nevertheless, in the existence of intermediate beings of an inferior order, between the divine and the

humau nature. These beings he calls genii, or demons. It is impossible, he thinks, from the general order and principles of creation, that there should be no mean betwixt the two extremes of a mortal and immortal being; that there cannot be in nature so great a vacuum without some intermediate species of life, which might in some measure partake of both. And as we find the connection between soul and body to be made by means of the animal spirits, so these demons are intelligencies between divinity and humanity. Their nature, however, is believed to be progressive. At first they are supposed to have been virtuous men, whose souls being refined from the gross parts of their former existence are admitted into the higher order of genii, and are from thence either raised to a more exalted mode of ethereal beings, or degraded to mortal forms, according to their merit or their degeneracy. One order of these genii, he supposes, presided over oracles; others administered, under the Supreme Being, the affairs and the fortune of men, supporting the virtuous, punishing the bad, and sometimes even communicating with the best and purest natures. Thus the genius of Socrates still warned him of approaching danger, and taught him to avoid it.

It is this order of beings which the late Mr. Thomson, who in enthusiasm was a Platonist, and in benevolence a Pythagorean, has so beautifully described in his Seasons: and, as if the good bard had believed the doctrine, he pathetically invokes a favourite spirit which had lately forsaken its former mansion:

> And art thou, Stanley, of that sacred band?
> Alas! for us too soon!———

Such were Plutarch's religious principles; and as a proof that he thought them of consequence, he entered, after his retirement, into a sacred character, and was consecrated priest of Apollo.

This was not his sole appointment, when he returned to Chæronea. He united the sacerdotal with the magisterial character, and devoted himself at once to the service of the gods, and to the duties of society. He did not think that philosophy, or the pursuit of letters, ought to exempt any man from personal service in the community to which he belonged; and though his literary labours were of the greatest importance to the world, he sought no excuse in those from discharging offices of public trust in his little city of Chæronea.

It appears that he passed through several of these offices, and that he was at last appointed archon, or chief magistrate of the city. Whether he retained his superintendency of Illyria after the death of Trajan, we do not certainly know: but, in this humble sphere, it will be worth our while to inquire in what manner a philosopher would administer justice.

With regard to the inferior offices that he bore, he looked upon

them in the same light as the great Epaminondas had done, who, when he was appointed to a commission beneath his rank, observed, "that no office could give dignity to him that held it; but that he who held it might give dignity to any office." It is not unentertaining to hear our philosopher apologize for his employment when he discharges the office of commissioner of sewers and public buildings. "I make no doubt," says he, "that the citizens of Chæronea often smile, when they see me employed in such offices as these. On such occasions, I generally call to mind what is said of Antisthenes. When he was bringing home, in his own hands, a dirty fish from the market, some, who observed it, expressed their surprise. It is for myself, said Antisthenes, that I carry this fish. On the contrary, for my own part, when I am rallied for measuring tiles, or for calculating a quantity of stones or mortar, I answer, that it is *not* for myself I do these things, but for my country. For, in all things of this nature, the public utility takes off the disgrace; and the meaner the office you sustain may be, the greater is the compliment that you pay to the public."

Plutarch, in the capacity of a public magistrate, was indefatigable in recommending unanimity to the citizens. To carry this point more effectually, he lays it down as a first principle, that a magistrate should be affable and easy of access; that his house should always be open as a place of refuge for those who sought for justice; and that he should not satisfy himself merely with allotting certain hours of the day to sit for the dispatch of business, but that he should employ a part of his time in private negotiations, in making up domestic quarrels, and reconciling divided friends. This employment he regarded as one of the principal parts of his office; and, indeed, he might properly consider it in a political light; for it too frequently happens, that the most dangerous public factions are at first kindled by private misunderstandings. Thus, in one part of his works, he falls into the same sentiment: "as public conflagrations," says he, "do not always begin in public edifices, but are caused more frequently by some lamp neglected in a private house; so, in the administration of states, it does not always happen that the flame of sedition arises from political differences, but from private dissentions, which running through a long chain of connections, at length affect the whole body of the people. For this reason, it is one of the principal duties of a minister of state, or magistrate, to heal these private animosities, and to prevent them from growing into public divisions." After these observations, he mentions several states and cities which had owed their ruin to the same little causes; and then adds, that we ought not by any means to be inattentive to the misunder-

standings of private men, but apply to them the most timely remedies; for, by proper care, as Cato observes, what is great becomes little, and what is little is reduced to nothing. Of the truth of these observations, the annals of our own country, we wish we had no reason to say our own times, have presented us with many melancholy instances.

As Plutarch observed that it was a fashionable fault amongst men of fortune to refuse a proper respect to magistrates of inferior rank, he endeavoured to remove this impolitic evil as well by precept as by example. "To learn obedience and deference to the magistrate," says he, "is one of the first and best principles of discipline; nor ought these by any means to be dispensed with, though that magistrate should be inferior to us in figure or in fortune. For how absurd is it, if, in theatrical exhibitions, the meanest actor, that wears a momentary diadem, shall receive his due respect from superior players; and yet, in civil life, men of greater power or wealth shall with-hold the deference that is due to the magistrate! In this case, however, they should remember, that while they consult their own importance, they detract from the honour of the state. Private dignity ought always to give place to public authority; as, in Sparta, it was usual for the kings to rise in compliment to the ephori."

With regard to Plutarch's political principles, it is clear that he was, even whilst at Rome, a republican in heart, and a friend to liberty: but this does him no peculiar honour. Such privileges are the birthright of mankind; and they are never parted with but through fear or favour. At Rome he acted like a philosopher of the world. *Quando noi siamo in Roma, noi faciamo come Eglina fanno in Roma.* He found a constitution which he had not power to alter; yet, though he could not make mankind free, he made them comparatively happy, by teaching clemency to their temporary ruler.

At Chæronea we find him more openly avowing the principles of liberty. During his residence at Rome, he had remarked an essential error in the police. In all complaints and processes, however trifling, the people had recourse to the first officers of state. By this means they supposed that their interest would be promoted; but it had a certain tendency to enslave them still more, and to render them the tools and dependents of court power. Of these measures the archon of Chæronea thus expressed his disapprobation: "At the same time," says he, "that we endeavour to render a city obedient to its magistrates, we must beware of reducing it to a servile or too humiliating a condition. Those who carry every trifle to the cognizance of the supreme magistrate, are contributing all they can to the servitude of their country." And it is undoubtedly true, that

the habitual and universal exertion of authority has a natural tendency to arbitrary dominion.

We have now considered Plutarch in the light of a philosopher, a biographer, and a magistrate; we have entered into his moral, religious, and political character, as well as the information we could obtain would enable us. It only remains that we view him in the domestic sphere of life—that little but trying sphere we act wholly from ourselves, and assume no character but that which nature and education have given us.

Dacier, on falling into this part of Plutarch's history, has made a whimsical observation. "There are two cardinal points," says he, "in a man's life, which determine his happiness or his misery. These are his birth and his marriage. It is in vain for a man to be born fortunate, if he be unfortunate in his marriage." How Dacier could reconcile the astrologers to this new doctrine, it is not easy to say: for, upon this principle, a man must at least have two good stars, one for his birth-day, the other for his wedding-day; as it seems that the influence of the natal star could not extend beyond the bridal morn, but that a man then falls under a different dominion.

At what time Plutarch entered into this state, we are not quite certain; but as it is not probable that a man of his wisdom would marry at an advanced time of life, and as his wife was a native of Chæronea, we may conclude that he married before he went to Rome. However that might be, it appears that he was fortunate in his choice; for his wife was not only well-born and well-bred, but a woman of distinguished sense and virtue. Her name was Timoxena.

Plutarch appears to have had at least five children by her, four sons, and a daughter, whom, out of regard for her mother, he called Timoxena. He has given us a proof that he had all the tenderness of an affectionate father for these children, by recording a little instance of his daughter's natural benevolence. "When she was very young," says he, "she would frequently beg of her nurse to give the breast not only to the other children, but to her babies and dolls, which she considered as her dependents, and under her protection." Who does not see in this simple circumstance at once the fondness of the parent, and the benevolent disposition of the man?

But the philosopher soon lost his little blossom of humanity. His Timoxena died in her infancy; and if we may judge from the consolatory letter he wrote to her mother on the occassion, he bore the loss as became a philosopher. "Consider," said he, "that death has deprived your Timoxena only of small enjoyments. The things she knew were but of little consequence, and she could be delighted only with trifles." In this letter we find a portrait of his wife, which

does her great honour. From the testimony given by her husband, it appears that she was far above the general weakness and affectation of her sex. She had no passion for the expensiveness of dress, or the parade of public appearances. She thought every kind of extravagance blameable; and her ambition went not beyond the decencies and properties of life.

Plutarch had before this buried two of his sons, his eldest son, and a younger one named Charon; and it appears from the above-mentioned letter, that the conduct of Timoxena, on these events, was worthy the wife of a philosopher. She did not disfigure herself by change of apparel, or give way to the extravagance of grief, as women in general do on such occasions, but supported the dispensations of Providence with a solemn and rational submission, even when they seemed to be most severe. She had taken unwearied pains, and undergone the greatest sufferings, to nurse her son Charon at her own breast, at a time when an abscess formed near the part had obliged her to undergo an incision. Yet, when the child reared with so much tender pain and difficulty, died, those who went to visit her on the melancholy occasion found her house in no more disorder than if nothing distressful had happened. She received her friends as Admetus entertained Hercules, who, the same day that he buried Alceste, betrayed not the least confusion before his heroic guest.

With a woman of so much dignity of mind and excellence of disposition, a man of Plutarch's wisdom and humanity must have been infinitely happy; and, indeed, it appears from those precepts of conjugal happiness and affection which he has left us, that he has drawn his observations from experience, and that the rules he recommended had been previously exemplified in his own family.

It is said that Plutarch had some misunderstanding with his wife's relations; upon which Timoxena, fearing that it might affect their union, had duty and religion enough to go as far as Mount Helicon, and sacrifice to Love, who had a celebrated temple there.

He left two sons, Plutarch and Lamprias. The latter appears to have been a philosopher, and it is to him we are indebted for a catalogue of his father's writings; which, however, one cannot look upon, as Mr. Dryden says, without the same emotions that a merchant must feel on perusing a bill of freight after he has lost his vessel. The writings no longer extant are these:

The Life of Hercules,
..... Hesiod,
..... Pindar,
..... Crates and Dianhantus, with a Parall
..... Leonidas

The Life of Aristomenes,
..... Scipio Africanus junior, and Metellus,
..... Augustus,
..... Tiberius,
..... Claudius,
..... Nero,
..... Caligula,
..... Vitellius,
..... Epaminondas, and the Elder Scipio, with a Parallel.
Four Books of Commentaries on Homer.
Four Books of Commentaries on Hesiod.
Five Books to Empedocles, on the Quintessence.
Five Books of Essays.
Three Books of Fables.
Three Books of Rhetoric.
Three Books on the Introduction of the Soul.
Two Books of Extracts from the Philosophers.
Three Books on Sense.
Three Books on the great Actions of Cities.
Two Books on Politics.
An Essay on Opportunity, to Theophrastus.
Four Books on the Obsolete Parts of History.
Two Books of Proverbs.
Eight Books on the Topics of Aristotle.
Three Books on Justice, to Chrysippus.
An Essay on Poetry.
A Dissertation on the Difference between the Pyrrhonians and the Academicians.
A Treatise to prove that there was but one Academy of Plato.

Aulus Gellius has taken a long story from Taurus about Plutarch's method of correcting a slave, in which there is nothing more than this, that he punished him like a philosopher, and gave him his discipline without being out of temper.

Plutarch had a nephew named Sextus, who bore a considerable reputation in the world of letters, and taught the Greek language and learning to Marcus Antoninus. The character which that philosopher has given him, in his First Book of Reflections, may, with great propriety, be applied to his uncle: "Sextus, by his example, taught me mildness and humanity; to govern my house like a good father of a family; to fall into an easy and unaffected gravity of manners; to live agreeably to nature; to find out the art of discovering and preventing the wants of my friends; to connive at the noisy follies of the ignorant and impertinent; and to comply with the understandings and humours of men."

One of the rewards of philosophy is long life; and it is clear that Plutarch enjoyed this; but of the time or the circumstances of his death we have no satisfactory account.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

THESEUS.

AS geographers thrust into the extremities of their maps those countries that are unknown to them, remarking at the same time, that all beyond is hills of sand and haunts of wild beasts, frozen seas, marshes, and mountains that are inaccessible to human courage or industry; so, in comparing the lives of illustrious men, when I have past through those periods of time which may be described with probability, and where history may find firm footing in facts, I may say, my Senecio*, of the remoter ages, that all beyond is full of prodigy and fiction, the regions of poets and fabulists, wrapt in clouds, and unworthy of belief. Yet since I had given an account of Lycurgus and Numa, I thought I might without impropriety ascend to Romulus, as I had approached his times. But considering

> Who, for the palm, in contest high shall join?
> Or who in equal ranks shall stand?

(as Æschylus expresses it) it appeared to me, that he who peopled the beautiful and famed city of Athens might be best contrasted and compared with the father of the magnificent and invincible Rome. Permit us then to take from Fable her extravagance, and make her yield to and accept the form of History: but where she obstinately despises probability, and refuses to mix with what is credible, we must implore the candour of our readers, and their kind allowance for the tales of Antiquity.

Theseus, then, appeared to answer to Romulus in many particulars. Both were of uncertain parentage, born out of wedlock; and both had the repute of being sprung from the gods. Both stood in the first rank of warriors; for both had great powers of mind, with great strength of body. One was the founder of Rome, and one peopled Athens, the most illustrious cities in the world. Both car-

* Sossius Senecio, a man of consular dignity, who flourished under Nerva and Trajan, and to whom Pliny addressed some of his Epistles; not the Senecio put to death by Domitian.

ried off women by violence. Both were involved in domestic miseries, and exposed to family resentment; and both, towards the end of their lives, are said to have offended their respective citizens, if we may believe what seems to be delivered with the least mixture of poetical fiction.

The lineage of Theseus, by his father's side, stretches to Erectheus and the first inhabitants of his country; by his mother's side to Pelops, who was the most powerful of all the Peloponnesian kings, not only on account of his great opulence, but the number of his children; for he married his daughters to persons of the first dignity, and found means to place his sons at the head of the chief states. One of them, named Pittheus, grandfather to Theseus, founded the small family of Trœzene, and was esteemed the most learned and the wisest man of his age. The essence of the wisdom of those days consisted in such moral sentences as Hesiod is celebrated for in his Book of Works. One of these is ascribed to Pittheus:

> . . . Blast not the hope which friendship has conceived,
> But fill its measure high.

This is confirmed by Aristotle; and Euripides, in saying that Hippolitus was taught by "the sage and venerable Pittheus," gives him a very honourable testimony.

Ægeus, wanting to have children, is said to have received from the Oracle at Delphi that celebrated answer which commanded him not to approach any woman before he returned to Athens. But as the Oracle seemed not to give him clear instructions, he came to Trœzene, and communicated it to Pittheus in the following terms:

> The mystic vessel shall untouch'd remain,
> Till in thy native realm ———

It is uncertain what Pittheus saw in this Oracle. However, either by persuasion or deceit, he drew Ægeus into conversation with his daughter Æthra. Ægeus afterwards coming to know that she whom he had lain with was Pittheus's daughter, and suspecting her to be with child, hid a sword and a pair of sandals under a large stone which had a cavity for the purpose. Before his departure, he told the secret to the princess only, and left orders, that if she brought forth a son, who, when he came to a man's estate, should be able to remove the stone, and take away the things left under it, she should send him with those tokens to him with all imaginable privacy; for he was very much afraid that some plot would be formed against him by the Pallantidæ, who despised him for his want of children. These were fifty brothers, the sons of Pallas.

Æthra was delivered of a son; and some say he was immediately named Theseus, because of the laying up of the tokens; others, that

he received his name afterwards at Athens, when Ægeus acknowledged him for his son. He was brought up by Pittheus, and had a tutor named Connidas, to whom the Athenians, even in our times, sacrifice a ram on the day preceding the Theséan Feasts, giving this honour to his memory upon a much juster account than that which they pay to Silanion and Parrhasius, who only made statues and pictures of Theseus.

As it was then the custom for such as had arrived at man's estate to go to Delphi to offer the first-fruits of their hair to Apollo, Theseus went thither, and the place where this ceremony is performed, from him, is said to be yet called Theséa. He shaved, however, only the fore part of his head, as Homer tells us the Abantes did; and this kind of tonsure, on his account, was called Theseus. The Abantes first cut their hair in this manner, not in imitation of the Arabians, as some imagine, nor yet of the Mysians, but because they were a warlike people who loved close fighting, and were more expert in it than any other nation. Thus Archilochus:

> These twang not bows, nor sling the hissing stone,
> When Mars exults, and fields with armies groan:
> Far nobler skill Eubœa's sons display,
> And with the thundering sword decide the fray.

That they might not, therefore, give advantage to their enemies by their hair, they took care to cut it off. And we are informed that Alexander of Macedon, having made the same observation, ordered his Macedonian troops to cut off their beards, these being a ready handle in battle.

For some time Æthra declared not the real father of Theseus; but the report propagated by Pittheus was, that he was the son of Neptune: for the Trœzenians principally worship that god; he is the patron of their city; to him they offer their first-fruits; and their money bears the impression of a trident. Theseus, in his youth, discovering not only great strength of body, but firmness and solidity of mind, together with a large share of understanding and prudence, Æthra led him to the stone, and having told him the truth concerning his origin, ordered him to take up his father's tokens, and sail to Athens. He easily removed the stone, but refused to go by sea, though he might have done it with great safety, and though he was pressed to it by the entreaties of his grandfather and his mother; while it was hazardous, at that time, to go by land to Athens, because no part was free from the danger of ruffians and robbers. Those times, indeed, produced men of strong and indefatigable powers of body, of extraordinary swiftness and agility; but they applied those powers to nothing just or useful. On the contrary, their

genius, their disposition, their pleasures, tended only to insolence, to violence, and to rapine. As for modesty, justice, equity, and humanity, they looked upon them as qualities in which those who had it in their power to add to their possessions had no manner of concern; virtues praised only by such as were afraid of being injured, and who abstained from injuring others out of the same principle of fear. Some of these ruffians were cut off by Hercules in his peregrinations, while others escaped to their lurking holes, and were spared by the hero in contempt of their cowardice. But when Hercules had unfortunately killed Iphitus, he retired to Lydia, where, for a long time, he was a slave to Omphale, a punishment which he imposed upon himself for the murder. The Lydians then enjoyed great quiet and security; but in Greece the same kind of enormities broke out anew, there being no one to restrain or quell them. It was therefore extremly dangerous to travel by land from Peloponnesus to Athens; and Pittheus, acquainting Theseus with the number of these ruffians, and with their cruel treatment of strangers, advised him to go by sea. But he had long secretly been fired with the glory of Hercules, whom he held in the highest esteem, listening with great attention to such as related his achievements, particularly to those that had seen him, conversed with him, and had been witnesses to his prowess. He was affected in the same manner as Themistocles afterwards was, when he declared that the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. The virtues of Hercules were his dream by night, and by day emulation led him out, and spurred him on to perform some exploits like his. Besides, they were nearly related, being born of cousin-germans; for Æthra was the daughter of Pittheus and Alcmena of Lysidice, and Pittheus and Lysidice were brother and sister by Pelops and Hippodamia. He considered it, therefore, as an insupportable dishonour, that Hercules should traverse both sea and land to clear them of these villains, while he himself declined such adventures as occurred to him; disgracing his reputed father, if he took his voyage, or rather flight, by sea; and carrying to his real father a pair of sandals and a sword unstained with blood, instead of the ornament of great and good actions, to assert and add lustre to his noble birth. With such thoughts and resolutions as these he set forward, determining to injure no one, but to take vengeance of such as should offer him any violence.

He was first attacked by Periphetes, in Epidruria, whose weapon was a club, and who, on that account, was called Corynetes, or the Club-bearer. He engaged with him, and slew him. Delighted with the club, he took it for his weapon, and used it as Hercules did the lion's skin. The skin was a proof of the vast size of the wild beast

which that hero had slain; and Theseus carried [redacted] club, whose stroke he had been able to parry, but w[redacted] was irresistible. In the isthmus he slew Sinnis the Pi[redacted] the same manner as he had destroyed many others: and th[redacted] not as having learned or practised the bending of those trees, [redacted] show that natural strength is above all art. Sinnis had a daugh[redacted] remarkable for her beauty and stature, named Peregune, who had concealed herself when her father was killed. Theseus made diligent search for her, and found at last that she had retired into a place overgrown with shrubs, and rushes, and wild asparagus. In her childish simplicity she addressed her prayers and vows to these plants and bushes, as if they could have a sense of her misfortune, promising, if they would save and hide her, she would never burn or destroy them. But when Theseus pledged his honour for treating her politely, she came to him, and in due time brought him a son named Melanippus. Afterwards, by Theseus's permission, she married Deïoneus, the son of Eurytus the Œchalian. Melanippus had a son named Ioxus, who joined with Ornytas in planting a colony in Caria: whence the Ioxides; with whom it is an inviolable rule, not to burn either rushes or wild asparagus, but to honour and worship them.

About this time Crommyon was infested by a wild sow named Phæä, a fierce and formidable creature. This savage he attacked and killed, going out of his way to engage her, and thereby showing an act of voluntary valour: for he believed it equally became a brave man to stand upon his defence against abandoned ruffians, and to seek out, and begin the combat with strong and savage animals. But some say that Phæä was an abandoned female robber who dwelt in Crommyon; that she had the name of Sow from her life and manners; and was afterwards slain by Theseus.

In the borders of Megara he destroyed Sciron, a robber, by casting him headlong from a precipice, as the story generally goes: and, it is added, that, in wanton villany, this Sciron used to make strangers wash his feet, and to take those opportunities to push them into the sea. But the writers of Megara, in contradiction to this report, and, as Simonides expresses it, fighting with all antiquity, assert, that Sciron was neither a robber nor a ruffian, but, on the contrary, a destroyer of robbers, and a man whose heart and house was ever open to the good and the honest. For Æacus, say they, was looked upon as the justest man in Greece; Cychreus of Salamis had divine honours paid him at Athens, and the virtue of Peleus and Telamon too was universally known. Now, Sciron was son-in-law to Cychreus, father-in-law to Æacus, and grandfather to Peleus and Telamon, who were both of them sons of Endeis, the daughter of Sciron

efore it was not probable that the best of men ch alliances with one of so vile a character, giving the greatest and dearest pledges. Besides, they tell heseus did not slay Sciron in his first journey to Athens, erwards, when he took Eleusis from the Megarensians, having pelled Diocles, its chief magistrate, by a stratagem. In such contradictions are these things involved.

At Eleusis he engaged in wrestling with Cercyon the Arcadian, and killed him on the spot. Proceeding to Hermione*, he put a period to the cruelties of Damastes, surnamed Procrustes, making his body fit the size of his own beds, as he had served strangers. These things he did in imitation of Hercules, who always returned upon the aggressors the same sort of treatment which they intended for him; for that hero sacrificed Busiris, killed Antæus in wrestling, Cygnus in single combat, and broke the skull of Termerus; whence this is called the Termerian mischief; for Termerus, it seems, destroyed the passengers he met by dashing his head against their. Thus Theseus pursued his travels to punish abandoned wretches, who suffered the same kind of death from him that they inflicted on others, and were requited with vengeance suitable to their crimes.

In his progress he came to the Cephisus, where he was first saluted by some of the Phytalidæ. Upon his desire to have the customary purifications, they gave him them in due form, and having offered propitiatory sacrifices, invited him to their houses. This was the first hospitable treatment he met with on the road. He is said to have arrived at Athens on the eighth day of the month Cronius, which they now call Hacatombœon, (July). There he found the state full of troubles and distraction, and the family of Ægeus in great disorder: for Medea, who had fled from Corinth, promised by her art to enable Ægeus to have children, and was admitted to his bed. She first discovering Theseus, whom as yet Ægeus did not know, persuaded him, now in years, and full of jealousies and suspicions, on account of the faction that prevailed in the city, to prepare an entertainment for him as a stranger, and take him off by poison. Theseus, coming to the banquet, did not intend to declare himself first, but, willing to give his father occasion to find him out, when the meat was served up, he drew his sword, as if he designed to carve with it, and took care it should attract his notice. Ægeus, quickly perceiving it, dashed down the cup of poison, and, after some questions, embraced him as his son: then assembling the

* This seems to be a mistake; for we know of no place called Harmione, or Hermione, between Eleusis and Athens. Pausanias calls it Erione; and the authors of the Universal History, after Philochorus, call it Termione.

people, he acknowledged him also before them, who received him with great satisfaction on account of his valour. The cup is said to have fallen, and the poison to have been spilt, where the inclosure now is, in the place called Delphinium; for there it was that Ægeus dwelt; and the Mercury which stands on the east side of the temple is yet called the Mercury of Ægeus's gate.

The Pallantidæ, who hoped to recover the kingdom, if Ægeus died childless, lost all patience when Theseus was declared his successor. Exasperated at the thought that Ægeus, who was not in the least allied to the Erecthidæ, but only adopted by Pandion, should first gain the crown, and afterwards Theseus, who was an emigrant and a stranger, they prepared for war, and dividing their forces, one party marched openly, with their father, from Sphettus to the city; and the other concealing themselves in Gargettus, lay in ambush, with a design to attack the enemy from two several quarters. They had with them a herald named Leos, of the tribe of Agnus. This man carried to Theseus an account of all the designs of the Pallantidæ; and he immediately fell upon those that lay in ambush, and destroyed them. Pallas, and his company being informed of this, thought fit to disperse. Hence it is said to be that the tribe of Pallene never intermarry with the Agnusians, nor suffer any proclamation to begin with these words, *Akoete Leoi* (Hear, O ye people); for they hate the very name of Leos, on account of the treachery of that herald.

Theseus, desirous to keep himself in action, and at the same time courting the favour of the people, went against the Marathonian bull, which did no small mischief to the inhabitants of Tetrapolis. When he had taken him, he brought him alive in triumph through the city, and afterwards sacrificed him to the Delphinian Apollo. Hecale also, and the story of her receiving and entertaining Theseus, does not appear destitute of all foundation; for the people in that neighbourhood assemble to perform the Hecalesian rites to Jupiter Hecalus; they honour Hecale too, calling her by the diminutive, Hecalene; because, when she entertained Theseus, while he was but a youth, she caressed him as persons in years usually do children, and called him by such tender diminutive names. She vowed, moreover, when he went to battle, to offer sacrifices to Jupiter if he returned safe, but, as she died before the end of the expedition, Theseus performed those holy rites in testimony of the grateful sense he had of her hospitality. So Philochorus relates the story.

Not long after, there came the third time from Crete the collectors of the tribute, exacted on the following occasion. Androgeus being very treacherously slain in Attica, a very fatal war was carried on

against that country by Minos, and divine vengeance laid it waste; for it was visited by famine and pestilence, and want of water increased their misery. The remedy that Apollo proposed was, that they should appease Minos and be reconciled to him, whereupon the wrath of heaven would cease, and their calamities come to a period. In consequence of this, they sent ambassadors with their submission, and, as most writers agree, engaged themselves by treaty to send every ninth year a tribute of seven young men, and as many virgins. When these were brought into Crete, the fabulous account informs us, that they were destroyed by the Minotaur in the Labyrinth, or that, lost in its mazes, and unable to find the way out, they perished there. The Minotaur was, as Euripides tells us,

> A mingled form prodigious to behold,
> Half bull, half man!

But Philochorus says the Cretans deny this, and will not allow the labyrinth to have been any thing but a prison, which had no other inconvenience than this, that those who were confined there could not escape: and Minos having instituted games in honour of Androgeus, the prize for the victors was those youths who had been kept till that time in the labyrinth. He that first won the prizes in those games was a person of great authority in the court of Minos, and general of his army, named Taurus, who, being unmerciful and savage in his nature, had treated the Athenian youths with great insolence and cruelty. And it is plain that Aristotle himself, in his account of the Bottiœan Government, does not suppose that the young men were put to death by Minos, but that they lived, some of them to old age, in servile employments in Crete. He adds, that the Cretans, in pursuance of an ancient vow, once sent a number of their first-born to Delphi, among whom were some of the descendants of these Athenian slaves, who, when not being able support themselves there, first passed from thence into Italy, where they settled about Japygia; and from thence they removed again into Thrace, and were called Bottiœans. Wherefore the Bottiœan virgins, in some solemnities of religion, sing, "To Athens let us go." And, indeed, it seems dangerous to be at enmity with a city which is the seat of eloquence and learning: for Minos always was satirized on the Athenian stage; nor was his fame sufficiently rescued by Hesiod's calling him "Supreme of King," or Homer's saying that he "conversed with Jove;" for the writers of tragedy prevailing, represented him as a man of vicious character, violent and implacable; yet, inconsistently enough, they say that Minos was a king and a lawgiver, and that Rhadamanthus was an upright judge, and guardian of the laws which Minos had made.

When the time of the third tribute came, [illegible] had sons not arrived at full maturity were obliged [illegible] the lot, complaints against Ægeus sprung up again am[illegible] ple, who expressed their grief and resentment, that he [illegible] the cause of all their misfortunes bore no part of the punishme[illegible] and while he was adopting, and raising to the succession, a stranger of spurious birth, took no thought for them who lost their legitimate children. Those things were matter of great concern to Theseus, who, to express his regard for justice, and take his share in the common fortune, voluntarily offered himself as one of the seven, without lot. The citizens were charmed with this proof of his magnanimity and public spirit; and Ægeus himself, when he saw that no entreaties or persuasions availed to turn him from it, gave out the lots for the rest of the young men. But Hellanicus says, that the youths and virgins whom the city furnished were not chosen by lot, but that Minos came in person and selected them, and Theseus before the rest, upon these conditions; that the Athenians should furnish a vessel, and the young men embark and sail along with him, but carry no arms; and that, if they could kill the Minotaur, there should be an end of the tribute. There appearing no hopes of safety for the youths in the two former tributes, they sent out a ship with the black sale, as carrying them to certain ruin. But when Theseus encouraged his father by his confidence of success against the Minotaur, he gave another sail, a white one, to the pilot, ordering him, if he brought Theseus safe back, to hoist the white; but if not, to sail with the black one in token of his misfortune. Simonides, however, tells us, that it was not a white sail which Ægeus gave, but a scarlet one dyed with the juice of the flower of a very flourishing holm oak, and that this was to be the signal that all was well. He adds, that Phereclus, the son of Amarsyas, was pilot of the ship: but Philochorus says, that Theseus had a pilot sent him by Sciras from Salamis, named Nausitheus, and one Phæax to be at the prow, because as yet the Athenians had not applied themselves to navigation; and that Sciras did this, because one of the young men, named Menesthes, was his daughter's son. This is confirmed by the monuments of Nausitheus and Phæax, built by Theseus, at Phalerum, near the Temple of Sciron; and the feast called Cybernesia, or the Pilot's Feast, is said to be kept in honour of them.

When the lots were cast, Theseus taking with him out of the Prytaneum, those upon whom they fell, went to the Delphinian temple, and made an offering to Apollo for them. This offering was a branch of consecrated olive bound about with white wool.

[illegible]ons, he embarked on the 6th of April; at [illegible]till send the virgins to Delphinium to propitiate [illegible]s reported that the oracle at Delphi commanded him to [illegible]us for his guide, and entreat her to be his companion in voyage; and when he sacrificed to her a shee-goat on the sea-shore, its sex was immediately changed: hence the goddess had the name of Epitragia.

When he arrived in Crete, according to most historians and poets, Ariadne, falling in love with him, gave him a clue of thread, and instructed him how to pass with it through the intricacies of the labyrinth. Thus assisted, he killed the Minotaur, and then set sail, carrying off Ariadne, together with the young men; Pherecydes says, that Theseus broke up the keels of the Cretan ships, to prevent their pursuit. But as Demon has it, he killed Taurus, Minos's commander, who engaged him in the harbour just as he was ready to sail out. Again, according to Philochorus, when Minos celebrated the games in honour of his son, it was believed that Taurus would bear away the prizes in them as formerly, and every one grudged him that honour; for his excessive power and haughty behaviour were intolerable; and, besides, he was accused of too great a familiarity with Pasiphaë: therefore, when Theseus desired the combat, Minos permitted it. In Crete it was the custom for the women as well as the men to see the games; and Ariadne, being present, was struck with the person of Theseus, and with his superior vigour and address in the wrestling-ring. Minos too was greatly delighted, especially when he saw Taurus vanquished and disgraced; and this induced him to give up the young men to Theseus, and to remit the tribute. Clidemus, beginning higher, gives a prolix account of these matters, according to his manner. There was, it seems, a decree throughout all Greece, that no vessel should sail with more than five hands, except the Argo, commanded by Jason, who was appointed to clear the sea of pirates. But when Dædalus escaped by sea to Athens, Minos pursuing him with his men of war, contrary to the decree, was driven by a storm to Sicily, and there ended his life. And when Deucalion his successor, pursuing his father's quarrels with the Athenians, demanded that they should deliver up Dædalus, and threatened, if they did not, to make away with the hostages that Minos had received, Theseus gave him a mild answer, alleging that Dædalus was his relation, nearly allied in blood, being son to Merope, the daughter of Erectheus. But privately he prepared a fleet, part of it among the Thymætadæ, at a distance from any public road, and part under the direction of Pittheus, at Trœzene. When it was ready, he set sail, taking

Dædalus and the rest of the fugitives from Crete, for his guide. The Cretans, receiving no information of the matter, and, when they saw his fleet, taking them for friends, he easily gained the harbour, and making a descent, proceeded immediately to Gnossus. There he engaged with Deucalion and his guards, before the gates of the labyrinth, and slew them. The government by this means falling to Ariadne, he entered into an agreement with her, by which he received the young captives, and made a perpetual league between the Athenians and the Cretans, both sides swearing to proceed to hostilities no more.

There are many other reports about these things, and as many concerning Ariadne, but none of any certainty. For some say, that being deserted by Theseus, she hanged herself; others, that she was carried by the mariners to Naxos, and there married Onarus the priest of Bacchus, Theseus having left her for another mistress:

For Ægle's charms had pierc'd the hero's heart.

Whereas the Megarensian tells us, that Pisistratus struck the line out of Hesiod; as, on the contrary, to gratify the Athenians, he added this other to Homer's description of the state of the dead:

The godlike Theseus and the great Pirithous.

Some say Ariadne had two sons by Theseus, Œnopion and Staphylus. With these agrees Ion of Chios, who says of his native city, that it was built by Œnopion the son of Theseus.

But the most striking passages of the poets, relative to these things, are in every body's mouth. Something more particular is delivered by Pæon the Amathusian. He relates, that Theseus being driven by a storm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child, and extremely discomposed with the agitation of the sea, he set her on shore, and left her alone, while he returned to take care of the ship; but by a violent wind was forced out again to sea: that the women of the country received Ariadne kindly, consoled her under her loss, and brought her feigned letters as from Theseus: that they attended and assisted her when she fell in labour, and, as she died in child-bed, paid her the funeral honours: that Theseus, on his return, greatly afflicted at the news, left money with the inhabitants, ordering them to pay divine honours to Ariadne; and that he caused two little statues of her to be made, one of silver, and the other of brass: that they celebrated her festival on the second of September, when a young man lies down, and imitates the cries and gesture of a woman in travail: and that the Amathusians call the grove, in which they show her tomb, the Grove of Venus Ariadne.

Some of the Naxian writers relate, that there were two Minoses, and two Ariadnes, one of whom was married to Bacchus in Naxos,

and had a son named Staphylus; the other of a later age, being carried off by Theseus, and afterwards deserted, came to Naxos with her nurse Corcyne, whose tomb is still shown. That this Ariadne died there, and had different honours paid her from the former; for the feasts of one were celebrated with mirth and revels, while the sacrifices of the other were mixed with sorrow and mourning.

Theseus, in his return from Crete, put in at Delos; and having sacrificed to Apollo, and dedicated a statue of Venus, which he received from Ariadne, he joined with the young men in a dance, which the Delians are said to practise at this day. It consists in an imitation of the mazes and outlets of the labyrinth, and, with various involutions and evolutions, is performed in regular time. This kind of dance, as Dicæarchus informs us, is called by the Delians the Crane. He danced it round the altar Keraton, which was built entirely of the left-side horns of beasts. He is also said to have instituted games in Delos, where he began the custom of giving a palm to the victors.

When they drew near to Attica, both Theseus and the pilot were so transported with joy, that they forgot to hoist the sail which was to be the signal to Ægeus of their safety, who, therefore, in despair, threw himself from the rock, and was dashed to pieces. Theseus disembarked, and performed those sacrifices to the gods which he had vowed at Phalerum when he set sail, and sent a herald to the city with an account of his safe return. The messenger met with numbers lamenting the fate of the king, and others rejoicing, as it was natural to expect, at the return of Theseus, welcoming him with the greatest kindness, and ready to crown him with flowers for his good news. He received the chaplets, and twined them round his herald's staff. Returning to the sea-shore, and finding that Theseus had not yet finished his libations, he stopped without, not choosing to disturb the sacrifice. When the libations were over, he announced the death of Ægeus. Upon this, they hastened, with sorrow and tumultuous lamentations, to the city. Hence, they tell us, it is, that, in the Oschophoria, or Feast of Boughs, to this day the herald is not crowned, but his staff; and those that are present at the libations cry out, *Eleleu! Joïi, joïi!* the former is the exclamation of haste and triumph, and the latter of trouble and confusion. Theseus, having buried his father, paid his vows to Apollo on the seventh of October: for on that day they arrived safe at Athens. The boiling of all sorts of pulse at that time is said to take its rise from their mixing the remains of their provisions, when they found themselves safe ashore, boiling them in one pot, and feasting upon them all together. In that feast they also carry a branch bound about with

wool, such as they then made use of in their supplications, which they call Eiresione, laden with all sorts of fruits; and to signify the ceasing of scarcity at that time, they sing this strain:

The golden ear, th' ambrosial hive,
In fair Eiresione thrive.
See the juicy figs appear!
Olives crown the wealthy year!
See the cluster bending vine!
See, and drink, and drop supine!

Some pretend that this ceremony is retained in memory of the Heraclidæ, who were entertained in that manner by the Athenians; but the greater part relate it as above delivered.

The vessel in which Theseus sailed and returned safe with those young men, went with thirty oars. It was preserved by the Athenians to the times of Demetrius Phalereus; being so pieced and new-framed with strong plank, that it afforded an example to the philosophers, in their disputations concerning the identity of things that are changed by growth; some contending that it was the same, and others that it was not.

The feast called Oschophoria*, which the Athenians still celebrate, was then first instituted by Theseus. For he did not take with him all the virgins upon whom the lot had fallen, but selected two young men of his acquaintance, who had feminine and florid aspects, but were not wanting in spirit and presence of mind. These, by warm bathing and keeping them out of the sun, by providing unguents for their hair and complexions, and every thing necessary for their dress, by forming their voice, their manner, and their step, he so effectually altered, that they passed among the virgins designed for Crete, and no one could discern the difference.

At his return, he walked in procession with the same young men, dresssed in the manner of those who now carry the branches. These are carried in honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, on account of the story before related; or rather because they returned at the time of gathering ripe fruits. The Deipnophoræ, women who carry the provisions, bear a part in the solemnity, and have a share in the sacri-

* This ceremony was performed in the following manner: They made choice of a certain number of youths of the most noble families in each tribe, whose fathers and mothers both were living. They bore vine-branches in their hands, with grapes upon them, and ran from the temple of Bacchus to that of Minerva Sciradia, which was near the Phalerean gate. He that arrived there first drank off a cup of wine, mingled with honey, cheese, meal, and oil. They were followed by a chorus conducted by two young men dressed in women's apparel, the chorus singing a song in praise of those young men. Certain women, with baskets on their heads, attended them, and were chosen for that office from amongst the most wealthy of the citizens. The whole procession was headed by a herald, bearing a staff encircled with boughs.

fice, to represent the mothers of those upon whom the lots fell, who brought their children provisions for the voyage. Fables and tales are the chief discourse, because the women then told their children stories to comfort them and keep up their spirits. These particulars are taken from the History of Demon. There was a place consecrated, and a temple erected to Theseus; and those families which would have been liable to the tribute, in case it had continued, were obliged to pay a tax to the temple for sacrifices. These were committed to the care of the Phytalidæ. Theseus doing them that honour in recompense of their hospitality.

After the death of Ægeus, he undertook and effected a prodigious work. He settled all the inhabitants of Attica in Athens, and made them one people in one city, who before were scattered up and down, and could with difficulty be assembled on any pressing occasion for the public good. Nay, often such differences had happened between them as ended in bloodshed. The method he took was to apply to them in particular by their tribes and families. Private persons and the poor easily listened to his summons. To the rich and great he represented the advantage of a government without a king, where the chief power should be in the people, while he himself only desired to command in war, and to be the guardian of the laws; in all the rest, every one would be upon an equal footing. Part of them hearkened to his persuasions; and others, fearing his power, which was already very great, as well as his enterprising spirit, chose rather to be persuaded than to be forced to submit. Dissolving, therefore, the corporations, the councils, and courts in each particular town, he built one common Prytaneum, and court-hall, where it stands to this day. The citadel, with its dependencies, and the city, or the old and new town, he united under the common name of Athens, and instituted the Panathenæa as a common sacrifice*. He appointed also the Metoecia, or Feast of Migration†, and fixed it to the sixteenth of July, and so it still continues. Giving up the kingly power, as he

* The Athenæa were celebrated before in honour of the goddess Minerva; but as that was a feast peculiar to the city of Athens, Theseus enlarged it, and made it common to all the inhabitants of Attica; and therefore it was called Panathenæa. There were the greater and the less Panathenæa. The less were kept annually, and the greater every fifth year. In the latter they carried in procession the mysterious *peplum*, or veil of Minerva, on which were embroidered the victory of the gods over the giants, and the most remarkable achievements of their heroes.

† In memory of their quitting the boroughs, and uniting in one city. On this occasion, he likewise instituted, or at least restored, the famous Isthmian games in honour of Neptune. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers; and as a farther encouragement for them to come and settle in Athens, he gave them the privileges of natives.

had promised, he settled the commonw[redacted] the gods; for he consulted the Oracle at De[redacted] government, and received this answer:

From royal stems thy honour, Theseus, springs;
By Jove beloved, thy sire supreme of kings.
See rising towns, see wide-extended states,
On thee dependent, ask their future fates!
Hence, hence with fear! Thy favoured bark shall ride
Safe o'er the surges of the foamy tide.

With this agrees the Sibyl's prophecy, which we are told, she delivered long after concerning Athens:

The bladder may be dipp'd, but never drown'd.

Desiring yet farther to enlarge the city, he invited all strangers to equal privileges in it; and the words still in use, "Come hither, all ye people," are said to be the beginning of a proclamation which Theseus ordered to be made when he composed a commonwealth, as it were, of all nations. Yet he left it not in the confusion and disorder likely to ensue from the confluence and strange mixture of people, but distinguished them into noblemen, husbandmen, and mechanics. The nobility were to have the care of religion, to supply the city with magistrates, to explain the laws, and to interpret whatever related to the worship of the gods. As to the rest, he balanced the citizens against each other as nearly as possible; the nobles excelling in dignity, the husbandmen in usefulness, and the artificers in number. It appears from Aristotle, that Theseus was the first who inclined to a democracy, and gave up the regal power; and Homer also seems to bear witness to the same in his catalogue of ships, where he gives the name of People to the Athenians only. To his money he gave the impression of an ox, either on account of the Marathonian bull, or because of Mino's general, Taurus, or because he would encourage the citizens in agriculture. Hence came the expression of a thing being worth ten or an hundred oxen. Having also made a secure acquisition of the country about Megara to the territory of Athens, he set up the famed pillar in the Isthmus*, and inscribed it with two verses, to distinguish the boundaries. That on the east side ran thus:

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia:

and that on the west was,

This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia.

* This pillar was erected by the common consent of the Ionians and Peloponnesians, to put an end to the disputes about their boundaries; and it continued to the reign of Codrus, during which it was demolished by the Heraclidæ, who had made themselves masters of the territory of Megara, which thereby passed from the Ionians to the Dorians.—*Strabo*, lib. ix.

[redacted]s in imitation of Hercules, being ambi-[redacted], in pursuance of that hero's appointment, [redacted]pic games in honour of Jupiter, so they should [redacted]hmian in honour of Neptune: for the rights per-[redacted] before in memory of Melicertes were observed in the [redacted]d had more the air of mysteries than of a public spectacle [redacted]sembly. But some say the Isthmian games were dedicated to [redacted]on, Theseus inclining to expiate his untimely fate, by reason of their being so nearly related; for Sciron was the son of Canethus and Henioche, the daughter of Pittheus. Others will have it, that Sinnis was their son, and that to him, and not to Sciron, the games were dedicated. He made an agreement, too, with the Corinthians, that they should give the place of honour to the Athenians who came to the Isthmian games, as far as the ground could be covered with the sail of the public ship that brought them, when stretched to its full extent. This particular we learn from Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnassus.

Philochorus and some others relate, that he sailed, in company with Hercules, into the Euxine sea, to carry on war with the Amazons *, and that he received Antiope † as the reward of his valour; but the greater number, among whom are Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodotus, tell us, that Theseus made that voyage, with his own fleet only, some time after Hercules, and took that Amazon captive, which is indeed the more probable account; for we do not read that any other of his fellow-warriors made any Amazon prisoner. But Bion says, he took and carried her off by a stratagem. The Amazons, being naturally lovers of men, were so far from avoiding Theseus, when he touched upon their coasts, that they sent him presents. Theseus invited Antiope, who brought them into his ship, and, as soon as she was aboard, set sail. But the account of one Menecrates, who published a history of Nice, in Bithynia, is, that Theseus having Antiope aboard his vessel, remained in those parts some time; and that he was attended in that expedition by three young men of Athens, who were brothers, Euneos, Thoas, and Soloon. The last of these, unknown to the rest, fell in love with Antiope, and communicated his passion to one of his companions, who applied to Antiope about the affair. She firmly rejected his pretensions, but treated him with civility, and prudently concealed the matter from Theseus. But

* Nothing can be more fabulous than the whole history of the Amazons. Strabo observes; that the most credible of Alexander's historians have not so much as mentioned them: and indeed, if they were a Scythian nation, how came they all to have Greek names?

† Justin says Hercules gave Hippolyte to Theseus, and kept Antiope for himself.

Soloon, in despair, having leaped into a river, and drowned himself, Theseus, then sensible of the cause, and the young man's passion, lamented his fate, and, in his sorrow, recollected an oracle which he had formerly received at Delphi. The priestess had ordered, that when, in some foreign country, he should labour under the greatest affliction, he should build a city there, and leave some of his followers to govern it. Hence he called the city which he built Pythopolis, after the Pythian god, and the neighbouring river Soloon, in honour of the young man. He left the two surviving brothers to govern it, and give it laws; and along with them Hermes, who was of one of the best families in Athens. From him the inhabitants of Pythopolis call a certain place in their city Hermes's House, *Hermoû oikia*, and, by misplacing an accent, transfer the honour from the hero to the god Mercury.

Hence the war with the Amazons took its rise. And it appears to have been no slight or womanish enterprise; for they could not have encamped in the town, or joined battle on the ground about the Pynx* and the Museum†, or fallen in so intrepid a manner upon the city of Athens, unless they had first reduced the country about it. It is difficult, indeed, to believe (though Hellanicus has related it) that they crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus upon the ice: but that they encamped almost in the heart of the city, is confirmed by the names of places, and by the tombs of those that fell.

There was a long pause and delay before either army would begin the attack. At last Theseus, by the direction of some oracle, offered a sacrifice to Fear, and after that immediately engaged. The battle was fought in the month Boëdromion, September, the day on which the Athenians still celebrate the feast called Boëdromia. Clidemus, who is willing to be very particular, writes, that the left wing of the Amazons moved towards what is now called the Amazonium; and that the right extended as far as the Pynx, near Chrysa: that the Athenians first engaged with the left wing of the Amazons, falling upon them from the Museum; and that the tombs of those that fell in the battle are in the street which leads to the gate called Piraïca, which is by the monument erected in honour of Chalcodon, where the Athenians were routed by the Amazons, and fled as far as the temple of the Furies; but that the left wing of the Athenians, which charged from the Palladium, Ardettus, and Lyceum, drove the right wing of the enemy to their camp, and slew many of them:

* The Pynx was a place (near the citadel) where the people of Athens used to assemble, and where the orators spoke to them about public affairs.

† The Museum was upon a little hill over against the citadel, and probably so called from a temple of the Muses there.

that after four months, a peace was concluded by means of Hippolite; for so this author calls the Amazon that attended with Theseus, not Antiope. But some say this heroine fell fighting by Theseus's side, being pierced with a dart by Molpadia, and that a pillar, by the Temple of the Olympian earth, was set up over her grave. Nor is it to be wondered, that, in the account of things so very ancient, history should be thus uncertain, since they tell us that some Amazons, wounded by Antiope, were privately sent to Chalcis to be cured, and that some were buried there, at a place now called Amazonium. But that the war was ended by a league, we may assuredly gather from a place called Horcomosium, near the temple of Theseus, where it was sworn to, as well as from an ancient sacrifice, which is offered to the Amazons the day before the feast of Theseus. The people of Megara, too, show a place, in the figure of a lozenge, where some Amazons were buried, as you go from the market-place to the place called Rhus. Others also are said to have died by Chæronea, and to have been buried by the rivulet, which, it seems, was formerly called Thermodon, but now Hæmon; of which I have given a farther account in the life of Demosthenes. It appears likewise, that the Amazons traversed Thessaly, not without opposition; for their sepulchres are shown to this day, between Scotussæa and Cynoscephalæ.

This is all that is memorable in the story of the Amazons; for as to what the author of the Theseid relates of the Amazons rising to take vengeance for Antiope, when Theseus quitted her, and married Phædra, and of their being slain by Hercules, it has plainly the air of fable. Indeed, he married Phædra after the death of Antiope, having by the Amazon a son named Hippolytus, or, according to Pindar, Demophon. As to the calamities which befel Phædra and Hippolytus, since the historians do not differ from what the writers of tragedy have said of them, we may look upon them as matters of fact.

Some other marriages of Theseus are spoken of, but have not been represented on the stage, which had neither an honourable beginning, nor a happy conclusion. He is said also to have forcibly carried off Anaxo of Trœzene, and having slain Sinnis and Cercyon, to have committed rapes upon their daughters; to have married Peribœa, the mother of Ajax, too, and Pherobœa, and Iope, the daughter of Iphicles. Besides, they charge him with being enamoured of Ægle, the daughter of Panopeus, (as above related), and, for her, leaving Ariadne, contrary to the rules both of justice and honour; but, above all, with the rape of Helen, which involved Attica in war, and ended in his banishment and death, of which we shall speak more at large by and by.

Though there were many expeditions undertaken by the heroes of those times, Herodotus thinks that Theseus was not concerned in any of them, except in assisting the Lapithæ against the Centaurs. Others write, that he attended Jason to Colchis, and Meleager in killing the boar; and that hence came the proverb, "Nothing without Theseus." It is allowed, however, that Theseus, without any assistance, did himself perform many great exploits; and that the extraordinary instances of his valour gave occasion to the saying, "This man is another Hercules." Theseus was likewise assisting to Adrastus in recovering the bodies of those that fell before Thebes, not by defeating the Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy, but by persuading them to a truce; for so most writers agree: and Philochorus is of opinion, that this was the first truce ever known for burying the dead. But Hercules was, indeed, the first who gave up their dead to the enemy, as we have shown in his life. The burying-place of the common soldiers is to be seen at Eleutheræ, and of the officers at Eleusis; in which particular Theseus gratified Adrastus. Æschylus, in whose tragedy of the Eleusinians Theseus is introduced, relating the matter as above, contradicts what Euripides has delivered in his Suppliants.

The friendship between Theseus and Pirithous is said to have commenced upon this occasion. Theseus being much celebrated for his strength and valour, Pirithous was desirous to prove it, and therefore drove away his oxen from Marathon. When he heard that Theseus pursed him in arms, he did not fly, but turned back to meet him. But, as soon as they beheld one another, each was so struck with admiration of the other's person and courage, that they laid aside all thoughts of fighting; and Pirithous first giving Theseus his hand, bade him be judge in this cause himself, and he would willingly abide by his sentence. Theseus, in his turn, left the cause to him, and desired him to be his friend and fellow-warrior. Then they confirmed their friendship with an oath. Pirithous, afterwards marrying Deidamia*, entreated Theseus to visit his country, and to be acquainted with the Lapithæ. He had also invited the Centaurs to the entertainment. These, in their cups, behaving with insolence and indecency, and not even refraining from the women, the Lapithæ rose up in their defence, killed some of the Centaurs upon the spot, and soon after beating them in a set battle, drove them out of the country with the assistance of Theseus. Herodotus relates the matter differently. He says, that hostilities being already begun, Theseus came in aid to the Lapithæ, and then had the first sight of

* All other writers call her Hippodamia, except Propertius, who calls her Ischomacha. She was the daughter of Adrastus.

Hercules, having made it his business to find him out at Trachin, where he reposed himself after all his wanderings and labours; and that this interview passed in marks of great respect, civility, and mutual compliments. But we are rather to follow those historians who write that they had very frequent interviews; and that, by means of Theseus, Hercules was initiated into the mysteries of Ceres, having first obtained lustration, as he desired, on account of several involuntary pollutions.

Theseus was now fifty years old, according to Hellanicus, when he was concerned in the rape of Helen, who had not yet arrived at the years of maturity. Some writers, thinking this one of the heaviest charges against him, endeavour to correct it, by saying that it was not Theseus that carried off Helen, but Idas and Lynceus, who committed her to his care, and that therefore he refused to give her up when demanded by Castor and Pollux; or rather that she was delivered to him by Tyndarus himself, to keep her from Enarsphorus, the son of Hippocoon, who endeavoured to possess himself by violence of Helen, who was yet but a child. But what authors generally agree in, as most probable, is as follows: The two friends went together to Sparta, and having seen the girl dancing in the temple of Diana Orthia, carried her off, and fled. The pursuers that were sent after them following no farther than Tegea, they thought themselves secure; and having traversed Peloponnesus, they entered into an agreement, that he who should gain Helen by lot should have her to wife, but be obliged to assist in procuring a wife for the other. In consequence of these terms, the lots being cast, she fell to Theseus, who received the virgin, and conveyed her, as she was not yet marriageable, to Aphidnæ. Here he placed his mother with her, and committed them to the care of his friend Aphidnus, charging him to keep them in the utmost secrecy and safety; whilst, to pay his debt of service to Pirithous himself, travelled with him into Epirus, with a view to the daughter of Aïdoneus, king of the Molossians. This prince named his wife Proserpine, his daughter Coré, and his dog Cerberus: with this dog he commanded all his daughter's suitors to fight, promising her to him that should overcome him. But understanding that Pirithous came not with an intention to court his daughter, but to carry her off by force, he seized both him and his friend, destroyed Pirithous immediately by means of his dog, and shut up Theseus in close prison.

Meantime, Menestheus, the son of Peteus, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erectheus, is said to be the first of mankind that undertook to be a demagogue, and by his eloquence to ingratiate himself with the people. He endeavoured also to exasperate and

inspire the nobility with sedition, who had but ill borne with Theseus for some time, reflecting, that he had deprived every person of family of his government and command, and shut them up together in one city, where he used them as his subjects and slaves. Among the common people he sowed disturbance, by telling them, that though they pleased themselves with the dream of liberty, in fact, they were robbed of their country and religion; and, instead of many good and native kings, were lorded over by one man, who was a newcomer and a stranger. Whilst he was thus busily employed, the war declared by the Tyndaridæ greatly helped forward the sedition. Some say plainly they were invited by Menestheus to invade the country. At first they proceeded not in a hostile manner, only demanding their sister: but the Athenians answering that they neither had her among them, nor knew where she was left, they began their warlike operations. Academus, however, finding it out by some means or other, told them she was concealed at Aphidnæ. Hence, not only the Tyndaridæ treated him honourably in his life-time, but the Lacedæmonians, who, in after times, often made inroads into Attica, and laid waste all the country besides, spared the Academy for his sake. But Dicæarchus says, that Echedemus and Marathus, two Arcadians, being allies to the Tyndaridæ in that war, the place which now goes by the name of the Academy, was first called Echedemy, from one of them; and that from the other the district of Marathon had its name, because he freely offered himself, in pursuance of some oracle, to be sacrificed at the head of the army. To Aphidnæ then they came, where they beat the enemy in a set battle, and then took the city, and razed it to the ground. There, they tell us, Alycus, the son of Sciron, was slain, fighting for Castor and Pollux; and that a certain place within the territories of Megara is called Alycus, from his being buried there: and Hereas writes, that Alycus received his death from Theseus's own hand.

These verses also are alleged as a proof in point:

> For bright-hair'd Helen he was slain
> By Theseus, on Aphidna's plain.

But it is not probable that Aphidnæ would have been taken, and his mother made prisoner, had Theseus been present.

Aphidnæ, however, was taken, and Athens in danger. Menestheus took this opportunity to persuade the people to admit the Tyndaridæ into the city, and to treat them hospitably, since they only levied war against Theseus, who began with violence first; but they were benefactors and deliverers to the rest of the Athenians. Their behaviour also confirmed what was said; for, though conquerors, they desired nothing but to be admitted to the mysteries, to which they had

no less claim than Hercules, since they were equally allied to the city. This request was easily granted them, and they were adopted by Aphidnus, as Hercules was by Pylius. They had also divine honours paid them, with the title of Anakes, which was given them, either on account of the truce, *anoche*, which they made, or because of their great care that no one should be injured, though there were so many troops in the city; for the phrase *anakós echein* signifies, to keep or take care of any thing; and for this reason, perhaps, kings are called Anaktes. Some again say they were called Anakes, because of the appearance of their stars; for the Athenians use the words *anekas* and *anekathen*, instead of *ano* and *anothen*, that is, *above* or *on high*.

We are told that Æthra, the mother of Theseus, who was now a prisoner, was carried to Lacedæmon, and from thence with Helen to Troy; and that Homer confirms it when speaking of those that waited upon Helen, he mentions

> ..... The beauteous Clymene
> And Æthra born of Pittheus.

Others reject this verse as none of Homer's, as they do also the story of Munychus, who is said to have been the fruit of a secret commerce between Demophoon and Laodice, and brought up by Æthra at Troy. But Ister, in the thirteenth book of his History of Attica, gives an account of Æthra different from all the rest. He was informed, it seems, that after the battle in which Alexander or Paris was routed by Achilles and Patroclus, in Thessaly, near the river Sperchius, Hector took and plundered the city of Trœzene, and carried off Æthra, who had been left there. But this is highly improbable.

It happened that Hercules, in passing through the country of the Molossians, was entertained by Aïdoneus the king, who accidentally made mention of the bold attempts of Theseus and Pirithous, and of the manner in which he had punished them when discovered. Hercules was much disturbed to hear of the inglorious death of the one, and the danger of the other. As to Pirithous, he thought it in vain to expostulate about him; but he begged to have Theseus released, and Aïdoneus granted it. Theseus, thus set at liberty, returned to Athens, where his party was not yet entirely suppressed: and whatever temples and groves the city had assigned him, he consecrated them all but four to Hercules, and called them (as Philochorus relates), instead of Theséa, Heraclea. But, desiring to preside in the commonwealth, and direct it as before, he found himself encompassed with faction and sedition; for those that were his enemies before his departure, had now added to their hatred a contempt of his autho-

city; and he beheld the people so generally corrupted, [redacted] wanted to be flattered into their duty, instead of silently his commands. When he attempted to reduce them b was overpowered by the prevalence of faction; and, in th ng his affairs desperate, he privately sent his children in o Elephenor, the son of Chalcodon; and himself having u emn execrations against the Athenians at Gargettus, where still a place thence called Araterion, sailed to Scyros. He im that there he should find hospitable treatment, as he had a pat estate in that island. Lycomedes was then king of the Scyria To him therefore he applied, and desired to be put in possession o he lands, as intending to settle there. Some say he asked assistanc of him against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either jealous of th glory of Theseus, or willing to oblige Menestheus, having led hin o the highest cliffs of the country, on pretence of shewing him fron hence his lands, threw him down headlong from the rocks, and kille him. Others say he fell of himself, missing his step, when he tool a walk, according to his custom, after supper. At that time his deat was disregarded, and Menestheus quietly possessed the kingdom o Athens, while the sons of Theseus attended Elephenor, as privat persons, to the Trojan war. But Menestheus dying in the same ex pedition, they returned and recovered the kingdom. In succeedin ages the Athenians honoured Theseus as a demigod, induced to it a well by other reasons as because, when they were fighting the Mede at Marathon, a considerable part of the army thought they saw th apparition of Theseus, completly armed, and bearing down befor them upon the barbarians.

After the Median war, when Phædon was archon, the Athenian consulting the oracle of Apollo, were ordered by the priestess to tak up the bones of Theseus, and lay them in an honourable place a Athens, where they were to be kept with the greatest care. But it was difficult to take them up, or even to find out the grave, on account of the savage and inhospitable disposition of the barbarians who dwelt in Scyros. Nevertheless, Cimon having taken the island (as is related in his Life), and being very desirous to find out the place where Theseus was buried, by chance saw an eagle, on a certain eminence, breaking the ground, (as they tell us), and scratching it up with her talons. This, he considered as a divine direction, and, digging there, found the coffin of a man of extraordinary size, with a lance of brass, and a sword lying by it. When these remains were brought to Athens in Cimon's galley, the Athenians received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, and were as much transported as if Theseus himself had returned to the city. He lies

in the middle of the town, near the Gymnasium; and his place of refuge for servants and all persons of mean condition fly from men in power, as Theseus, while he lived, was used benevolent patron, who graciously received the petitions of the poor. The chief sacrifice is offered to him on the eighth day of the month, the day on which he returned with the young men from Crete. They sacrifice to him likewise on each eighth day of the other months, either because he first arrived from Trœzene on the eighth of July, as Diodorus the geographer relates; or else thinking that number, above all others, to be most proper to him, because he was said to be the son of Neptune; the solemn feasts of Neptune being observed on the eighth day of every month. For the number eight, as the first cube of an even number, and the double of the first square, properly represents the firmness and immovable power of this god, who thence has the names of Asphalius and Gaiéochus.

ROMULUS.

FROM whom, and for what cause, the city of Rome obtained that name, whose glory has diffused itself over the world, historians are not agreed. Some say the Pelasgi, after they had overrun great part of the globe, and conquered many nations, settled there, and gave their city the name of Rome, on account of their strength in war. Others tell us, that when Troy was taken, some of the Trojans having escaped and gained their ships, put to sea, and being driven by the winds upon the coasts of Tuscany, came to an anchor in the river Tiber: that here, their wives being much fatigued, and no longer able to bear the hardships of the sea, one of them superior to the rest in birth and prudence, named Roma, proposed that they should burn the fleet: that this being effected, the men at first were much exasperated, but afterwards, through necessity, fixed their seat on the Palatine hill, and in a short time things succeeded beyond their expectation; for the country was good, and the people hospitable: that therefore, besides other honours paid to Roma, they called their city, as she was the cause of its being built, after her name. Hence, too, we are informed, the custom arose for the women to salute their relations and husbands with a kiss, because those women, when they had burnt their ships, used such kind of endearments to appease the resentment of their husbands.

Among the various accounts of historians, it is said that Roma

was the daughter of Italus and Leucaria; or else the daughter of Telephus the son of Hercules, and married to Æneas; or that she was the daughter of Ascanius, the son of Æneas, and gave name to the city; or that Romanus, the son of Ulysses and Circe, built it; or Romus, the son of Æmathion, whom Diomedes sent from Troy; or else Romus, king of the Latins, after he had expelled the Tuscans, who passed originally from Thessaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy. Even they who, with the greatest probability, declare that the city had its name from Romulus, do not agree about his extraction: for some say he was son of Æneas and Dexithea, the daughter of Phorbus, and was brought an infant into Italy with his brother Remus: that all the other vessels were lost by the violence of the flood, except that in which the children were, which, driving gently ashore where the bank was level, they were saved beyond expectation, and the place, from them, was called Rome. Some will have it, that Roma, daughter of that Trojan woman who was married to Latinus, the son of Telemachus, was mother to Romulus. Others say that Æmilia, the daughter of Æneas and Lavinia, had him by Mars; and others again give an account of his birth, which is entirely fabulous. There appeared, it seems, to Tarchetius, king of the Albans, who was the most wicked and most cruel of men, a supernatural vision in his own house, the figure of Priapus rising out of the chimney hearth, and staying there many days. The goddess Tethys had an oracle in Tuscany*, which being consulted, gave this answer to Tarchetius: That it was necessary some virgin should accept of the embraces of the phantom, the fruit whereof would be a son, eminent for valour, good fortune, and strength of body. Hereupon Tarchetius acquainted one of his daughters with the prediction, and ordered her to entertain the apparition; but she declining it, sent her maid. When Tarchetius came to know it, he was highly offended, and confined them both, intending to put them to death. But Vesta appeared to him in a dream, and forbade him to kill them; but ordered that the young women should weave a certain web in their fetters, and, when that was done, be given in marriage. They weaved, therefore, in the day-time; but others, by Tarchetius's orders, unravelled it in the night. The woman having twins by this commerce, Tarchetius delivered them to one Teratius, with orders to destroy them. But, instead of that, he exposed them by a river side, where a she-wolf came and gave them suck, and various sorts of birds brought food and fed the infants, till at last a herdsman,

* There was no oracle of Tethys, but of Themis there was. Themis was the same with Carmenta, the mother of Evander, which last name she had, because she delivered her oracles *in carmine*, in verses.

who beheld these wonderful things, ventured to approach and take up the children. Thus secured from danger, they grew up, and then attacked Tarchetius, and overcame him. This is the account Promathion gives in his History of Italy.

But the principal parts of that account, which deserve the most credit, and have the most vouchers, were first published among the Greeks by Diocles the Peparethian, whom Fabius Pictor commonly follows; and though there are different relations of the matter, yet, to dispatch it in a few words, the story is this: The kings of Alba descending lineally from Æneas, the succession fell to two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. The latter divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures brought from Troy against the kingdom; and Numitor made choice of the kingdom. Amulius then having the treasures, and consequently being more powerful than Numitor, easily possessed himself of the kingdom too, and fearing the daughter of Numitor might have children, he appointed her priestess of Vesta, in which capacity she was always to live unmarried, and a virgin. Some say her name was Ilia, some Rhea, and others Sylvia. But she was soon discovered to be with child, contrary to the law of the vestals. Antho, the king's daughter, by much entreaty, prevailed with her father that she should not be capitally punished. She was confined, however, and excluded from society, lest she should be delivered without Amulius's knowledge. When her time was completed, she was delivered of two sons of uncommon size and beauty; whereupon Amulius, still more alarmed, ordered one of his servants to destroy them. Some say the name of this servant was Faustulus; others, that that was the name of a person that took them up. Pursuant to his orders, he put the children into a small trough or cradle, and went down towards the river, with a design to cast them in; but seeing it very rough, and running with a strong current, he was afraid to approach it. He therefore laid them down near the bank and departed. The flood increasing continually, set the trough afloat, and carried it gently down to a pleasant place now called Cermanum, but formerly (as it should seem) Germanum, denoting that the brothers arrived there.

Near this place was a wild fig-tree, which they called Ruminalis, either on account of Romulus, as is generally supposed, or because the cattle there ruminated, or chewed the cud, during the noontide, in the shade; or rather because of the suckling of the children there; for the ancient Latins called the breast *ruma*, and the goddess who presided over the nursery Rumilia*, whose rites they celebrate without wine, and only with libations of milk. The infants, as the story

* The Romans called that goddess not Rumilia, but Rumina.

goes, lying there, were suckled by a she-wolf, and fed and taken care of by a wood-pecker. These animals are sacred to Mars, and the wood-pecker is held in great honour and veneration by the Latins. Such wonderful events contributed not a little to gain credit to the mother's report, that she had the children by Mars; though in this they tell us she was herself deceived, having suffered violence from Amulius, who came to her, and lay with her in armour. Some say, the ambiguity of the nurse's name gave occasion to the fable; for the Latins call not only she-wolves but prostitutes *lupæ;* and such was Acca Larentia, the wife of Faustulus, the foster-father of the children. To her also the Romans offer sacrifice, and the priest of Mars honours her with libations in the month of April, when they celebrate her feast, Larentialia.

They worship also another Larentia, on the following account. The keeper of the temple of Hercules having, it seems, little else to do, proposed to play a game at dice with the god, on condition that, if he won, he should have something valuable of that deity; but, if he lost, he should provide a noble entertainment for him, and a beautiful woman to lie with him. Then throwing the dice, first for the god, and next for himself, it appeared that he had lost. Willing, however, to stand to his bargain, and to perform the conditions agreed upon, he prepared a supper, and engaging for the purpose one Larentia, who was very handsome, but as yet little known, he treated her in the temple, where he had provided a bed, and, after supper, left her for the enjoyment of the god. It is said, that the deity had some conversation with her, and ordered her to go early in the morning to the market-place, salute the first man she should meet, and make him her friend. The man that met her was one far advanced in years, and in opulent circumstances, Tarrutius by name, who had no children, and never had been married. This man took Larentia to his bed, and loved her so well, that, at his death, he left her heir to his whole estate, which was very considerable; and she afterwards bequeathed the greatest part of it by will to the people. It it said, that at the time when she was in high reputation, and considered as the favourite of a god, she suddenly disappeared about the place where the former Larentia was laid. It is now called Velabrum, because the river often overflowing, they passed it at this place, in ferry-boats, to go to the Forum. This kind of passage they call *velatura.* Others derive the name from *velum,* a sail, because they who have the exhibiting of the public shows, beginning at Velabrum, overshade all the way that leads from the Forum to the Hippodrome with canvas; for a sail in Latin is *velum.* On these accounts is the second Larentia so much honoured among the Romans.

In the mean time Faustulus, Amulius's herdsman, brought up the children entirely undiscovered; or rather, as others with greater probability assert, Numitor knew it from the first, and privately supplied the necessaries for their maintenance. It is also said that they were sent to Gabii, and there instructed in letters, and other branches of education suitable to their birth: and history informs us, that they had the names of Romulus and Remus, from the teat of the wild animal which they were seen to suck. The beauty and dignity of their persons, even in their childhood, promised a generous disposition; and, as they grew up, they both discovered great courage and bravery, with an inclination to hazardous attempts, and a spirit which nothing could subdue. But Romulus seemed more to cultivate the powers of reason, and to excel in political knowledge: whilst, by his deportment among his neighbours, in the employments of pasturage and hunting, he convinced them that he was born to command rather than to obey. To their equals and inferiors they behaved very courteously; but they despised the king's bailiffs and chief herdsmen, as not superior to themselves in courage, though they were in authority, disregarding at once their threats and their anger. They applied themselves to generous exercises and pursuits, looking upon idleness and inactivity as illiberal things, but on hunting, running, banishing or apprehending robbers, and delivering such as were oppressed by violence, as the employments of honour and virtue. By these things they gained great renown.

A dispute arising between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, and the former having driven away some cattle belonging to the latter, Romulus and Remus fell upon them, put them to flight, and recovered the greatest part of the booty. At this conduct Numitor was highly offended; but they little regarded his resentment. The first steps they took on this occasion were to collect, and receive into their company, persons of desperate fortunes, and a great number of slaves; a measure which gave alarming proofs of their bold and seditious inclinations. It happened, that when Romulus was employed in sacrificing, for to that and divination he was much inclined, Numitor's herdsmen met with Remus, as he was walking with a small retinue, and fell upon him. After some blows exchanged, and wounds given and received, Numitor's people prevailed, and took Remus prisoner. He was carried before Numitor, and had several things laid to his charge; but Numitor did not choose to punish him himself, for fear of his brother's resentment. To him, therefore, he applied for justice, which he had all the reason in the world to expect, since, though brother to the reigning prince, he had been injured by his servants, who presumed upon his authority. The peo-

ple of Alba, moreover, expressing their uneasiness, and thinking that Numitor suffered great indignities, Amulius, moved with their complaints, delivered Remus to him, to be treated as he should think proper. When the youth was conducted to his house, Numitor was greatly struck with his appearance, as he was very remarkable for size and strength; he observed, too, his presence of mind, and the steadiness of his looks, which had nothing servile in them, nor were altered with the sense of his present danger; and he was informed that his actions and whole behaviour were suitable to what he saw. But, above all, some divine influence, as it seems, directing the beginnings of the great events that were to follow, Numitor, by his sagacity, or by a fortunate conjecture, suspecting the truth, questioned him concerning the circumstances of his birth; speaking mildly at the same time, and regarding him with a gracious eye. He boldly answered, "I will hide nothing from you, for you behave in a more princely manner than Amulius, since you hear and examine before you punish; but he has delivered us up without inquiring into the matter. I have a twin-brother, and heretofore we believed ourselves the sons of Faustulus and Larentia, servants to the king; but since we were accused before you, and so pursued by slander as to be in danger of our lives, we hear nobler things concerning our birth; whether they are true, the present crisis will show. Our birth [illegible] to have been secret, our support in our infancy miraculous. We were exposed to birds and wild beasts, and by them not devoured, suckled by a she-wolf, and fed by the attention of a woodpecker, as we lay in a trough by the great river. The trough is preserved, bound about with brass bands, and inscribed with [illegible] ly faded; which may prove, perhaps, hereafter, very useful tokens to our parents, when we are destroyed. Numitor hearing this, and comparing the time with the young man's looks, was confirmed in the pleasing hope he had conceived, and considered how he might consult his daughter about this affair; for she was still kept in close custody.

Meanwhile Faustulus, having heard that Remus was taken and delivered up to punishment, desired Romulus to assist his brother, informing him then clearly of the particulars of his birth; for before he had only given dark hints about it, and signified just so much as might take off the attention of his wards from every thing that was mean. He himself took the trough, and in all the tumult of concern and fear, carried it to Numitor. His disorder raised some suspicion in the king's guards at the gate, and that disorder increasing while they looked earnestly upon him, and perplexed him with their questions, he was discovered to have a trough under his cloak.

There happened to be among them one of those who had it in charge to throw the children into the river, and who was concerned in the exposing of them. This man seeing the trough, and knowing it by its make and inscription, rightly guessed the business, and thinking it an affair not to be neglected, immediately acquainted the king with it, and put him upon inquiring into it. In these great and pressing difficulties, Faustulus did not preserve entirely his presence of mind, nor yet fully discover the matter. He acknowledged that the children were saved indeed, but said that they kept cattle at a great distance from Alba; and that he was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often desired to see it, that she might entertain the better hopes that her children were alive. Whatever persons perplexed and actuated with fear or anger use to suffer, Amulius then suffered; for in his hurry he sent an honest man, a friend of Numitor's, to inquire of him whether he had any account that the children were alive. When the man was come, and saw Remus almost in the embraces of Numitor, he endeavoured to confirm him in the persuasion that the youth was really his grandson; begging him, at the same time, immediately to take the most measures that could be thought of, and offering his best assistance to support their party. The occasion admitted of no delay, and had been inclined to it; for Romulus was now at hand, and a good number of the citizens were gathered about him, either from hatred or fear of Amulius. He brought also a considerable force with him, divided into companies of a hundred men each, headed by an officer who bore a handful of grass and shrubs upon a pole before the Latins call *Manipuli*; and hence it is, that to this day those of the same company are called Manipulares. Remus then, having gained those within, and Romulus assaulting the palace without, the tyrant knew not what to do, or whom he should consult, but amidst his doubts and perplexity was taken and slain. These particulars, though mostly related by Fabius, and Diocles the Peparethian, who seems to have been the first that wrote about the founding of Rome, are yet suspected by some as fabulous and groundless. Perhaps, however, we should not be so incredulous, when we see what extraordinary events Fortune produces; nor when we consider what height of greatness Rome attained to, can we think it could ever have been effected without some supernatural assistance at first, and an origin more than human.

Amulius being dead, and the troubles composed, the two brothers were not willing to live in Alba without governing there, nor yet to take the government upon them during their grandfather's life. Having, therefore, invested him with it, and paid due ho

nours to their mother, they determined to dwell in a city of their own, and, for that purpose, to build one in the place where they had their first nourishment. This seems, at least, to be the most plausible reason of their quitting Alba; and perhaps, too, it was necessary, as a great number of slaves and fugitives was collected about them, either to see their affairs entirely ruined, if these should disperse, or with them to seek another habitation; for that the people of Alba refused to permit the fugitives to mix with them, or to receive them as citizens, sufficiently appears from the rape of the women, which was not undertaken out of a licentious humour, but deliberately, and through necessity, from the want of wives, since, after they seized them, they treated them very honourably.

As soon as the foundation of the city was laid, they opened a place of refuge for fugitives, which they call[illegible] Temple of the Asylæan God. Here they received all that c[illegible]d would neither deliver up the slave to his master, the d[illegible]s creditor, nor the murderer to the magistrate; declaring [illegible]ere directed by the oracle of Apollo to preserve the [illegible]violation. Thus the city was soon peopled; for it i[illegible]d that the houses at first did not exceed a thousand. But of that hereafter.

While they were intent upon building, a dispute soon arose about the place. Romulus having built a square, which he called Rome, would have the city there; but Remus marked out a more secure situation on Mount Aventine, which, from him, was called Remonium, but now has the name of Rignarium*. The dispute was referred to the decision of augury; and for this purpose they sat down in the open air, when Remus, as they tell us, saw six vultures, and Romulus twice as many. Some say Remus's account of the number he had seen was true, and that of Romulus not so; but when Remus came up to him, he did really see twelve. Hence the Romans, in their divination by the flight of birds, chiefly regarded the vulture; though Herodorus of Pontus relates, that Hercules used to rejoice when a vulture appeared to him as he was going upon any great action. This was probably because it is a creature the least mischievous of any, pernicious neither to corn, plants, nor cattle. It only feeds upon dead carcases, but neither kills nor preys upon any thing that has life. As for birds, it does not touch them even

* We find no mention either of Remonium or Rignarium in any other writer. An anonymous MS. reads Remoria; and Festus tells us (De Ling. Latin. lib. ii.) the summit of Mount Aventine was called Remuria, from the time Remus resolved to build the city there. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of Mount Aventine and Remuria as two different places; and Stephanus will have Remuria to have been a city in the neighbourhood of Rome.

when dead, because they are of its own nature; while eagles, owls, and hawks, tear and kill their own kind; and, as Æschylus has it,

What bird is clean that fellow-birds devour?

Besides, other birds are frequently seen and may be found at any time; but a vulture is an uncommon sight, and we have seldom met with any of their young; so that the rarity of them has occasioned an absurd opinion in some, that they come to us from other countries; and soothsayers judge every unusual appearance to be preternatural, and the effect of a divine power.

When Remus knew that he was imposed upon, he was highly incensed, and as Romulus was opening a ditch round the place where the walls were to be built, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others; at last, as he presumed to leap over it, some say he fell by the hand of Romulus; others, by that of Celer, one of his companions. Celer also fell in the scuffle; and Plistinus, who, being brother to Faustulus, is said to have assisted in bringing Romulus [illegible] into Tuscany; and from him, such as are swift of foot and expert in business, are by the Romans called *celeres*. Thus when Quintus Metellus, within a few days after his father's death, provided a show of gladiators, the people admiring his quick dispatch, gave him the name of Celer.

Romulus buried his brother Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in Remonia, and then built his city, having sent for persons from Hetruria, who (as is usual in sacred mysteries), according to stated ceremonies and written rules, were to order and direct how every thing was to be done. First, a circular ditch was dug about what is now called the Comitium, or Hall of Justice, and the first fruits of every thing that is reckoned either good by use, or necessary by nature, were cast into it; and then each bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country from whence he came, threw it in promiscuously*. This ditch had the name of Mundus, the same with that of the universe. In the next place, they marked out the city, like a circle, round this centre; and the founder having fitted to a plough a brazen plough-share, and yoked a bull and cow himself, drew a deep furrow round the boundaries. The business of those

* Ovid does not say it was a handful of the earth each had brought out of his own country, but of the earth he had taken from his neighbours; which was done to signify, that Rome would soon subdue the neighbouring nations. But Isidorus (lib. xxv. cap. 2.) is of opinion, that by throwing the first-fruits and a handful of earth into the trench, they admonished the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life; to maintain peace and union amongst a people come together from different parts of the world; and by this, to form themselves into a body never to be dissolved.

that followed was to turn all the clods raised by the plough inwards to the city, and not to suffer any to remain outwards. This line described the compass of the city; and between it and the walls is a space called, by contraction, Pomerium, as lying behind or beyond the wall. Where they designed to have a gate, they took the ploughshare out of the ground, and lifted up the plough, making a break for it. Hence they look upon the wall as sacred, except the gateways. If they considered the gates in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the necessaries of life by them, or to carry out what is unclean.

The day on which they began to build the city is universally allowed to be the twenty-first of April, and is celebrated annually by the Romans as the birth-day of Rome. At first, we are told, they sacrificed nothing that had life, persuaded that they ought to keep the solemnity sacred to the birth of their country pure, and without bloodshed. Nevertheless, before the city was built, on that same day, they had kept a pastoral feast called Palilia*. At present, indeed, there is very little analogy between the Roman and the Grecian months; yet the day on which Romulus founded the city is strongly affirmed to be the thirtieth of the month. On that day, too, we are informed there was a conjunction of the sun and moon, attended with an eclipse, the same that was observed by Antimachus, the Teian poet, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

Varro, the philosopher, who of all the Romans was most skilled in history, had an acquaintance named Tarutius, who, besides his knowledge in philosophy and the mathematics, to indulge his speculative turn, had applied himself to astrology, and was thought to be a perfect master of it. To him Varro proposed to find out the day and hour of Romulus's birth, making his calculation from the known events of his life, as problems in geometry are solved by the analytic method; for it belongs to the same science, when a man's nativity is given, to predict his life, and, when his life is given, to find out his nativity. Tarutius complied with the request; and when he had considered the dispositions and actions of Romulus, how long he lived, and in what manner he died, and had put all these things together, he affirmed, without doubt or hesitation, that his conception was in the first year of the second Olympiad, on the twenty-third day of the month which the Egyptians call Choeac, December, at

* The Palilia, or Feast of Pales, is sometimes called Parilia, from the Latin word *parere, to bring forth*, because prayers were then made for the fruitfulness of the sheep. According to Ovid (Fast. lib. iv.) the shepherds then made a great feast at night, and concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of straw.

the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed*; and that his birth was on the twenty-third day of the month Thoth, September, about sunrise; and that he founded Rome on the ninth of the month Pharmuthi, April, between the second and third hour†; for it is supposed that the fortunes of cities, as well as men, have their proper periods determined by the positions of the stars at the time of their nativity. These and the like relations may, perhaps, rather please the reader, because they are curious, than disgust him, because they are fabulous.

When the city was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of three thousand foot and three hundred horse, and was called a legion, because the most warlike persons were selected‡. The rest of the multitude he called The People. An hundred of the most considerable citizens he took for his council, with the title of Patricians‖, and the whole body was called the Senate, which signifies an Assembly of Old Men. Its members were styled Patricians, because, as some say, they were *fathers* of free-born children; or rather, according to others, because they themselves had fathers to show, which was not the case with many of the rabble that first flocked to the city. Others derive the title from *Patrocinium*, or Patronage, attributing the origin of the term to one Patron, who came over with Evander, and was re-

* There was no total eclipse of the sun in the first year of the second Olympiad, but in the second year of that Olympiad there was. If Romulus was conceived in the year last named, it will agree with the common opinion, that he was 18 years old when he founded Rome, and that Rome was founded in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

† There is great disagreement among historians and chronologers as to the year of the foundation of Rome. Varro places it in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, 752 years before the Christian era; and Fabius Pictor, who is the most ancient of all the Roman writers, and followed by the learned Usher, places it in the end of the seventh Olympiad, which, according to that prelate, was in the year of the world, 3256, and 748 before Christ. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Solinus, and Eusebius, place it in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

‡ Instead of this, Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us (lib. ii. p. 76.) the whole colony consisted of but 3300 men. These Romulus divided into three equal parts, which he called tribes or thirds, each of which was to be commanded by its præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten curiæ, and these subdivided into ten decuriæ. The number of houses, or rather huts, which was but a thousand, bears witness to the truth of Dionysius's assertion. But it is probable the mean rabble who took the protection of the asylum, and who might be very numerous, were not reckoned among the 3300 first colonists, though they were afterwards admitted to the privileges of citizens.

‖ The choice of these hundred persons was not made by the king himself: each tribe chose three senators, and each of the thirty curiæ the like number, which made in all the number of ninety-nine; so that Romulus named only the hundredth, who was

markable for his humanity and care of the distressed. But we shall be nearer the truth, if we conclude that Romulus styled them Patricians, as expecting these respectable persons would watch over those in humble stations with a paternal care and regard; and teaching the commonalty in their turn not to fear or envy the power of their superiors, but to behave to them with love and respect, both looking upon them as Fathers, and honouring them with that name. For, at this very time, foreign nations call the Senators Lords, but the Romans themselves call them Conscript Fathers, a style of greater dignity and honour, and withal much less invidious. At first, indeed, they were called Fathers only, but afterwards, when more were enrolled in their body, Conscript Fathers. With this venerable title, then, he distinguished the senate from the people. He likewise made another distinction between the nobility and the commons, calling the former Patrons, and the other Clients; which was the source of mutual kindness and many good offices between them. For the Patrons were to those they had taken under their protection, counsellors and advocates in their suits at law, and advisers and assistants on all occasions. On the other hand, the Clients failed not in their attentions, whether they were to be shown in deference and respect, or in providing their daughter's portions, or in satisfying their creditors, if their circumstances happened to be narrow. No law or magistrate obliged the Patron to be evidence against his Client, or the Client against his Patron. But, in after times, though the other claims continued in full force, it was looked upon as ungenerous for persons of condition to take money of those below them.

In the fourth month after the building of the city, as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine women was put in execution. Some say, Romulus himself, who was naturally warlike, and persuaded by certain oracles that the Fates had decreed Rome to obtain her greatness by military achievements, began hostilities against the Sabines, and seized only thirty virgins, being more desirous of war than of wives for his people. But this is not likely: for, as he saw his city soon filled with inhabitants, very few of which were married, the greatest part consisting of a mixed rabble of mean and obscure persons, to whom no regard was paid, and who were not expecting to settle in any place whatever, the enterprise naturally took that turn; and he hoped that from this attempt, though not a just one, some alliance and union with the Sabines would be obtained, when it appeared that they treated the women kindly. In order to this, he first gave out that he had found the altar of some god which had been covered with earth. This deity they called Consus, meaning either the god of counsel (for with them the word *consilium* has that

signification, and their chief magistrates afterwards were Consuls, persons who were to *consult the public good)*, or else the Equestrian Neptune; for the altar in the Circus Maximus is not visible at other times, but during the Circensian games it is uncovered. Some say it was proper that the altar of that god should be under ground, because counsel should be as private and secret as possible. Upon this discovery, Romulus, by proclamation, appointed a day for a splendid sacrifice, with public games and shows. Multitudes assembled at the time, and he himself presided, sitting among his nobles, clothed in purple. As a signal for the assault, he was to rise, gather up his robe, and fold it about him. Many of his people wore swords that day, and kept their eyes upon him, watching for the signal, which was no sooner given, than they drew them, and, rushing on with a shout, seized the daughters of the Sabines, but quietly suffered the men to escape. Some say only thirty were carried off, who each gave name to a tribe; but Valerius Antius makes their number five hundred and twenty-seven; and, according to Juba*, there were six hundred and eighty-three, all virgins. This was the best apology for Romulus; for they had taken but one married woman, named Hersilia, who was afterwards chiefly concerned in reconciling them; and her they took by mistake, as they were not incited to this violence by lust or injustice, but by their desire to conciliate and unite the two nations in the strongest ties. Some tell us Hersilia was married to Hostilius, one of the most eminent men among the Romans; others, that Romulus himself married her, and had two children by her; a daughter named Prima, on account of her being first-born, and an only son, whom he called Aollius, because of the great concourse of people who resorted to him, but in after-ages, Abillius. This account we have from Zenodotus of Trœzene, but he is contradicted in it by many other historians.

Among those that committed this rape, we are told, some of the meaner sort happened to be carrying off a virgin of uncommon beauty and stature: and when some of superior rank that met them attempted to take her from them, they cried out, they were conducting her to Talasius, a young man of excellent character. When they heard this, they applauded their design, and some even turned back and accompanied them with the utmost satisfaction, all the way exclaiming Talasius. Hence this became a term in the nuptial songs of the Romans, as Hymenæus is in those of the Greeks; for Talasius is said to have been very happy in marriage. But Sex-

* This was the son of Juba, king of Mauritania, who, being brought very young a captive to Rome, was instructed in the Roman and Grecian literature, and became an excellent historian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has followed his account.

tius Sylla, the Carthaginian, a man beloved both by the Muses and Graces, told me that this was the word which Romulus gave as a signal for the rape. All of them, therefore, as they were carrying off the virgins, cried out Talasius; and thence it still continues the custom at marriages. Most writers, however, and Juba in particular, are of opinion, that it is only an incitement to good housewifery and spinning, which the word *Talasia* signifies; Italian terms being at that time thus mixed with Greek. If this be right, and the Romans did then use the word *Talasia* in the same sense with the Greeks, another and more probable reason of the custom may be assigned. For when the Sabines, after the war with the Romans, were reconciled, conditions were obtained for the women, that they should not be obliged by their husbands to do any other work besides spinning. It was customary, therefore, ever after, that they who gave the bride, or conducted her home, or were present on the occasion, should cry out, amidst the mirth of the wedding, *Talasius;* intimating that she was not to be employed in any labour but that of spinning. And it is a custom still observed for the bride not to go over the threshold of her husband's house herself, but to be carried over, because the Sabine virgins did not go in voluntarily, but were carried in by violence. Some add that the bride's hair is parted with the point of a spear, in memory of the first marriages being brought about in a warlike manner, of which we have spoken more fully in the Book of Questions. This rape was committed on the eighteenth day of the month then called Sextilis, now August, at which time the feast of the Consualia is kept.

The Sabines were a numerous and warlike people, but they dwelt in unwalled towns, thinking it became them, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians, to be bold and fearless. But as they saw themselves bound by such pledges, and were very solicitous for their daughters, they sent ambassadors to Romulus with moderate and equitable demands: That he should return them the young women, and disavow the violence, and then the two nations should proceed to establish a correspondence, and contract alliances in a friendly and legal way. Romulus, however, refused to part with the young women, and entreated the Sabines to give their sanction to what had been done; whereupon some of them lost time in consulting and making preparations. But Acron, king of the Ceninensians, a man of spirit, and an able general, suspected the tendency of Romulus's first enterprises; and, when he had behaved so boldly in the rape, looked upon him as one that would grow formidable, and, indeed, insufferable to his neighbours, except he were chastised. Acron, therefore, went to seek the enemy, and

Romulus prepared to receive him. When they came in sight, and had well viewed each other, a challenge for single combat was mutually given, their forces standing under arms in silence. Romulus, on this occasion, made a vow, that if he conquered his enemy, he would himself dedicate his adversary's arms to Jupiter: in consequence of which, he both overcame Acron, and, after the battle was joined, routed his army, and took his city; but he did no injury to its inhabitants, unless it were such to order them to demolish their houses, and follow him to Rome, as citizens entitled to equal privileges with the rest. Indeed, there was nothing that contributed more to the greatness of Rome, than that she was always uniting and incorporating with herself those whom she conquered. Romulus having considered how he should perform his vow in the most acceptable manner to Jupiter, and withal make the procession most agreeable to his people, cut down a great oak that grew in the camp, and hewed it into the figure of a trophy; to this he fastened Acron's whole suit of armour, disposed in its proper form; then he put on his own robes, and wearing a crown of laurel on his head, his hair gracefully flowing, he took the trophy erect upon his right shoulder, and so marched on singing the song of victory before his troops, which followed completely armed, while the citizens received him with joy and admiration. This procession was the origin and model of future triumphs. The trophy was dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, so called from the Latin word *ferire** to smite; for Romulus had prayed that he might have power to smite his adversary, and kill him. Varro says this sort of spoils is termed *opima*†, from *opes*, which signifies riches; but, more probably, they are so styled from *opus*, the meaning of which is action; for when the general of an army kills the enemy's general with his own hand, then only is he allowed to consecrate the spoils called *opima*, as the sole performer of that action. This honour has been conferred only on three Roman chiefs; first on Romulus, when he slew Acron the Ceninensian; next, on Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan; and lastly, on Claudius Marcellus, when Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, fell by his hand. Cossus and Marcellus bore, indeed, the trophies themselves, but drove into Rome in triumphal chariots. But Dionysius is mistaken in saying that Romulus made use of a

* Or from the word *ferre*, to *carry*, because Romulus had himself carried to the temple of Jupiter the armour of the king he had killed; or, more probably, from the Greek word *pheretron*, which Livy calls in Latin *ferculum*, and which properly signifies a *trophy*.

† Festus derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces; so that *opima spolia*, according to that writer, signify rich spoils.

chariot; for some historians assert that Tarquinius, the son of Demaratus, was the first of the kings that advanced triumphs to this pomp and grandeur. Others say, Publicola was the first that led up his triumph in a chariot. However, there are statues of Romulus bearing these trophies yet to be seen in Rome, which are all on foot.

After the defeat of the Ceninenses, while the rest of the Sabines were busied in preparations, the people of Fidenæ, Crustumenium, and Antemnæ, united against the Romans. A battle ensued, in which they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be spoiled, their lands to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands thus acquired he distributed among the citizens, except what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in the possession of their former owners. The rest of the Sabines enraged at this, appointed Tatius their general, and carried war to the gates of Rome. The city was difficult of access, having a strong garrison on the hill where the Capitol now stands, commanded by Tarpeius, not by the virgin Tarpeia, as some say, who in this represent Romulus as a very weak man. However, this Tarpeia, the governor's daughter, charmed with the golden bracelets of the Sabines, betrayed the fort into their hands, and asked, in return for her treason, what they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreeing to the condition, she opened one of the gates by night, and let in the Sabines. It seems it was not the sentiment of Antigonus alone, who said, "He loved men while they "were betraying, but hated them when they had betrayed;" nor of Cæsar, who said, in the case of Rhymitalces the Thracian, "He "loved the treason, but hated the traitor;" but men are commonly affected towards villains, whom they have occasion for, just as they are towards venomous creatures, which they have need of for their poison and their gall. While they are of use they love them, but abhor them when their purpose is effected. Such were the sentiments of Tatius with regard to Tarpeia, when he ordered the Sabines to remember their promise, and to grudge her nothing which they had on their left arms. He was the first to take off his bracelet and throw it to her, and with that his shield. As every one did the same, she was overpowered by the gold and shields thrown upon her, and, sinking under the weight, expired. Tarpeius, too, was taken, and condemned by Romulus for treason, as Juba writes after Sulpitius Galba. As for the account given of Tarpeia by other writers, among whom Antigonus is one, it is absurd and incredible. They say that she was daughter to Tatius the Sabine general, and, being compelled to live with Romulus, she acted and suffered thus by her father's contrivance. But the poet Similus makes a most

egregious blunder, when he says Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines, but to the Gauls, having fallen in love with their king. Thus he writes,

> From her high dome, Tarpeia, wretched maid,
> To the fell Gauls, the Capitol betray'd;
> The hap'ess victim of unchaste desires,
> She lost the fortress of her scepter'd sires.

And a little after, concerning her death,

> No amorous Celt, no fierce Bavarian bore
> The fair Tarpeia to his stormy shore;
> Press'd by those shields whose splendour she admir'd,
> She sunk, and in the shining death expir'd.

From the place where Tarpeia was buried, the hill had the name of Tarpeian, till Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter, at which time her bones were removed, and so it lost her name, except that part of the Capitol from which malefactors are thrown down, which is still called the Tarpeian rock. The Sabines thus possessed of the fort, Romulus, in great fury, offered them battle, which Tatius did not decline, as he saw he had a place of strength to retreat to in case he was worsted; and, indeed, the spot on which he was to engage being surrounded with hills seemed to promise on both sides a sharp and bloody contest, because it was so confined, and the outlets were so narrow, that it was not easy either to fly or to pursue. It happened too, that a few days before, the river had overflowed, and left a deep mud on the plain where the Forum now stands, which, as it was covered with a crust, was not easily discoverable by the eye, but at the same time was soft underneath, and impracticable to pass. The Sabines, ignorant of this, were pushing forward into it, but by good fortune were prevented; for Curtius, a man of high distinction and spirit, being mounted on a good horse, advanced a considerable way before the rest. Presently his horse plunged into the slough, and for a while he endeavoured to disengage him, encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows, but, finding all ineffectual, he quitted him, and saved himself. From him the place to this very time is called the Curtian Lake. The Sabines, having escaped this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The victory inclined to neither side, though many were slain, and, among the rest, Hostilius, who, they say, was husband to Hersilia, and grandfather to that Hostilius who reigned after Numa. It is probable there were many other battles in a short time; but the most memorable was the last, in which Romulus having received a blow upon the head with a stone, was almost beaten down to the ground, and no longer able to oppose the enemy; then the Romans gave way, and were driven from the plain as far as the Pa-

latine Hill. By this time Romulus recovering from the shock, endeavoured by force to stop his men in their flight, and loudly called upon them to stand and renew the engagement; but when he saw the rout was general, and that no one had courage to face about, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and prayed to Jupiter to stop the army, and to re-establish and maintain the Roman cause, which was now in extreme danger. When the prayer was ended, many of the fugitives were struck with reverence for their king, and their fear was changed into courage. They first stopped where now stands the temple of Jupiter Stator, so called from his putting a stop to their flight. There they engaged again, and repulsed the Sabines as far as the palace now called Regia, and the temple of Vesta.

When they were preparing here to renew the combat, with the same animosity as at first, their ardour was repressed by an astonishing spectacle, which the powers of language are unable to describe. The daughters of the Sabines, that had been forcibly carried off, appeared rushing this way and that, with loud cries and lamentations, like persons distracted, amidst the drawn swords, and over the dead bodies, to come at their husbands and fathers; some carrying their infants in their arms, some darting forwards with dishevelled hair, but all calling by turns both upon the Sabines and the Romans by the tenderest names. Both parties were extremely moved, and room was made for them between the two armies. Their lamentations pierced to the utmost ranks, and all were deeply affected, particularly when their upbraiding and complaints ended in supplication and entreaty. "What great injury have we done you," said they, "that we have suffered, and do still suffer, so many miseries? We were carried off by those who now have us violently and illegally: After this violence we were so long neglected by our brothers, our fathers, and relations, that we were necessitated to unite in the strongest ties with those that were the objects of our hatred; and we are now brought to tremble for the men that had injured us so much, when we see them in danger, and to lament them when they fall: for you came not to deliver us from violence while virgins, or to avenge our cause, but now you tear the wives from their husbands, and the mothers from their children; an assistance more grievious to us than all your neglect and disregard. Such love we experienced from them, and such compassion from you. Were the war undertaken in some other cause, yet surely you would stop its ravages for us, who have made you fathers-in-law and grandfathers, or otherwise placed you in some near affinity to those whom you seek to destroy: but if the war be for us, take us, with your sons-in-law and their children, and restore us to our parents and kindred; but do not, we

beseech you, rob us of our children and husbands, lest we become captives again" Hersilia having said a great deal to this purpose, and others joining in the same request, a truce was agreed upon, and the generals proceeded to a conference. In the mean time, the women presented their husbands and children to their fathers and brothers, brought refreshments to those that wanted them, and carried the wounded home to be cured. Here they showed them that they had the ordering of their own houses, what attentions their husbands paid them, and with what respect and indulgence they were treated. Upon this a peace was concluded, the conditions of which were, that such of the women as chose to remain with their husbands should be exempt from all labour and drudgery, except spinning, as we have mentioned above; that the city should be inhabited by the Romans and Sabines in common, with the name of Rome, from Romulus; but that all the citizens, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines, and the country of Tatius, should be called Quirites; and that the regal power and the command of the army should be equally shared between them. The place where these articles were ratified is still called Comitium, from the Latin word *coire*, which signifies *to assemble.*

The city having doubled the number of its inhabitants, an hundred additional senators were elected from among the Sabines, and the legions were to consist of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse*. The people, too, were divided into three tribes, called Rhamnenses, from Romulus; Tatienses from Tatius; and Lucerenses, from the *Lucus* or Grove, where the asylum stood, whither many had fled, and were admitted citizens. That they were precisely three, appears from the very name of Tribes, and that of their chief officers, who were called Tribunes. Each tribe contained ten *Curiæ* or Wards, which some say were called after the Sabine women. But this seems to be false; for many of them have their names from the several quarters of the city which were assigned to them. Many honourable

* Ruauld, in his animadversions upon Plutarch, has discovered two considerable errors in this place. The first is, that Plutarch affirms there were 600 horse put by Romulus in every legion; whereas there never were, at any time, so many in any of the legions. For there were at first 200 horse in each legion; after that they rose to 300, and at last to 400, but never came up to 600. In the second place, he tells us, that Romulus made the legion to consist of 6000 foot; whereas, in his time, it was never more than 3000. It is said by some, that Marius was the first who raised the legion to 6000; but Livy informs us, that that augmentation was made by Scipio Africanus, long before Marius. After the expulsion of the kings, it was augmented from three to four thousand, and some time after to five, and at last by Scipio (as we have said) to six. But this was never done but upon pressing occasions. The stated force of a legion was 4000 foot, and 200 horse.

privileges, however, were conferred upon the women, some of which were these: That the men should give them the way, wherever they met them; that they should not mention an obscene word, or appear naked before them; that, in case of their killing any person, they should not be tried before the ordinary judges; and that their children should wear an ornament about their necks, called *Bulla**, from its likeness to a bubble, and a garment bordered with purple. The two kings did not presently unite their councils, each meeting, for some time, their hundred senators apart; but afterwards they all assembled together. Tatius dwelt where the temple of Moneta now stands, and Romulus by the steps from the Fair Shore, as they are called, at the descent of the Palatine Hill to the Great Circus. There, we are told, grew the sacred cornel-tree, the fabulous account of which is, that Romulus once, to try his strength, threw a spear, whose shaft was of cornel-wood, from Mount Aventine to that place; the head of which stuck so deep in the ground, that no one could pull it out, though many tried; and the soil being rich, so nourished the wood, that it shot forth branches, and became a trunk of cornel of considerable bigness. This posterity preserved with a religious care, as a thing eminently sacred, and therefore built a wall about it; and when any one that approached it saw it not very flourishing and green, but inclining to fade and wither, he presently proclaimd it to all he met, who, as if they were to assist in case of fire, cried out for water, and ran from all quarters with full vessels to the place. But when Caius Cæsar ordered the steps to be repaired, and the workmen were digging near it, it is said they inadvertently injured the roots in such a manner, that the tree withered away.

The Sabines received the Roman months. All that is of importance on this subject is mentioned in the life of Numa. Romulus, on the other hand, came into the use of their shields, making an alteration in his own armour, and that of the Romans, who before wore bucklers, in the manner of the Greeks. They mutually celebrated each other's feasts and sacrifices, not abolishing those of either nation, but over and above appointing some new ones; one of which is the Matronalia†, instituted in honour of the women, for

* The young men, when they took upon them the *Toga virilis*, or man's robe, quitted the *Bulla*, which is supposed to have been a little hollow ball of gold, and made an offering of it to the *Dii Lares*, or household gods. As to the *Prætexta*, or robe edged with purple, it was worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen. But what in the time of Romulus was a mark of distinction for the children of the Sabine women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the *Liberti*, or freed-men, wore it.

† During this feast, such of the Roman women as were married served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives

their putting an end to the war; and another, the Carmentalia*. Carmenta is by some supposed to be one of the Destinies who presides over human nativities; therefore she is particularly worshipped by mothers. Others say, she was wife to Evander the Arcadian, and a woman addicted to divination, who received inspirations from Apollo, and delivered oracles in verse; thence called Carmenta, for *Carmina* signifies *verse;* but her proper name, as is agreed on all hands, was Nicostrata. Others, again, with greater probability, assert, that the former name was given to her, because she was distracted with enthusiastic fury; for *carere mente* signifies *to be insane.* Of the feast of Palilia we have already given an account. As for the Lupercalia†, by the time, it should seem to be a feast of lustration; for it was celebrated on one of the inauspicious days of the month of February, which name denotes it to be the month of Purifying; and the day was formerly called Februata. But the true meaning of Lupercalia is the Feast of Wolves; and it seems, for that reason, to be very ancient, as received from the Arcadians, who came over with Evander. This is the general opinion. But the term may be derived from *Lupa,* a *she-wolf;* for we see the Luperci begin their course from the place where they say Romulus was exposed. However, if we consider the ceremonies, the reason of the name seems hard to guess: for, first, goats are killed; then two noblemen's sons are introduced, and some are to stain their foreheads with a bloody knife, others to wipe off the stain directly, with wool steeped in milk, which they bring for that purpose. When it is wiped off, the young men are to laugh. After this they cut the goats' skins in pieces, and run about all naked, except their middle, and lash with those thongs all they meet. The young women avoid not the stroke, as they think it assists conception and child-birth. Another thing proper to this feast is, for the Luperci to sacrifice a dog. Butas, who in his elegies has given a fabulous account of the origin of the Roman institutions, writes, that when Romulus had overcome Amulius, in the transports of victory, he ran with great speed to the place where the wolf suckled him and his brother when infants; and that this

in the time of the Saturnalia. As the festival of the Matronalia was not only observed in honour of the Sabine women, but consecrated to Mars, and, as some will have it, to Juno Lucina, sacrifices were offered to both these deities. This feast was the subject of Horace's ode, *Martiis cœlebs quid agam calendis,* &c. and Ovid describes it at large in the 3d Book of Fasti. Dacier says, by mistake, that this feast was kept on the first of April instead of the first of March, and the former English annotator has followed him.

* This is a very solemn feast, kept on the 11th of January, under the Capitol, near the Carmental gate. They begged of this goddess to render their women fruitful, and to give them happy deliveries.

† This festival was celebrated on the 11th of February, in honour of the god Pan.

feast is celebrated, and the young noblemen run in imitation of that action, striking all that are in their way:

> As the fam'd twins of Rome, Amulius slain,
> From Alba pour'd, and with their reeking swords
> Saluted all they met.

And the touching of the forehead with a bloody knife is a symbol of that slaughter and danger, as the wiping off the blood with milk is in memory of their first nourishment. But Caius Acilius relates, that before the building of Rome, Romulus and Remus having lost their cattle, first prayed to Faunus for success in the search of them, and they ran out naked to seek them, that they might not be incommoded with sweat; therefore the Luperci run about naked. As to the dog, if this be a feast of lustration, we may suppose it is sacrificed in order to be used in purifying; for the Greeks in their purifications make use of dogs, and perform the ceremonies which they call *Periskulakismoi*. But if these rites are observed in gratitude to the wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is with propriety they kill a dog, because it is an enemy to wolves; yet, perhaps, nothing more was meant by it than to punish that creature for disturbing the Luperci in their running.

Romulus is likewise said to have introduced the Sacred Fire, and to have appointed the holy virgins called Vestals*. Others attribute this to Numa, but allow that Romulus was remarkably strict in observing other religious rites, and skilled in divination, for which purpose he bore the *Lituus*. This is a crooked staff, with which those that sit to observe the flight of birds† describe the several quarters of the heavens. It was kept in the Capitol; but lost when Rome was taken by the Gauls; afterwards, when the barbarians had quitted it, it was found buried deep in ashes, untouched by the fire, whilst every thing about it was destroyed and consumed. Romulus also enacted some laws; amongst the rest that severe one, which forbids the wife in any case to leave her husband, but gives the husband power to divorce his wife, in case of her poisoning his children, or counterfeiting his keys, or being guilty of adultery. But, if on any other occasion, he put her away, she was to have one moiety of his goods, and the other was to be consecrated to Ceres; and whoever put away his wife was to make an atonement to the gods of the earth. It is something particular that Romulus appointed no punishment for actual parricides, but called all murder parricide, look-

* Plutarch means that Romulus was the first who introduced the Sacred Fire at Rome. That there were Vestal Virgins, however, before this at Alba, we are certain, because the mother of Romulus was one of them. The sacred and perpetual fire was not only kept up in Italy, but in Egypt, in Persia, in Greece, and in almost all nations.

† The Augurs.

ing upon this as abominable, and the other as impossible. For many ages, indeed, he seemed to have judged rightly; no one was guilty of that crime in Rome for almost six hundred years; and Lucius Ostius, after the wars of Hannibal, is recorded to have been the first that murdered his father.

In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some of his friends and kinsmen meeting certain ambassadors who were going from Laurentum to Rome, attempted to rob them on the road, and, as they would not suffer it, but stood in their own defence, killed them. As this was an atrocious crime, Romulus required that those who committed it should immediately be punished, but Tatius hesitated and put it off. This was the first occasion of any open variance between them; for till now they have behaved themselves as if directed by one soul, and the administration had been carried on with all possible unanimity. The relations of those that were murdered, finding they could have no legal redress from Tatius, fell upon him and slew him at Lavinium, as he was offering sacrifice with Romulus; but they conducted Romulus back with applause, as a prince who paid all proper regard to justice. To the body of Tatius he gave an honourable interment at Armilustrium*, on Mount Aventine; but he took no care to revenge his death on the persons that killed him. Some historians write, that the Laurentians in great terror gave up the murderers of Tatius; but Romulus let them go, saying, "Blood "with blood should be repaid." This occasioned a report, and indeed a strong suspicion, that he was not sorry to get rid of his partner in the government. None of these things, however, occasioned any disturbance or sedition among the Sabines; but partly out of regard for Romulus, partly out of fear of his power, or because they reverenced him as a god, they all continued well affected to him. This veneration for him extended to many other nations. The ancient Latins sent ambassadors, and entered into league and alliance with him. Fidenæ, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, he took, as some say, by sending a body of horse before, with orders to break the hinges of the gates, and then appearing unexpectedly in person. Others will have it, that the Fidenates first attacked and ravaged the Roman territories, and were carrying off considerable booty, when Romulus lay in ambush for them, cut many of them off, and took their city. He did not, however, demolish it, but made it a Roman colony, and sent into it two thousand five hundred inhabitants on the thirteenth of April.

* The place was so called, because of a ceremony of the same name, celebrated every year on the 19th of October, when the troops were mustered, and purified by sacrifices.

After this a plague broke out, so fatal, that people died of it without any previous sickness; while the scarcity of fruits, and barrenness of the cattle, added to the calamity. It rained blood too in the city; so that their unavoidable sufferings were increased with the terrors of superstition: and when the destruction spread itself to Laurentum, then all agreed it was for neglecting to do justice to the murderers of the ambassadors and of Tatius, that the divine vengeance pursued both cities. Indeed, when those murderers were given up and punished by both parties, their calamities visibly abated; and Romulus purified the city with lustrations, which, they tell us, are yet celebrated at the Ferentine gate. Before the pestilence ceased, the people of Cameria attacked the Romans, and overran the country, thinking them incapable of resistance by reason of the sickness. But Romulus soon met them in the field, gave them battle, in which he killed six thousand of them, took their city, and transplanted half its remaining inhabitants to Rome; adding, on the first of August, to those he left in Cameria, double their number from Rome: so many people had he to spare in about sixteen years time from the building of the city. Among other spoils, he carried from Cameria a chariot of brass, which he consecrated in the temple of Vulcan, placing upon it his own statue crowned by Victory.

His affairs thus flourishing, the weaker part of his neighbours submitted, satisfied if they could but live in peace: but the more powerful, dreading or envying Romulus, thought they should not by any means let him go unnoticed, but oppose and put a stop to his growing greatness. The Veientes, who had a strong city and extensive country*, were the first of the Tuscans who began the war, demanding Fidenæ as their property. But it was not only unjust, but ridiculous, that they who had given the people of Fidenæ no assistance in the greatest extremities, but had suffered them to perish, should challenge their houses and lands, now in the possession of other masters. Romulus, therefore, gave them a contemptuous answer; upon which they divided their forces into two bodies; one attacked the garrison of Fidenæ, and the other went to meet Romulus. That which went against Fidenæ defeated the Romans, and killed two thousand of them; but the other was beaten by Romulus, with the loss of more than eight thousand men. They gave battle, however, once more at Fidenæ, where all allow the victory was chiefly owing to Romulus himself, whose skill and courage were then remarkably displayed, and whose strength and swiftness appeared more than

* Veii, the capital of Tuscany, was situated on a craggy rock [illegible] one hundred furlongs from Rome; and is compared by Dionysius of Halicarnassus [illegible] Athens for extent and riches.

human. But what some report is entirely fabulous, and utterly incredible, that there fell that day fourteen thousand men, above half of whom Romulus slew with his own hand. For even the Messenians seem to have been extravagant in their boasts, when they tell us Aristomenes offered a hecatomb three several times, for having as often killed a hundred Lacedæmonians. After the Veientes were thus ruined, Romulus suffered the scattered remains to escape, and marched directly to their city. The inhabitants could not bear up after so dreadful a blow, but humbly suing for a peace, obtained a truce for a hundred years, by giving up a considerable part of their territory called Septempagium, which signifies a district of seven towns, together with the salt-pits by the river; besides which they delivered into his hand fifty of their nobility as hostages. He triumphed for this on the fifteenth of October, leading up, among many other captives, the general of the Veientes, a man in years, who seemed on this occasion not to have behaved with the prudence which might have been expected from his age. Hence it is that, to this day, when they offer a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the Forum to the Capitol; in a boy's robe, edged with purple, with a bulla about his neck; and the herald cries, "Sardians to be sold;" for the Tuscans are said to be a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuscany.

This was the last of the wars of Romulus. After this he behaved as almost all men do who rise by some great and unexpected good fortune to dignity and power; for, exalted with his exploits, and loftier in his sentiments, he dropped his popular affability, and assumed the monarch to an odious degree. He gave the first offence by his dress; his habit being a purple vest, over which he wore a robe bordered with purple. He gave audience in a chair of state. He had always about him a number of young men called Celeres*, from their dispatch in doing business; and before him went men with staves to keep off the populace, who also wore thongs of leather at their girdles, ready to bind directly any person he should order to be bound. This binding the Latins formerly called *ligare*, now *alligare;* whence those serjeants are called *Lictores*, and their rods *fasces;* for the sticks they used on that occasion were small; though, perhaps, at first they were called *Litores*, and afterwards, by putting in a *c*, *Lictores;* for they are the same that the Greeks called *Leitourgoi* (officers for the people); and *leitos* in Greek still signifies the *people*, but *laos* the *populace*.

When his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, though the crown

* Romulus ordered the Curiæ to choose him a guard of three hundred men, ten out of each Curiæ; and these he called Celeres, for the reason which Plutarch has assigned.

undoubtedly belonged to him, yet, to please the people, he left the administration in their own hands; and over the Sabines* (in Rome) he appointed yearly a particular magistrate; thus teaching the great men of Rome to seek a free commonwealth without a king, and by turns to rule and to obey; for now the patricians had no share in the government, but only an honourable title and appearance, assembling in the senate-house more for form than business. There, with silent attention, they heard the king give his orders, and differed only from the rest of the people in this, that they went home with the first knowledge of what was determined. This treatment they digested as well as they could; but when, of his own authority, he divided the conquered lands among the soldiers, and restored the Veientes their hostages, without the consent or approbation of the senate, they considered it as an intolerable insult. Hence arose strong suspicions against them, and Romulus soon after unaccountably disappeared. This happened on the 7th of July (as it is now called), then *Quintilis;* and we have no certainty of any thing about it but the time; various ceremonies being still performed on that day, with reference to the event. Nor need we wonder at this uncertainty, since, when Scipio Africanus was found dead in his house after supper, there was no clear proof of the manner of his death: for some say, that, being naturally infirm, he died suddenly; some, that he took poison; and others, that his enemies broke into his house by night, and strangled him. Besides, all were admitted to see Scipio's dead body, and every one, from the sight of it, had his own suspicion or opinion of the cause. But as Romulus disappeared on a sudden, and no part of his body or even his garments could be found, some conjectured that the senators, who were convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and killed him, after which each carried a part away under his gown. Others say, that his exit did not happen in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the senators only, but while he was holding an assembly of the people without the city, at a place called the Goat's Marsh. The air on that occasion was suddenly convulsed and altered in a wonderful manner; for the light of the sun failed, and they were involved in an astonishing darkness, attended on every side with dreadful thunderings and tempestuous winds. The multitude then dispersed and fled, but the nobility gathered into one body. When the tempest was over, and the light appeared again, the people returned to the same place, and a very anxious inquiry was made for the king; but the patricians would not suffer them to look closely into the matter. They com-

* Xylander and H. Stephanus are rationally enough of opinion, that instead of Sabines, we should read Albans; and so the Latin translator renders it.

manded them to honour and worship Romulus, who was caught up to heaven, and who, as he had been a gracious king, would be to the Romans a propitious deity. Upon this the multitude went away with great satisfaction, and worshipped him, in hopes of his favour and protection. Some, however, searching more minutely into the affair, gave the patricians no small uneasiness; they even accused them of imposing upon the people a ridiculous tale, when they had murdered the king with their own hands.

While things were in this disorder, a senator, we are told, of great distinction, and famed for sanctity of manners, Julius Proculus by name, who came from Alba with Romulus, and had been his faithful friend, went into the Forum, and declared, upon the most solemn oaths, before all the people, that as he was travelling on the road, Romulus met him, in a form more noble and august than ever, and clad in bright and dazzling armour. Astonished at the sight, he said to him, "For what misbehaviour of ours, O king, or by what accident, have you so untimely left us to labour under the heaviest calumnies, and the whole city to sink under inexpressible sorrow?" To which he answered, "It pleased the gods, my good Proculus, that we should dwell with men for a time; and after having founded a city which will be the most powerful and glorious in the world, return to heaven, from whence we came. Farewell then, and go tell the Romans, that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the highest pitch of human greatness, and I, the god Quirinus, will ever be propitious to you." This, by the character and oath of the relater, gained credit with the Romans, who were caught with the enthusiasm, as if they had been actually inspired; and, far from contradicting what they had heard, bade adieu to all their suspicions of the nobility, united in the deifying of Quirinus, and addressed their devotions to him. This is very like the Grecian fables concerning Aristeas the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes the Astypalesian. For Aristeas, as they tell us, expired in a fuller's shop; and when his friends came to take away the body, it could not be found. Soon after, some persons coming in from a journey, said they met Aristeas travelling towards Croton. As for Cleomedes, their account of him is, that he was a man of gigantic size and strength; but behaving in a foolish and frantic manner, he was guilty of many acts of violence. At last he went into a school, where he struck the pillar that supported the roof with his fist, and broke it asunder, so that the roof fell in and destroyed the children. Pursued for this, he took refuge in a great chest, and having shut the lid upon him, he held it down so fast, that many men together could not force it open: when they had cut the chest in pieces, they could not find him either dead or

alive. Struck with this strange affair, they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and had from the priestess this answer,

The race of heroes ends in Cleomedes.

It is likewise said that the body of Alcmena was lost as they were carrying it to the grave, and a stone was seen lying on the bier in its stead. Many such improbable tales are told by writers who wanted to deify beings naturally mortal. It is indeed impious and illiberal to leave nothing of divinity to virtue; but, at the same time, to unite heaven and earth in the same subject is absurd. We should therefore reject fables, when we are possessed of undeniable truths; for, according to Pindar,

The body yields to death's all-powerful summons,
While the bright image of eternity
Survives.

This alone is from the gods: from heaven it comes, and to heaven it returns; not indeed with the body; but when it is entirely set free and separate from the body, when it becomes disengaged from every thing sensual and unholy. For, in the language of Heraclitus, the pure soul is of superior excellence, darting from the body like a flash of lightning from a cloud; but the soul that is carnal and immersed in sense*, like a heavy and dank vapour, with difficulty is kindled and aspires. There is therefore no occasion, against nature, to send the bodies of good men to heaven; but we are to conclude, that virtuous souls, by nature and the divine justice, rise from men to heroes, from heroes to genii; and at last, if, as in the mysteries, they be perfectly cleansed and purified, shaking of all remains of mortality, and all the power of the passions, then they finally attain the most glorious and perfect happiness, and ascend from genii to gods, not by the vote of the people, but by the just and established order of nature†.

* Milton in his Comus, uses the same comparison; for which, however, he is indebted rather to Plato than to Plutarch.

..... The lavish act of sin
Lets in defilement to the inward parts.
The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being.
Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres,
Ling'ring and sitting by a new-made grave,
As loath to leave the body that it lov'd,
And links itself by carnal sensuality
To a degenerate and degraded state.

† Hesiod was the first who distinguished those four natures, men, heroes, genii, and gods. He saw room, it seems, for perpetual progression and improvement in a state of

The surname that Romulus had of Quirinus, some think, was given him as (another) Mars; others, because they call the Roman citizens Quirites; others, again, because the ancients gave the name of Quiris to the point of a spear, or to the spear itself; and that of Juno Quiritis to the statues of Juno, when she was represented leaning on a spear. Moreover, they styled a certain spear, which was consecrated in the palace, Mars; and those that distinguished themselves in war were rewarded with a spear. Romulus, then, as a martial or warrior god, was named Quirinus; and the hill on which his temple stands has the name of Quirinalis on his account. The day on which he disappeared is called *the flight of the people*, and *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, because then they go out of the city to offer sacrifice at the Goat's Marsh. On this occasion they pronounce aloud some of their proper names, Marcus and Caius for instance, representing the flight that then happened, and their calling upon one another amidst the terror and confusion. Others, however, are of opinion that this is not a representation of flight, but of haste and eagerness, deriving the ceremony from this source: when the Gauls, after the taking of Rome, were driven out by Camillus, and the city, thus weakened, did not easily recover itself, many of the Latins, under the conduct of Livius Posthumius, marched against it. This army, sitting down before Rome, a herald was sent to signify, that the Latins were desirous to renew their old alliance and affinity, which was now declining, by new intermarriages. If, therefore, they would send them a good number of their virgins and widows, peace and friendship should be established between them, as it was before with the Sabines on the like occasion. When the Romans heard this, though they were afraid of war, yet they looked upon the giving up of their women as not at all more eligible than captivity. While they were in this suspense, a servant-maid, named Philotis, or, according to others, Tutola, advised them to do neither, but, by a stratagem which she had thought of, to avoid both the war and the giving of hostages. The stratagem was to dress Philotis herself, and other handsome female slaves, in good attire, and send them, instead of free-born virgins, to the enemy. Then, in the night, Philotis was to light up a torch (as a signal) for the Romans to attack the enemy, and dispatch them in their sleep. The Latins were satisfied, and the scheme put in practice. For, accordingly, Philotis did set up a torch on a wild fig-tree, screening it behind with curtains and coverlets from the sight of the enemy, whilst it

immortality. And when the heathens tell us, that before the last degree, that of divinity, is reached, those beings are liable to be replunged into their primitive state of darkness, one would imagine they had heard something of the fallen angels.

was visible to the Romans. As soon as they beheld it, they set ou in great haste, often calling upon each other at the gates to be expeditious. Then they fell upon the Latins, who expected nothing less, and cut them in pieces. Hence this feast in memory of the victory. The day was called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, on account of the *wild fig-tree*, in the Roman tongue *caprificus*. The women are entertained in the fields in booths made of the branches of the fig-tree; and the servant maids in companies run about and play; afterwards they come to blows, and throw stones at one another, in remembrance of their then assisting and standing by the Romans in battle These particulars are admitted but by few historians. Indeed, their calling upon each other's names in the day-time, and their walking in procession to the *Goat's Marsh*, like persons that were going to a sacrifice, seems rather to be placed to the former account: though possibly both these events might happen, in distant periods, on the same day. Romulus is said to have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign, when he was taken from the world.

ROMULUS AND THESEUS COMPARED.

THIS is all I have met with that deserves to be related concerning Romulus and Theseus. And to come to the comparison*, first it appears, that Theseus was inclined to great enterprises by his own proper choice, and compelled by no necessity, since he might have reigned in peace at Trœzene, over a kingdom by no means contemptible, which would have fallen to him by succession: whereas Romulus, in order to avoid present slavery and impending punishment, became valiant (as Plato expresses it) through fear, and was driven, by the terror of extreme sufferings, to arduous attempts Besides, the greatest action of Romulus was the killing of one tyran in Alba: but the first exploits of Theseus, performed occasionally and by way of prelude only, were those of destroying Sciron, Sinnis Procrustes, and the *club-bearer;* by whose punishment and death he delivered Greece from several cruel tyrants, before they, for whose preservation he was labouring, knew him. Moreover, he might have gone safely to Athens by sea, without any danger from robbers But Romulus could have no security while Amulius lived. This difference is evident. Theseus, when unmolested himself, went

* Nothing can be more excellent than these parallels of Plutarch. He weighs the virtues and vices of men in so just a balance, and puts so true an estimate on their good and bad qualities, that the reader cannot attend to them without infinite advantage.

forth to rescue others from their oppressors. On the other hand, Romulus and his brother, while they were uninjured by the tyrant themselves, quietly suffered him to exercise his cruelties. And, if it was a great thing for Romulus to be wounded in the battle with the Sabines, to kill Acron, and to conquer many other enemies, we may set against these distinctions the battle with the Centaurs, and the war with the Amazons.

But as to Theseus's enterprise with respect to the Cretan tribute, when he voluntarily offered to go among the young men and virgins, whether he was to expect to be food for some wild beast, or to be sacrificed at Androgeus's tomb, or, which is the lightest of all the evils said to be prepared for him, to submit to a vile and dishonourable slavery, it is not easy to express his courage and magnanimity, his regard for justice and the public good, and his love of glory and of virtue. On this occasion, it appears to me, that the philosophers have not ill defined *love* to be *a remedy provided by the gods for the safety and preservation of youth.* For Ariadne's love seems to have been the work of some god, who designed by that means to preserve this great man. Nor should we blame her for her passion, but rather wonder that all were not alike affected towards him. And if she alone was sensible of that tenderness, I may justly pronounce her worthy the love of a god, as she showed so great a regard for virtue and excellence in her attachment to so worthy a man.

Both Theseus and Romulus were born with political talents; yet neither of them preserved the proper character of a king, but deviated from the due medium; the one erring on the side of democracy, the other on that of absolute power, according to their different tempers. For a prince's first concern is to preserve the government itself: and this is effected no less by avoiding whatever is improper, than by cultivating what is suitable to his dignity. *He who gives up or extends his authority, continues not a prince or a king, but degenerates into a republican or a tyrant,* and thus incurs either the hatred or contempt of his subjects. The former seems to be the error of a mild and humane disposition, the latter of self-love and severity.

If, then, the calamities of mankind are not to be entirely attributed to fortune, but we are to seek the cause in their different manners and passions, here we shall find, that unreasonable anger, with quick and unadvised resentment, is to be imputed both to Romulus in the case of his brother, and to Theseus in that of his son. But, if we consider whence their anger took its rise, the latter seems the more excusable, from the greater cause he had for resentment, as yielding to the heavier blow. For, as the dispute began when Romulus was in cool consultation for the common good, one would think he could

not presently have given way to such a passion: whereas Theseus was urged against his son by emotions which few men have been able to withstand, proceeding from love, jealousy, and the false suggestions of his wife. What is more, the anger of Romulus discharged itself in an action of most unfortunate consequence; but that of Theseus proceeded no farther than words, reproaches, and imprecations, the usual revenge of old men. The rest of the young man's misery seems to have been owing to fortune. Thus far Theseus seems to deserve the preference.

But Romulus has, in the first place, this great advantage, that he rose to distinction from very small beginnings. For the two brothers were reputed slaves and sons of herdsmen; and yet before they attained to liberty themselves, they bestowed it on almost all the Latins; gaining at once the most glorious titles, as destroyers of their enemies, deliverers of their kindred, kings of nations, and founders of cities, not transplanters, as Theseus was, who filled indeed one city with people, but it was by ruining many others which bore the names of ancient kings and heroes. And Romulus afterwards effected the same, when he compelled his enemies to demolish their habitations, and incorporate with their conquerors. He had not, however, a city ready built, to enlarge, or to transplant inhabitants to from other towns, but he created one, gaining to himself lands, a country, a kingdom, children, wives, alliances; and this without destroying or ruining any one. On the contrary, he was a great benefactor to persons who, having neither house nor habitation, willingly became his citizens and people. He did not, indeed, like Theseus, destroy robbers and ruffians, but he subdued nations, took cities, and triumphed over kings and generals.

As for the fate of Remus, it is doubtful by what hand he fell; most writers ascribing it to others, and not to Romulus. But, in the face of all the world, he saved his mother from destruction, and placed his grandfather, who lived in mean and dishonourable subjection, upon the throne of Æneas: moreover, he voluntarily did him many kind offices, but never injured him, not even inadvertently. On the other hand, I think, Theseus, in forgetting or neglecting the command about the sail, can scarcely, by any excuses, or before the mildest judges, avoid the imputation of parricide. Sensible how difficult the defence of this affair would be to those who should attempt it, a certain Athenian writer feigns, that when the ship approached, Ægeus ran in great haste to the citadel for the better view of it, and missing his step, fell down; as if he were destitute of servants, or went, in whatever hurry, unattended to the sea.

Moreover, Theseus's rapes and offences, with respect to women,

admit of no plausible excuse, because, in the first place, they were committed often; for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the Trœzenian; after the rest, Helen; though she was a girl not yet come to maturity, and he so far advanced in years, that it was time for him to think no more even of lawful marriage. The next aggravation is the cause; for the daughters of the Trœzenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Amazons, were not more fit to bring children than those of the Athenians sprung from Erectheus and Cecrops. These things, therefore, are liable to the suspicion of a wanton and licentious appetite. On the other hand, Romulus having carried off at once almost eight hundred women, did not take them all, but only Hersilia, as it is said, for himself, and distributed the rest among the most respectable citizens. And afterwards, by the honourable and affectionate treatment he procured them, he turned that injury and violence into a glorious exploit, performed with a political view to the good of society. Thus he united and cemented the two nations together, and opened a source of future kindness, and of additional power. Time bears witness to the conjugal modesty, tenderness, and fidelity, which he established; for, during two hundred and thirty years, no man attempted to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband. And as the very curious among the Greeks can tell you who was the first person that killed his father and mother, so all the Romans know that Spurius Carvilius was the first that divorced his wife, alleging her barrenness. The immediate effects, as well as length of time, attest what I have said. For the two kings shared the kingdom, and the two nations came under the same government, by means of these alliances. But the marriages of Theseus procured the Athenians no friendship with any other state; on the contrary, enmity, wars, the destruction of their citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnæ; which, only through the compassion of the enemy, whom the indabitants supplicated and honoured like gods, escaped the fate that befel Troy by means of Paris. However, the mother of Theseus, deserted and given up by her son, was not only in danger of, but really did suffer, the misfortunes of Hecuba, if her captivity be not a fiction, as a great deal besides may very well be. As to the stories we have concerning both, of a supernatural kind, the difference is great. For Romulus was preserved by the signal favour of heaven; but as the oracle, which commanded Ægeus not to approach any woman in a foreign country, was not observed, the birth of Theseus appears to have been unacceptable to the gods.

LYCURGUS.

OF Lycurgus the lawgiver we have nothing to relate that is certain and uncontroverted. For there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and especially of the laws and form of government which he established. But least of all are the times agreed upon in which this great man lived. For some say he flourished at the same time with Iphitus*, and joined with him in settling the cessation of arms during the Olympic games. Among these is Aristotle the philosopher, who alleges for proof an Olympic quoit, on which was preserved the inscription of Lycurgus's name. But others, who, with Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, compute the time by the successions of the Spartan kings, place him much earlier than the first Olympiad. Timæus, however, supposes that, as there were two Lycurguses in Sparta at different times, the actions of both are ascribed to one, on account of his particular renown; and that the more ancient of them lived not long after Homer: nay, some say he had seen him. Xenophon, too, confirms the opinion of his antiquity, when he makes him cotemporary with the Heraclidæ. It is true, the latest of the Lacedæmonian kings were of the lineage of the Heraclidæ; but Xenophon there seems to speak of the first and more immediate descendants of Hercules. As the history of those times is thus involved, in relating the circumstances of Lycurgus's life, we shall endeavour to select such as are least controverted, and follow authors of the greatest credit.

Simonides, the poet, tells us, that Prytanis, not Eunomus, was father to Lycurgus. But most writers give us the genealogy of Lycurgus and Eunomus in a different manner; for, according to them, Soüs was the son of Patrocles, and grandson of Aristodemus; Eurytion the son of Soüs, Prytanis of Eurytion, and Eunomus of Pry-

* Iphitus, king of Elis, is said to have instituted, or rather restored, the Olympic games, 108 years before what is commonly reckoned the first Olympiad, which commenced in the year before Christ 776, or, as some will have it, 774, and bore the name of Corœbus, as the following Olympiads did those of other victors.

Iphitus began with offering a sacrifice to Hercules, whom the Eleans believed to have been upon some account exasperated against them. He next ordered the Olympic games, (the discontinuance of which was said to have caused a pestilence), to be proclaimed all over Greece, with a promise of free admission to all comers; and fixed the time for the celebration of them. He likewise took upon himself to be sole president and judge of those games, a privilege which the Piseans had often disputed with his predecessors, and which continued to his descendants, as long as the regal dignity subsisted. After this, the people appointed two presidents, which in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve,

tanis; to this Eunomus was born Polydectes, by a former wife, and by a second, named Dianassa, Lycurgus. Eutychidas, however, says Lycurgus, was the sixth from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. The most distinguished of his ancestors was Soüs, under whom the Lacedæmonians made the *Helotes* their slaves*, and gained an extensive track of land from the Arcadians. Of this Soüs it is related, that, being besieged by the Clitorians in a difficult post where there was no water, he agreed to give up all his conquests, provided that himself and all his army should drink of the neighbouring spring. When these conditions were sworn to, he assembled his forces, and offered his kingdom to the man that would forbear drinking; not one of them, however, could deny himself, but they all drank. Then Soüs went down to the spring himself, and having only sprinkled his face in sight of the enemy, he marched off, and still held the country, because *all* had not drank. Yet, though he was highly honoured for this, the family had not their name from him, but, from his son, were called *Eurytionidæ*†: and this, because Eurytion seems to be the first who relaxed the strictness of kingly government, inclining to the interest of the people, and ingratiating himself with them. Upon this relaxation, their encroachments increased, and the succeeding kings either becoming odius, treating them with greater rigour, or else giving way through weakness, or in hopes of favour, for a long time anarchy and confusion prevailed in Sparta; by which one of its kings, the father of Lycurgus, lost his life. For, while he was endeavouring to part some persons who were concerned in a fray, he received a wound by a kitchen-knife, of which he died, leaving the kingdom to his eldest son, Polydectes.

* The Helotes, or Ilotes, were inhabitants of Helos, a maritime town of Laconia. The Lacedæmonians having conquered and made slaves of them, called not only them, but all the other slaves they happened to have, by the name of *Helotes*. It is certain, however, that the descendants of the original *Helotes*, though they were extremely ill treated, and some of them assassinated, sibsisted many ages in Laconia.

† It may be proper here to give the reader a short view of the regal government of Lacedæmon under the Herculean line. The Heraclidæ having driven out Tisamenes, the son of Orestes, Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus, reigned in that kingdom. Under them the government took a new form, and, instead of one sovereign, became subject to two. These two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, neither did they agree to reign alternately, but they resolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority. What is surprising is, that, notwithstanding their mutual jealousy, this diarchy did not end with these two brothers, but continued under a succession of thirty princes of the line of Eurysthenes, and twenty-seven of that of Procles. Eurysthenes was succeeded by his son Agis, from whom all the descendants of that line were surnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ*, from Eurytion, the grandson of Procles, Patrocles, or Protocles.—*Pausan. Strab. et al.*

But he, too, dying soon after, the general voice gave it for Lycurgus to ascend the throne; and he actually did so, till it appeared that his brother's widow was pregnant. As soon as he perceived this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her issue, provided it were male, and he kept the administration in his hands only as his guardian. This he did with the title of *Prodicos*, which the Lacedæmonians give to the guardians of infant kings. Soon after the queen made him a private overture, that she would destroy her child upon condition that he would marry her when king of Sparta. Though he detested her wickedness, he said nothing against her proposal, but, pretending to approve it, charged her not to take any drugs to procure an abortion, lest she should endanger her own health or life; for he would take care that the child, as soon as born, should be destroyed. Thus he artfully drew on the woman to her full time, and, when he heard she was in labour, he sent persons to attend and watch her delivery, with orders, if it were a girl, to give it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, in whatever business he might be engaged. It happened that he was at supper with the magistrates when she was delivered of a boy, and his servants, who were present, carried the child to him. When he received it, he is reported to have said to the company, *Spartans, see here your new-born king*. He then laid him down upon the chair of state, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy and admiration of his magnanimity and justice testified by all present. Thus the reign of Lycurgus lasted only eight months. But the citizens had a great veneration for him on other accounts, and there were more that paid him their attentions, and were ready to execute his commands, out of regard to his virtues, than those that obeyed him as a guardian to the king, and director of the administration. There were not, however, wanting those that envied him, and opposed his advancement, as too high for so young a man; particularly the relations and friends of the queen-mother, who seemed to have been treated with contempt. Her brother Leonidas one day boldly attacked him with virulent language, and scrupled not to tell him, that he was well assured he would soon be king; thus preparing suspicions and matter of accusation against Lycurgus, in case any accident should befal the king. Insinuations of the same kind were likewise spread by the queen-mother. Moved with this ill treatment, and fearing some dark design, he determined to get clear of all suspicion by travelling into other countries, till his nephew should be grown up, and have a son to succeed him in the kingdom.

He set sail, therefore, and landed in Crete. There, having observed the forms of government, and conversed with the most il-

lustrious personages, he was struck with admiration of some of their laws, and resolved, at his return, to make use of them in Sparta. Some others he rejected. Among the friends he gained in Crete was Thales, with whom he had interest enough to persuade him to go and settle at Sparta. Thales was famed for his wisdom and political abilities: he was withal a Lyric poet, who, under colour of exercising his art, performed as great things as the most excellent lawgivers. For his odes were so many persuasives to obedience and unanimity; as, by means of melody and numbers, they had great grace and power, they softened insensibly the manners of the audience, drew them off from the animosities which then prevailed, and united them in zeal for excellence and virtue. So that, in some measure, he prepared the way for Lycurgus towards the instruction of the Spartans. From Crete, Lycurgus passed to Asia, desirous, as it is said, to compare the Ionian expense and luxury with the Cretan frugality and hard diet, so as to judge what effect each had on their several manners and governments; just as physicians compare bodies that are weak and sickly with the healthy and robust. There also, probably, he met with Homer's poems, which were preserved by the posterity of Cleophylus. Observing that many moral sentences and much political knowledge were intermixed with his stories, which had an irresistible charm, he collected them into one body, and transcribed them with pleasure, in order to take them home with him. For his glorious poetry was not yet fully known in Greece; only some particular pieces were in a few hands, as they happened to be dispersed. Lycurgus was the first that made them generally known. The Egyptians likewise suppose that he visited *them;* and as of all their institutions he was most pleased with their distinguishing the military men from the rest of the people*, he took the same method at Sparta, and, by separating from these the mechanics and artificers, he rendered the constitution more noble and more of a piece. This assertion of the Egyptians is confirmed by some of the Greek writers. But we know of no one, except Aristocrates, son of Hipparchus, and a Spartan, who has affirmed that he went to Lybia and Spain, and in his Indian excursion conversed with the *Gymnosophists.*

The Lacedæmonians found the want of Lycurgus when absent, and sent many embassies to entreat him to return. For they perceived that their kings had barely the title and outward appendages of

* The ancient Egyptians, kept not only the priests and military men, who consisted chiefly of the nobility, distinct from the rest of the people, but the other employments, viz. those of herdsmen, shepherds, merchants, interpreters, and seamen, descended in particular tribes from father to son.

royalty, but in nothing else differed from the multitude: whereas Lycurgus had abilities from nature to guide the measures of government, and powers of persuasion, that drew the hearts of men to him. The kings, however, were consulted about his return, and they hoped that in his presence they should experience less insolence amongst the people. Returning then to a city thus disposed, he immediately applied himself to alter the whole frame of the constitution; sensible that a partial change, and the introducing of some new laws, would be of no sort of advantage; but, as in the case of a body diseased and full of bad humours, whose temperament is to be corrected and new-formed by medicines, it was necessary to begin a new regimen. With these sentiments he went to Delphi, and when he had offered sacrifice and consulted the god, he returned with that celebrated oracle, in which the priestess called him, *Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man.* As to his request that he might enact good laws, she told him, *Apollo had heard his request, and promised that the constitution he should establish, would be the most excellent in the world.* Thus encouraged, he applied to the nobility, and desired them to put their hands to the work; addressing himself privately at first to his friends, and afterwards, by degrees, trying the disposition of others, and preparing them to concur in the business. When matters were ripe, he ordered thirty of the principal citizens to appear armed in the market-place by break of day, to strike terror into such as might desire to oppose him. Hermippus has given us the names of twenty of the most eminent of them; but he that had the greatest share in the whole enterprise, and gave Lycurgus the best assistance in the establishing of his laws, was called Arithmiades. Upon the first alarm, king Charilaus, apprehending it to be a design against his person, took refuge in the *Chalcioicos**. But he was soon satisfied, and accepted of their oath. Nay, so far from being obstinate, he joined in the undertaking. Indeed, he was so remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition, that Archelaus, his partner in the throne, is reported to have said to some that were praising the young king, *Yes, Charilaus is a good man, to be sure, who cannot find in his heart to punish the bad.* Among the many new institutions of Lycurgus, the first and most important was that of a *senate*; which sharing, as Plato says, in the power of the kings, too imperious and unrestrained before, and having equal authority with them, was the means of keeping them within the bounds of moderation, and highly contributed to the preservation of the state; for, before, it had been veering and unsettled, sometimes inclining to arbitrary

* That is, the *brazen temple.* It was standing in the time of Pausanias, who lived in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.

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power, and sometimes towards a pure democracy; but this establishment of a senate and intermediate body, like ballast, kept it in a just equilibrium, and put it in a safe posture; *the twenty-eight senators adhering to the kings, whenever they saw the people too encroaching, and, on the other hand, supporting the people, when the kings attempted to make themselves absolute.* This, according to Aristotle, was the number of senators fixed upon, because two of the thirty associates of Lycurgus deserted the business through fear. But Sphærus tells us, there were only twenty-eight at first intrusted with the design. Something, perhaps, there is in its being a perfect number, formed of seven multiplied by four, and withal the first number after six, that is equal to all its parts. But I rather think just so many senators were created, that, together with the two kings, the whole body might consist of thirty members.

He had this institution so much at heart, that he obtained from Delphi an oracle in its behalf, called *Rhetra*, or the *decree.* This was couched in very ancient and uncommon terms, which, interpreted, ran thus: *When you have built a temple to the Syllanian Jupiter, and the Syllanian Minerva*; divided the people into tribes and classes; and established a senate of thirty persons, including the two kings, you shall occasionally summon the people to an assembly between Babyce and Cnacion, and they shall have the determining voice.* Babyce and Cnacion are now called Oenus: but Aristotle thinks, by Cnacion is meant the river, and by Babyce the bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls, nor any kind of building for that purpose. These things he thought of no advantage to their councils, but rather a disservice, as they distracted the attention, and turned it upon trifles, on observing the statues and pictures, the splendid roofs, and every other theatrical ornament. The people thus assembled had no right to propose any subject of debate, and were only authorized to ratify or reject what might be proposed to them by the senate and the kings. But because, in process of time, the people, by additions or retrenchments, changed the terms, and perverted the sense of the decrees, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted in the *rhetra* this clause: *If the people attempt to corrupt any law, the senate and chiefs shall retire;* that is, they shall dissolve the assembly, and annul the alterations. And they found means to persuade the Spartans that this, too, was ordered by Apollo, as we learn from these verses of Tyrtæus:

* As no account can be given of the meaning of the word *Syllanian*, is is supposed it should be either read *Sellasian*, from Sellasia, a town of Laconia upon the Eurotas, or else *Hollantan*, as much as to say, the Grecian Jupiter, &c.

Ye sons of Sparta, who at Phœbus' shrine
Your humble vows prefer, attentive hear
The god's decision. O'er your beauteous lands,
Two guardian kings, a senate and the voice
Of the concurring people, lasting laws
Shall with joint power establish.

Though the government was thus tempered by Lycurgus, yet soon after it degenerated into an oligarchy, whose power was exercised with such wantonness and violence, that it wanted indeed a bridle, as Plato expresses it. This curb they found in the authority of the *Ephori**, about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. Elatus was the first invested with this dignity, in the reign of Theopompus, who, when his wife upbraided him that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied, *Nay, but greater, because more lasting*. And, in fact, the prerogative, so stripped of all extravagant pretensions, no longer occasioned either envy or danger to its possessors. By these means they escaped the miseries which befel the Messenian and Argive kings, who would not in the least relax the severity of their power in favour of the people. Indeed, from nothing more does the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus appear, than from the disorderly governments, and the bad understanding that subsisted between the kings and people of Messene and Argos, neighbouring states, and related in blood to Sparta; for, as at first they were in all respects equal to her, and

* Herodotus (l. i. c. 65.) and Xenophon (*de Repub. Lac.*) tell us, the *Ephori* were appointed by Lycurgus himself. But the account which Plutarch gives us from Aristole, (*Polit.* l. v.) and others, of their being instituted long after, seems more agreeable to reason; for it is not likely that Lycurgus, who in all things endeavoured to support the aristocracy, and left the people only the right of assenting or dissenting to what was proposed to them, would appoint a kind of tribunes of the people to be masters, as it were, both of the kings and the senate. Some, indeed, suppose the *Ephori* to have been at first the king's friends, to whom they delegated their authority, when they were obliged to be in the field. But it is very clear that they were elected by the people out of their own body, and sometimes out of the very dregs of it; for the boldest citizen, whoever he was, was most likely to be chosen to this office, which was intended as a check on the senate and the kings. They were five in number, like the *Quinqueviri* in the republic of Carthage. They were annually elected; and, in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite. Their authority, though well designed at first, came at length to be in a manner boundless. They presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces to be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state. They likewise held a court of justice, inquired into the conduct of all magistrates, inspected into the behaviour and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and, in short, by degrees, drew the whole administration into their hands. They even went so far as to put king Agis to death under a form of justice, and were themselves at last killed by Cleomenes.

possessed of a better country, and yet preserved no lasting happiness, but, through the insolence of the kings, and disobedience of the people, were harassed with perpetual troubles, they made it very evident that it was really a felicity more than human, a blessing from heaven to the Spartans, to have a legislator who knew so well how to frame and temper their government. But this was an event of a later date.

A second and bolder political enterprise of Lycurgus, was a new division of the lands; for he found a prodigious inequality; the city overcharged with many indigent persons who had no land, and the wealth centered in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and those distempers of a state still more inveterate and fatal, I mean poverty and riches, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living. Hence, if they were ambitious of distinction, they might seek it in virtue, as no other difference was left between them, but that which arises from the dishonour of base actions and the praise of good ones. His proposal was put in practice. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. But some say he made only six thousand shares for the city, and that Polydorus added three thousand afterwards: others, that Polydorus doubled the number appointed by Lycurgus, which were only four thousand five hundred. Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy bushels of grain for each man*, and twelve for each woman, besides a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. Such a provision they thought sufficient for health, and a good habit of body, and they wanted nothing more. A story goes of our legislator, that some time after, returning from a journey through the fields just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled, and said to some that were by, *How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers!*

After this, he attempted to divide also the moveables, in order to take away all appearance of inequality; but he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore took another method, counter-working their avarice by a stratagem. First, he stopped the currency of the gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only: then, to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a

* By a man is meant a master of a family, whose household was to subsist upon these seventy bushels.

very small value; so that to lay up ten *minæ**, a whole room was required; and to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedæmon. Who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob, when he could not conceal the booty, when he could neither be dignified by the possession of it, nor, if cut in pieces, be served by its use? For we are told that when hot they quenched it in vinegar to make it brittle and unmalleable, and consequently unfit for any other service. In the next place, he excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts: indeed, if he had not done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised; so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares; nor did any merchant-ship unlade in their harbours. There were not even to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it died away of itself. Even they who had great possessions had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie useless in unregarded repositories. Hence it was, that excellent workmanship was shown in their useful and necessary furniture, as beds, chairs, and tables; and the Lacedæmonian cup called *Cothon*, as Critias informs us was highly valued, particularly in campaigns; for the water which must then of necessity be drank, though it would often otherwise offend the sight, had its muddiness concealed by the colour of the cup, and the thick part stopping at the shelving brim, it came clearer to the lips. Of these improvements the lawgiver was the cause; for the workmen, having no more employment in matters of mere curiosity, showed the excellence of their art in necessary things.

Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and exterminate the love of riches, he introduced a third institution, which was wisely enough and ingeniously contrived. This was the use of public tables, where all were to eat in common of the same meat, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. At the same time they were forbidden to eat at home upon expensive couches and tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or to fatten like voracious animals in private; for so not only their manners would be corrupted, but their bodies disordered; abandoned to all manner of sensuality and dissoluteness, they would require long sleep, warm

* Thirty two pounds five shillings and ten-pence sterling.

baths, and the same indulgence as in perpetual sickness. To effect this was certainly very great; but it was greater still to secure riches from rapine and from envy, as Theophrastus expresses it; or rather by their eating in common, and by the frugality of their table, to take from riches their very being: For what use or enjoyment of them; what peculiar display of magnificence could there be, where the poor man went to the same refreshment with the rich? Hence the observation, that it was only at Sparta where *Plutus* (according to the proverb) was kept blind, and, like an image, destitute of life or motion. It must further be observed, that they had not the privilege to eat at home, and so to come without appetite to the public repast. They made a point of it to observe any one that did not eat and drink with them, and to reproach him as an intemperate and effeminate person that was sick of the common diet.

The rich, therefore, (we are told) were more offended with this regulation than with any other, and, rising in a body, they loudly expressed their indignation; nay, they proceeded so far as to assault Lycurgus with stones, so that he was forced to fly from the assembly, and take refuge in a temple. Unhappily, however, before he reached it, a young man named Alcander, hasty in his resentments, though not otherwise ill-tempered, came up with him, and, upon his turning round, struck out one of his eyes with a stick. Lycurgus then stopped short, and, without giving way to passion, showed the people his eye beat out, and his face streaming with blood. They were so struck with shame and horror at the sight, that they surrendered Alcander to him, and conducted him home with the utmost expressions of regret. Lycurgus thanked them for the care of his person, and dismissed them all, except Alcander. He took him into his house, but showed him no ill treatment, either by word or action, only ordering him to wait upon him instead of his usual servants and attendants. The youth, who was of an ingenuous disposition, without murmuring, did as he was commanded. Living in this manner with Lycurgus, and having an opportunity to observe the mildness and goodness of his heart, his strict temperance and indefatigable industry, he told his friends that Lycurgus was not that proud and severe man he might have been taken for, but, above all others, gentle and engaging in his behaviour. This, then, was his chastisement, and this punishment he suffered, of a wild and headstrong young man to become a very modest and prudent citizen. In memory of his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to *Minerva Optiletis*, so called by him from a term which the Dorians use for the eye. Yet Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise concerning the Lacedæmonian government, and others, relate, that

his eye was hurt, but not put out, and that he built the temple in gratitude to the goddess for his cure. However, the Spartans never carried staves to their assemblies afterwards.

The public repasts were called by the Cretans *Andria;* but the Lacedæmonians styled them *Phiditia,* either from their tendency to *friendship* and mutual benevolence, *philitio* being used instead of *philitia;* or else from their teaching frugality and *parsimony,* which the word *pheido* signifies. But it is not at all impossible that the first letter might by some means or other be added, and so *phiditia* take place of *editia,* which barely signifies *eating.* There were fifteen persons to a table, or a few more or less. Each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. If any of them happened to offer a sacrifice of first-fruits, or to kill venison, he sent a part of it to the public table; for, after a sacrifice or hunting, he was at liberty to sup at home, but the rest were to appear at the usual place. For a long time this eating in common was observed with great exactness; so that when king Agis returned from a successful expedition against the Athenians, and, from a desire to sup with his wife, requested to have his portion at home*, the *Polemarchs* refused to send it†: nay, when, through resentment, he neglected the day following to offer the sacrifice usual on occasion of victory, they set a fine upon him. Children also were introduced at these public tables, as so many schools of sobriety. There they heard discourses concerning government, and were instructed in the most liberal breeding. There they were allowed to jest without scurrility, and were not to take it ill when the raillery was returned: For *it was reckoned worthy of a Lacedæmonian to bear a jest:* but if any one's patience failed, he had only to desire them to be quiet, and they left off immediately. When they first entered, the oldest man present pointed to the door, and said, *Not a word spoken in this company goes out there.* The admitting of any man to a particular table was under the following regulation: Each member of that small society took a litte ball of soft bread in his hand. This he was to drop, without saying a word, into a vessel called *Caddos,* which the waiter carried upon his head. In case he approved of the

* The kings of Sparta had always double commons allowed them; not that they were permitted to indulge their appetites more than others, but that they might have an opportunity of sharing their portion with some brave man whom they chose to distinguish with that honour.

† The *Polemarchs* were those who had commanded the army under the kings. The principal men in the state always divided the commons.

candidate, he did it without altering the figure; if not, he first pressed it flat in his hand; for a flatted ball was considered as a negative. And if but one such was found, the person was not admitted, as they thought it proper that the whole company should be satisfied with each other. He who was thus rejected, was said to have no luck in the *caddos*. The dish that was in the highest esteem amongst them was the black broth. The old men were so fond of it, that they ranged themselves on one side and ate it, leaving the meat to the young people. It is related of a king of Pontus, that he purchased a Lacedæmonian cook for the sake of this broth. But when he came to taste it, he strongly expressed his dislike; and the cook made answer, *Sir, to make this broth relish, it is necessary first to bathe in the Eurotas.* After they had drank moderately, they went home without lights. Indeed, they were forbidden to walk with a light either on this or any other occasion, that they might accustom themselves to march in the darkest night boldly and resolutely. Such was the order of their public repasts.

Lycurgus left none of his laws in writing: it was ordered in one of the *rhetræ* that none should be written. For what he thought most conducive to the virtue and happiness of a city was, principles interwoven with the manners and breeding of the people. These would remain immoveable, as founded in inclination, and be the strongest and most lasting tie: and the habits which education produced in the youth, would answer in each the purpose of a lawgiver. As for smaller matters, contracts about property, and whatever occasionally varied, it was better not to reduce these to a written form and unalterable method, but to suffer them to change with the times, and to admit of additions or retrenchments at the pleasure of persons so well educated. For he resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth. And this, as we have observed, was the reason why one of his ordinances forbade them to have any written laws.

Another ordinance, levelled against magnificence and expence, directed that the ceilings of houses should be wrought with no tool but the axe, and the doors with nothing but the saw. For, as Epaminondas is reported to have said afterwards, of his table, *Treason lurks not under such a dinner*, so Lycurgus perceived before him, that such a house admits not of luxury and needless splendour. Indeed, no man could be so absurd as to bring into a dwelling, so homely and simple, bedsteads with silver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, and a train of expense that follows these; but all would necessarily have the bed suitable to the room, the coverlet to the bed, and the rest of their utensils and furniture to that. From this plain

sort of dwellings, proceeded the question of Leotychidas the elder to his host, when he supped at Corinth, and saw the ceiling of the room very splendid and curiously wrought, *Whether trees grew square in his country?*

A third ordinance of Lycurgus was, that they should not often make war against the same enemy, lest, by being frequently put upon defending themselves, they, too, should become able warriors in their turn. And this they most blamed king Agesilaus for afterwards, that, by frequent and continued incursions into Bœotia, he taught the Thebans to make head against the Lacedæmonians. This made Atalcidas say, when he saw him wounded, *The Thebans pay you well for making them good soldiers, who neither were willing nor able to fight you before.* These ordinances he called *Rhetræ*, as if they had been oracles and decrees of the Deity himself.

As for the education of youth, which he looked upon as the greatest and most glorious work of a lawgiver, he began with it at the very source, taking into consideration their conception and birth, by regulating the marriages. For he did not, as (Aristotle says) desist from his attempt to bring the women under sober rules. They had, indeed, assumed great liberty and power on account of the frequent expeditions of their husbands, during which they were left sole mistresses at home, and so gained an undue deference and improper titles; but, notwithstanding this, he took all possible care of them. He ordered the virgins to exercise themselves in running, wrestling, and throwing quoits and darts; that their bodies being strong and vigorous, the children afterwards produced from them might be the same; and that, thus fortified by exercise, they might the better support the pangs of child-birth, and be delivered with safety. In order to take away the excessive tenderness and delicacy of the sex, the consequence of a recluse life, he accustomed the virgins occasionally to be seen naked as well as the young men, and to dance and sing in their presence on certain festivals. There they sometimes indulged in a little raillery upon those that had misbehaved themselves, and sometimes they sung encomiums on such as deserved them; thus exciting in the young men an useful emulation and love of glory. For he who was praised for his bravery, and celebrated among the virgins, went away perfectly happy; while their satirical glances, thrown out in sport, were no less cutting than serious admonitions; especially as the kings and senate went with the other citizens to see all that passed. As for the virgins appearing naked, there was nothing disgraceful in it, because every thing was conducted with modesty, and without one indecent word or action. Nay, it caused a simplicity of manners, and an emulation for the best

habit of body: their ideas, too, were naturally enlarged, while they were not excluded from their share of bravery and honour. Hence they were furnished with sentiments and language such as Gorgo the wife of Leonidas is said to have made use of. When a woman of another country said to her, *You of Lacedæmon are the only women in the world that rule the men*, she answered, *We are the only women that bring forth men.*

These public dances and other exercises of the young maidens naked, in sight of the young men, were, moreover, incentives to marriage; and, to use Plato's expression, drew them almost as necessarily by the attractions of love, as a geometrical conclusion follows from the premises. To encourage it still more, some marks of infamy were set upon those that continued bachelors. For they were not permitted to see these exercises of the naked virgins; and the magistrates commanded them to march naked round the market-place in the winter, and to sing a song composed against themselves, which expressed how justly they were punished for their disobedience to the laws. They were also deprived of that honour and respect which the younger people paid to the old; so that nobody found fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, though an eminent commander. It seems, when he came one day into company, a young man, instead of rising up, and giving him place, told him, *You have no child to give place to me, when I am old.*

In their marriages, the bridegroom carried off the bride by violence; and she was never chosen in a tender age, but when she had arrived at full maturity. Then the woman that had the direction of the wedding, cut the bride's hair close to the skin, dressed her in man's clothes, laid her upon a mattress, and left her in the dark. The bridegroom, neither oppressed with wine, nor enervated with luxury, but perfectly sober, as having always supped at the common table, went in privately, untied her girdle, and carried her to another bed. Having staid there a short time, he modestly retired to his usual apartment, to sleep with the other young men: and he observed the same conduct afterwards, spending the day with his companions, and reposing himself with them in the night, nor even visiting his bride but with great caution, and apprehensions of being discovered by the rest of the family; the bride at the same time exerted all her art to contrive convenient opportunities for their private meetings. And this they did not for a short time only, but some of them even had children before they had an interview with their wives in the day-time. This kind of commerce not only exercised their temperance and chastity, but kept their bodies fruitful, and the first ardour of their love fresh and unabated; for as they were not

satiated like those that are always with their wives, there still was place for unextinguished desire. When he had thus established a proper regard to modesty and decorum with respect to marriage, he was equally studious to drive from that state the vain and womanish passion of jealousy, by making it quite as reputable to have children in common with persons of merit, as to avoid all offensive freedom in their own behaviour to their wives. He laughed at those who revenge with wars and bloodshed the communication of a married woman's favours; and allowed, that if a man in years should have a young wife, he might introduce to her some handsome and honest young man, whom he most approved of, and when she had a child of this generous race, bring it up as his own. On the other hand, he allowed, that if a man of character should entertain a passion for a married woman, on account of her modesty and the beauty of her children, he might treat with her husband for admission to her company*, that so planting in a beauty-bearing soil, he might produce excellent children, the congenial offspring of excellent parents. For, in the first place, Lycurgus considered children not so much the property of their parents as of the state; and therefore he would not have them begot by ordinary persons, but by the best men in it. In the next place, he observed the vanity and absurdity of other nations, where people study to have their horses and dogs of the finest breed they can procure, either by interest or money, and yet keep their wives shut up, that they may have children by none but themselves, though they may happen to be doating, decrepid, or infirm; as if children, when sprung from a bad stock, and consequently good for nothing, were no detriment to those whom they belong to, and who have the trouble of bringing them up, nor any advantage, when well descended and of a generous disposition. These regulations, tending to secure a healthy offspring, and consequently beneficial to the state, were so far from encouraging that licentiousness of the women which prevailed afterwards, that adultery was not known amongst them. A saying, upon this subject, of Geradas, an ancient Spartan, is thus related: A stranger had asked him, *What punishment their law appointed for adulterers?* He answered, *My friend, there are no adulterers in our country.* The other replied, *But what if there should be one? Why then,* says Geradas, *he must forfeit a bull so large, that he might drink of the Eurotas from the top of Mount Taygetus.* When the stranger expressed his surprise at this, and said, *How can such a bull be found?* Geradas answered with a smile, *How can an adulterer be found in Sparta?* This is the account we have of their marriages.

It was not left to the father to rear what children he pleased, but

* In this case the kings were excepted; for they were not at liberty to lend their wives.

he was obliged to carry the child to a place called *Lesche*, to be examined by the most ancient men of the tribe, who were assembled there. If it was strong and well proportioned, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of the nine thousand shares of land: but if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called *Apothetæ*, which is a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus: concluding that its life could be of no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it at first any strength or goodness of constitution. For the same reason, the women did not wash their new-born infants with water, but with wine, thus making some trial of their habit of body; imagining that sickly and epileptic children sink and die under the experiment, while the healthy become more vigorous and hardy. Great care and art was also exerted by the nurses; for as they never swathed the infants, their limbs had a freer turn, and their countenances a more liberal air; besides, they used them to any sort of meat, to have no terrors in the dark, nor to be afraid of being alone, and to forbear all ill-humour and unmanly crying. Hence people of other countries purchased Lacedæmonian nurses for their children; and Alcibiades the Athenian is said to have been nursed by Amycla a Spartan. But if he was fortunate in a nurse, he was not so in a preceptor; for Zopyrus, appointed to that office by Pericles, was, as Plato tells us, no better qualified than a common slave. The Spartan children were not in that manner under tutors purchased or hired with money, nor were their parents at liberty to educate them as they pleased: but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them to be enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. He who showed the most conduct and courage amongst them was made captain of the company. The rest kept their eyes upon him, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishments he inflicted: so that their whole education was an exercise of obedience. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle.

As for learning, they had just what was absolutely necessary. All the rest of their education was calculated to make them subject to command, to endure labour, to fight, and conquer. They added, therefore, to their discipline, as they advanced in age; cutting their hair very close, making them go barefoot, and play, for the most part, quite naked. At twelve years of age, their under garment was taken away, and but one upper one a-year allowed them: hence they were necessarily dirty in their persons, being denied the

great favour of baths and oil, except on some particular days of the year. They slept in companies, in beds made of the tops of reeds, which they gathered with their own hands, without knives, and brought from the banks of the Eurotas. In winter they were permitted to add a little thistle-down, as that seemed to have some warmth in it.

At this age, the most distinguished amongst them became favourite companions of the elder; and the old men attended more constantly their places of exercise, observing the trials of strength and wit, not slightly and in a cursory manner, but as their fathers, guardians, and governors: so that there was neither time nor place where persons were wanting to instruct and chastise them. One of the best and ablest men in the city was, moreover, appointed inspector of the youth; and he gave the command of each company to the most discreet and spirited of those, called *Irens*. An *Iren* was one that had been two years out of the class of boys: a *Melliren* one of the oldest lads. This *Iren*, then, a youth twenty years old, gives orders to those under his command, in their little battles, and has them to serve him at his house. He sends the oldest of them to fetch wood, and the younger to gather pot-herbs: these they steal where they can find them, either slyly getting into gardens, or else craftily and warily creeping to the common tables; but if any one be caught, he is severely flogged for negligence or want of dexterity. They steal, too, whatever victuals they possibly can, ingeniously contriving to do it when persons are asleep, or keep but indifferent watch. If they are discovered, they are punished, not only with whipping, but with hunger. Indeed, their supper is but slender at all times, that, to fence against want, they may be forced to exercise their courage and address. This is the first intention of their spare diet: a subordinate one is to make them grow tall: for when the animal spirits are not too much oppressed by a great quantity of food, which stretches itself out in breadth and thickness, they mount upwards by their natural lightness, and the body easily and freely shoots up in height. This also contributes to make them handsome; for thin and slender habits yield more freely to nature, which then gives a fine proportion to the limbs; whilst the heavy and gross resist her by their weight. So, women that take physic during their pregnancy have slighter children indeed, but of a finer and more delicate turn, because the suppleness of the matter more readily obeys the plastic power. However, these are speculations which we shall leave to others.

The boys steal with so much caution, that one of them, having conveyed a young fox under his garment, suffered the creature to

tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws, choosing rather to die than to be detected. Nor does this appear incredible, if we consider what their young men can endure to this day; for we have seen many of them expire under the lash at the altar of *Diana Orthia*.

The *Iren*, reposing himself after supper, used to order one of the boys to sing a song; to another he put some question which required a judicious answer: for example, *Who was the best man in the city? or, What he thought of such an action?* This accustomed them from their childhood to judge of the virtues, to enter into the affairs of their countrymen. For if one of them was asked, Who is a good citizen, or who an infamous one, and hesitated in his answer, he was considered as a boy of slow parts, and of a soul that would not aspire to honour. The answer was likewise to have a reason assigned for it, and proof conceived in few words. He whose account of the matter was wrong, by way of punishment, had his thumb bit by the *Iren*. The old men and magistrates often attended these little trials, to see whether the *Iren* exercised his authority in a rational and proper manner. He was permitted, indeed, to inflict the penalties; but when the boys were gone, he was to be chastised himself, if he had punished them either with too much severity or remissness.

The adopters of favourites also shared both in the honour and disgrace of their boys; and one of them is said to have been mulcted by the magistrates, because the boy whom he had taken into his affections let some ungenerous word or cry escape him as he was fighting. This love was so honourable, and in so much esteem, that the virgins, too, had their lovers amongst the most virtuous matrons. A competition of affection caused no misunderstanding, but rather a mutual friendship between those that had fixed their regards upon the same youth, and an united endeavour to make him as accomplished as possible.

The boys were also taught to use sharp repartee, seasoned with humour; and whatever they said was to be concise and pithy. For Lycurgus, as we have observed, fixed but a small value on a considerable quantity of his iron money; but, on the contrary, the worth of speech was to consist in its being comprised in a few plain words, pregnant with a great deal of sense; and he contrived that, by long silence, they might learn to be sententious and acute in their replies. As debauchery often causes weakness and sterility in the body, so the intemperance of the tongue makes conversation empty and insipid. King Agis therefore, when a certain Athenian laughed at the Lacedæmonian short swords, and said, *The jugglers*

would swallow them with ease upon the stage; answered in his laconic way, *And yet we can reach our enemies hearts with them.* Indeed, to me there seems to be something in this concise manner of speaking, which immediately reaches the object aimed at, and forcibly strikes the mind of the hearer. Lycurgus himself was short and sententious in his discourse, if we may judge by some of his answers which are recorded: that, for instance, concerning the constitution; when one advised him to establish a popular government in Lacedæmon, *Go,* said he, *and first make a trial of it in thy own family.* That, again, concerning sacrifices to the Deity, when he was asked why he appointed them so trifling and of so little value, *That we may never be in want,* says he, *of something to offer him.* Once more, when they inquired of him, what sort of martial exercises he allowed of, he answered, *All except those in which you stretch* out your hands.* Several such like replies of his are said to be taken from the letters which he wrote to his countrymen: as to their question, "How shall we best guard against the invasion of an enemy?" *By continuing poor, and not desiring in your possessions to be one above another.* And to the question, whether they should enclose Sparta with walls, *That city is well fortified which has a wall of men instead of brick.* Whether these and some other letters ascribed to him are genuine or not, is no easy matter to determine. However, that they hated long speeches, the following apophthegms are a farther proof. King Leonidas said to one who discoursed at an improper time about affairs of some concern, *My friend, you should not talk so much to the purpose of what it is not to the purpose to talk of.* Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered, *To men of few words few laws are sufficient.* Some people finding fault with Hecatæus the sophist, because, when admitted to one of the public repasts, he said nothing all the time, Archidamidas replied, *He who knows how to speak, knows also when to speak.*

The manner of their repartees, which, as I said, were seasoned with humour, may be gathered from these instances. When a troublesome fellow was pestering Demaratus with impertinent questions, and this in particular, several times repeated, "Who is the best man in Sparta?" He answered, *He that is least like you.* To some who were commending the Eleans for managing the Olympic games with so much justice and propriety, Agis said, *What great matter is it, if the Eleans do justice once in five years?* When a s[illegible] was professing his regard for Theopompus, and saying tha[illegible]

* This was the form of demanding quarter in battle.

countrymen called him *Philolacon* (a lover of the Lacedæmonians), the king answered him, *My good friend, it were much better if they called you Philopolites* (a lover of your own countrymen). Plistonax, the son of Pausanias, replied to an orator of Athens, who said the Lacedæmonians had no learning, *True, for we are the only people of Greece that have learnt no ill of you.* To one who asked what number of men there was in Sparta, Archidamidas said, *Enough to keep bad men at a distance.*

Even when they indulged a vein of pleasantry, one might perceive that they would not use one unnecessary word, nor let an expression escape them that had not some sense worth attending to. For one being asked to go and hear a person who imitated the nightingale to perfection, answered, *I have heard the nightingale herself.* Another said, upon reading this epitaph,

Victims of Mars, at Selinus they fell,
Who quench'd the rage of tyranny.

"And they deserved to fall, for, instead of *quenching* it, they should have let it *burn out.*" A young man answered one that promised him some game cocks that would stand their death, *Give me those that will be the death of others.* Another seeing some people carried into the country in litters, said *May I never sit in any place where I cannot rise before the aged!* This was the manner of their apophthegms: so that it has been justly enough observed that the term *lakonizein* (to act the Lacedæmonian) is to be referred rather to the exercises of the mind, than those of the body.

Nor were poetry and music less cultivated among them, than a concise dignity of expression. Their songs had a spirit, which could rouse the soul, and impel it in an enthusiastic manner to action. The language was plain and manly, the subject serious and moral. For they consisted chiefly of the praises of heroes that had died for Sparta, or else of expressions of detestation for such wretches as had declined the glorious opportunity, and rather chose to drag on life in misery and contempt. Nor did they forget to express an ambition for glory suitable to their respective ages. Of this it may not be amiss to give an instance. There were three choirs in their festivals, corresponding with the three ages of man. The old men began,

Once in battle bold we shone;

the young men answered,

Try us, our vigour is not gone;

and the boys concluded,

The palm remains for us alone.

[redacted] if we consider with attention such of the Lacedæmonian [redacted]e still extant, and get into those airs which were played

upon the flute when they marched to battle, we must agree that Terpander and Pindar have very fitly joined valour and music together. The former thus speaks of Lacedæmon,

> There gleams the youth's bright falchion; there the muse
> Lifts her sweet voice; there awful Justice opes
> Her wide pavilion.

And Pindar sings,

> There in grave council sits the sage;
> There burns the youth's resistless rage
> To hurl the quiv'ring lance;
> The Muse with glory crowns their arms,
> And Melody exerts her charms,
> And Pleasure leads the dance.

Thus we are informed, not only of their warlike turn, but their skill in music. For, as the Spartan poet says,

> To swell the bold notes of the lyre
> Becomes the warrior's lofty fire.

And the king always offered sacrifice to the muses before a battle, putting his troops in mind, I suppose, of their early education, and of the judgment that would be past upon them, as well as that those divinities might teach them to despise danger, while they performed some exploit fit for *them* to celebrate.

On those occasions they relaxed the severity of their discipline, permitting their men to be curious in dressing their hair, and elegant in their arms and apparel, while they expressed their alacrity, like horses full of fire, and neighing for the race. They let their hair, therefore, grow from their youth, but took more particular care, when they expected an action, to have it well combed and shining, remembering a saying of Lycurgus, that *a large head of hair made the handsome more graceful, and the ugly more terrible.* The exercises, too, of the young men, during the campaigns, were more moderate, their diet not so hard, and their whole treatment more indulgent; so that they were the only people in the world with whom military discipline wore, in time of war, a gentler face than usual. When the army was drawn up, and the enemy near, the king sacrificed a goat, and commanded them all to set garlands upon their heads, and the musicians to play *Castor's* march, while himself began the *pæan*, which was the signal to advance. It was at once a solemn and dreadful sight to see them measuring their steps to the sound of music, and, without the least disorder in their ranks, or tumult of spirits, moving forward cheerfully and composedly, with harmony, to battle. Neither fear nor rashness was likely to operate on men so disposed, possessed as they were of a firm presence of mind, with courage and confidence of success, as under the conduct of

heaven. When the king advanced against the enemy, he had always with him some one that had been crowned in the public games of Greece. And they tell us, that a Lacedæmonian, when large sums were offered him on condition that he would not enter the Olympic lists, refused them; having with much difficulty thrown his antagonist, one put this question to him, "Spartan, what will you get by this victory?" He answered with a smile, *I shall have the honour to fight foremost in the ranks before my prince.* When they had routed the enemy, they continued the pursuit till they were assured of the victory; after that, they immediately desisted; deeming it neither generous nor worthy of a Grecian to destroy those who made no farther resistance. This was not only a proof of magnanimity, but of great service to their cause. For when their adversaries found that they killed such as stood it out, but spared the fugitives, they concluded it was better to fly than to meet their fate upon the spot.

Hippias the sophist tells us, that Lycurgus himself was a man of great personal valour, and an experienced commander. Philostephanus also ascribes to him the first division of the cavalry into troops of fifty, who were drawn up in a square body. But Demetrius the Phalerian says, that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundest peace imaginable when he established the constitution of Sparta. His providing for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games is likewise a mark of the humane and peaceable man. Some, however, acquaint us, and among the rest Hermippus, that Lycurgus had at first no communication with Iphitus; but coming that way, and happening to be a spectator, he heard behind him a human voice (as he thought) which expressed some wonder and displeasure that he did not put his countrymen upon resorting to so great an assembly. He turned round immediately to discover whence the voice came, and as there was no man to be seen, concluded it was from heaven. He joined Iphitus therefore; and, ordering along with him the ceremonies of the festival, rendered it more magnificent and lasting.

The discipline of the Lacedæmonians continued after they were arrived at years of maturity. For no man was at liberty to live as he pleased, the city being like one great camp, where all had their stated allowance, and knew their public charge, *each man concluding that he was born, not for himself, but for his country.* Hence, if they had no particular orders, they employed themselves in inspecting the boys, and teaching them something useful, or in learning of those that were older than themselves. One of the greatest privileges that Lycurgus procured his countrymen was, the enjoyment of leisure;

the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanic trade. It was not worth their while to take great pains to raise a fortune, since riches there were of no account; and the *Helotes*, who tilled the ground, were answerable for the produce above mentioned. To this purpose we have the story of a Lacedæmonian, who, happening to be at Athens while the court sat, was informed of a man who was fined for idleness; and when the poor fellow was returning home in great dejection, attended by his condoling friends, he desired the company to show him the person that was *condemned for keeping up his dignity*. So much beneath them they reckoned all attention to mechanic arts, and all desire of riches!

Lawsuits were banished from Lacedæmon with money. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants. Hence, when they were not engaged in war, their time was taken up with dancing, feasting, hunting, or meeting to exercise, or converse. They went not to market under thirty years of age, all their necessary concerns being managed by their relations and adopters. Nor was it reckoned a credit to the old to be seen sauntering in the market-place; it was deemed more suitable for them to pass great part of the day in the schools of exercise, or places of conversation. Their discourse seldom turned upon money, or business, or trade, but upon the praise of the excellent, or the contempt of the worthless; and the last was expressed with that pleasantry and humour, which conveyed instruction and correction without seeming to intend it. Nor was Lycurgus himself immoderately severe in his manner; but, as Sosibius tells us, he dedicated a little statue to the god of laughter in each hall. He considered facetiousness as a seasoning of their hard exercise and diet, and therefore ordered it to take place on all proper occasions, in their common entertainments and parties of pleasure.

Upon the whole, he taught his citizens to think nothing more disagreeable than to live by (or for) themselves. Like bees, they acted with one impulse for the public good, and always assembled about their prince. They were possessed with a thirst for honour, an enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country. These sentiments are confirmed by some of their aphorisms. When Pædaretus lost his election for one of the *three hundred*, he went away, *rejoicing that there were three hundred better men than himself found in the city* *. Pisistratidas going, with some others,

* Xenophon says, it was the custom for the *Ephori* to appoint three officers, each of whom was to select a hundred men, the best he could find; and it was a point of great emulation to be one of these three hundred.

ambassador to the king of Persia's lieutenants, was asked whether they came with a public commission, or on their own account? to which he answered, *If successful, for the public; if unsuccessful, for ourselves.* Agrileonis, the mother of Brasidas, asking some Amphipolitans that waited upon her at her house, whether Brasidas died honourably, and as became a Spartan? they greatly extolled his merit, and said, There was not such a man left in Sparta: whereupon she replied, *Say not so, my friends; for Brasidas was indeed a man of honour, but Lacedæmon can boast of many better men than he.*

The senate, as I said before, consisted at first of those that were assistants to Lycurgus in his great enterprise. Afterwards, to fill up any vacancy that might happen, he ordered the most worthy man to be selected of those that were full threescore years old. This was the most respectable dispute in the world, and the contest was truly glorious; for it was not who should be swiftest among the swift, or strongest of the strong, but who was the wisest and best among the good and wise. He who had the preference was to bear this mark of superior excellence through life, this great authority, which put into his hands the lives and honour of the citizens, and every other important affair. The manner of the election was this: when the people were assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose were shut up in a room near the place, where they could neither see nor be seen, and only hear the shouts of the constituents; for by them they decided this and most other affairs. Each candidate walked silently through the assembly, one after another according to lot. Those that were shut up had writing tables, in which they set down in different columns the number and loudness of the shouts, without knowing who they were for; only they marked them as first, second, third, and so on, according to the number of competitors. He that had the most and loudest acclamations, was declared duly elected. Then he was crowned with a garland, and went round to give thanks to the gods; a number of young men followed, striving which should extol him most, and the women celebrated his virtues in their songs, and blessed his worthy life and conduct. Each of his relations offered him a repast, and their address on the occasion was, *Sparta honours you with this collation.* When he had finished the procession, he went to the common table, and lived as before. Only two portions were set before him, one of which he carried away: and as all the women related to him attended at the gates of the public hall, he called for her for whom he had the greatest esteem, and presented her with the portion, saying, at the same time, *That which I received as a mark of honour, I give to you.* Then she was conducted home with great applause by the rest of the women.

Lycurgus likewise made good regulations with respect to burials. In the first place, to take away all superstition, he ordered the dead to be buried in the city, and even permitted their monuments to be erected near the temples; accustoming the youth to such sights from their infancy, that they might have no uneasiness from them, nor any horror for death, as if people were polluted with the touch of a dead body, or with treading upon a grave. In the next place, he suffered nothing to be buried with the corpse, except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapped*. Nor would he suffer the relations to inscribe any names upon the tombs, except of those men that fell in battle, or those women who died in some sacred office. He fixed eleven days for the time of mourning: on the twelfth they were to put an end to it after offering sacrifices to Ceres. No part of life was left vacant and unimproved, but even with their necessary actions he interwove the praise of virtue and the contempt of vice; and he so filled the city with living examples, that it was next to impossible for persons, who had these from their infancy before their eyes, not to be drawn and formed to honour.

For the same reason, he would not permit all that desired it to go abroad and see other countries, lest they should contract foreign manners, gain traces of a life of little discipline, and of a different form of government. He forbade strangers, too, to resort to Sparta, who could not assign a good reason for their coming; not, as Thucydides says, out of fear they should imitate the constitution of that city, and make improvements in virtue, but lest they should teach his own people some evil. For along with foreigners came new subjects of discourse; new discourse produces new opinions; and from these there necessarily spring new passions and desires, which, like discords in music, would disturb the established government. He therefore thought it more expedient for the city to keep out of it corrupt customs and manners, than even to prevent the introduction of a pestilence.

Thus far, then, we can perceive no vestiges of a disregard to right and wrong, which is the fault some people find with the laws of Lycurgus, allowing them well enough calculated to produce valour, but not to promote justice. Perhaps it was the *Cryptia*, as they called it, or *ambuscade*, if that was really one of this lawgiver's institutions, as Aristotle says it was, which gave Plato so bad an impression both of Lycurgus and his laws. The governors of the youth ordered the shrewdest of them from time to time to disperse them-

* Ælian tells us (l. vi. c. 6.), that not all the citizens indifferently were buried in the red cloth and olive leaves, but only such as had distinguished themselves particularly in the field.

selves in the country, provided only with daggers and some necessary provisions. In the day-time they hid themselves, and rested in the most private places they could find, but at night they sallied out into the roads and killed all the *Helotes* they could meet with. Nay, sometimes by day, they fell upon them in the fields, and murdered the ablest and strongest of them. Thucydides relates in his history of the Peloponnesian war, that the Spartans selected such of them as were distinguished for their courage, to the number of two thousand or more, declared them free, crowned them with garlands, and conducted them to the temples of the gods; but soon after they all disappeared: and no one could, either then or since, give account in what manner they were destroyed. Aristotle particularly says, that the *Ephori*, as soon as they were invested in their office, declared war against the *Helotes*, that they might be massacred under pretence of law. In other respects they treated them with great inhumanity; sometimes they made them drink till they were intoxicated, and in that condition led them into the public halls to show the young men what drunkenness was. They ordered them too to sing mean songs, and to dance ridiculous dances, but not to meddle with any that were genteel and graceful. Thus, they tell us, that when the Thebans afterwards invaded Laconia, and took a great number of the Helotes prisoners, they ordered them to sing the odes of Terpander, Alcman, or Spendon the Lacedæmonian, but they excused themselves, alleging that it was forbidden by their masters. Those who say that a freeman in Sparta was most a freeman, and a slave most a slave, seem well to have considered the difference of states. But, in my opinion, it was in after times that these cruelties took place among the Lacedæmonians; chiefly after the great earthquake, when, as history informs us, the *Helotes* joining the Messenians, attacked them, did infinite damage to the country, and brought the city to the greatest extremity. I can never ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable an act as that of the *ambuscade*. I would judge in this case by the mildness and justice which appeared in the rest of his conduct, to which also the gods gave their sanction.

When his principal institutions had taken root in the manners of the people, and the government was come to such maturity as to be able to support and preserve itself, then, as Plato says of the Deity, that he rejoiced when he had created the world, and given it its first motion; so Lycurgus was charmed with the beauty and greatness of his political establishment, when he saw it exemplified in fact, and move on in due order. He was next desirous to make it immortal, so far as human wisdom could effect it, and to deliver it down unchanged to the latest times. For this purpose he assembled all the

people, and told them, the provisions he had already made for the state were indeed sufficient for virtue and happiness, but the greatest and most important matter was still behind, which he could not disclose to them till he had consulted the oracle; that they must therefore inviolably observe his laws, without altering any thing in them, till he returned from Delphi; and then he would acquaint them with the pleasure of Apollo. When they had all promised to do so, and desired him to set forward, he took an oath of the kings and senators, and afterwards of all the citizens, that they would abide by the present establishment till Lycurgus came back. He then took his journey to Delphi.

When he arrived there, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and consulted the oracle, whether his laws were sufficient to promote virtue, and secure the happiness of the state. Apollo answered that the laws were excellent, and that the city which kept to the constitution he had established would be the most glorious in the world. This oracle Lycurgus took down in writing, and sent it to Sparta. He then offered another sacrifice, and embraced his friends and his son, determined never to release his citizens from their oath, but voluntarily there to put a period to his life; when he was yet of an age when life was not a burden, when death was not desirable, and while he was not unhappy in any one circumstance. He therefore destroyed himself, by abstaining from food, persuaded, that the very death of lawgivers should have its use, and their exit, so far from being insignificant, have its share of virtue to be considered as a great action. To him, indeed, whose performances were so illustrious, the conclusion of life was the crown of happiness, and his death was left guardian of those invaluable blessings he had procured his countrymen through life, as they had taken an oath not to depart from his establishment till his return. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Sparta continued superior to the rest of Greece both in its government at home and reputation abroad, so long as it retained the institution of Lycurgus; and this it did during the space of five hundred years, and the reign of fourteen successive kings, down to Agis the son of Archidamus. As for the appointment of the *Ephori*, it was so far from weakening the constitution, that it gave it additional vigour; and though it seemed to be established in favour of the people, it strengthened the aristocracy.

But in the reign of Agis money found its way into Sparta, and with money came its inseparable attendant, avarice. This was by means of Lysander; who, though himself incapable of being corrupted by money, filled his country with the love of it, and with luxury too. He brought both gold and silver from the wars, and thereby broke

through the laws of Lycurgus. While these were in force, Sparta was not so much under the political regulations of a commonwealth, as the strict rules of a philosophic life: and as the poets feign of Hercules, that only with a club and lion's skin he travelled over the world, clearing it of lawless ruffians and cruel tyrants; so the Lacedæmonians with a piece of parchment* and coarse coat kept Greece in a voluntary obedience, destroyed usurpation and tyranny in the states, put an end to wars, and laid seditions asleep, very often without either shield or lance, and only by sending one ambassador; to whose directions all parties concerned immediately submitted. Thus bees, when their prince appears, compose their quarrels, and unite in one swarm. So much did justice and good government prevail in that state, that I am surprised at those who say, the Lacedæmonians knew indeed how to obey, but not how to govern; and on this occasion quote the saying of king Theopompus, who, when one told him, that *Sparta was preserved by the good administration of its kings*, replied, *Nay, rather by the obedience of their subjects.* It is certain that people will not continue pliant to those who know not how to command: but it is the part of a good governor to teach obedience. He who knows how to lead well, is sure to be well followed: and as it is by the art of horsemanship that a horse is made gentle and tractable, so it is by the abilities of him that fills the throne that the people become ductile and submissive. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that other people did not only endure, but even desired to become their subjects. They asked not of them either ships, money, or troops, but only a Spartan general. When they had received him, they treated him with the greatest honour and respect: so Gylippus was revered by the Sicilians, Brasidas by the Chalcidians, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaus by all the people of Asia. These, and such as these, wherever they came, were called moderators and reformers, both of the magistrates and people; and Sparta itself was considered as a school of discipline, where the beauty of life and political order were taught in the utmost perfection. Hence Stratonicus seems facetiously enough to have said, that he would

* This was the *scytale*, the nature and use of which Plutarch explains in the Life of Lysander. He tells us, that when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickness (Thucydides adds, that they were smooth and long); one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer. When they had any thing of moment which they would secretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business on it: when they had written what they had to say, they took off the parchment, and sent it the general; and he applying it to his own staff, the characters which before were confused and unintelligible, appeared then very plain.

order *the Athenians to have the conduct of mysteries and processions; the Eleans to preside in games, as their particular province; and the Lacedæmonians to be beaten, if the others did amiss.* This was spoken in jest: but Antisthenes, one of the scholars of Socrates, said (more seriously) of the Thebans, when he saw them pluming themselves upon their success at Leuctra, *They were just like so many school-boys rejoicing that they had beaten their master.*

It was not, however, the principal design of Lycurgus, that his city should govern many others, but he considered its *happiness*, like that of a private man, as *flowing from virtue and self-sufficiency;* he therefore so ordered and disposed it, that, by the freedom and sobriety of its inhabitants, and their having a sufficiency within themselves, its continuance might be the more secure. Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and other writers upon government, have taken Lycurgus for their model; and these have attained great praise, though they left only an idea of something excellent. Yet he, who not in idea and in words, but in fact produced a most inimitable form of government, and by showing a whole city of philosophers, confounded those who imagine, that the so much talked of strictness of a philosophic life is impracticable; he, I say, stands in the rank of glory far before the founders of all the other Grecian states. Therefore Aristotle is of opinion, that the honours paid him at Lacedæmon were far beneath his merit. Yet those honours were very great; for he has a temple there, and they offer him a yearly sacrifice, as a god. It is also said, that when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck with lightning: a seal of divinity which no other man, however eminent, has had, except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. This was matter of great satisfaction and triumph to the friends of Euripides, that the same thing should befal him after death, which had formerly happened to the most venerable of men, and the most favoured of heaven. Some say Lycurgus died at Cirrha; but Apollothemis will have it that he was brought to Elis and died there; and Timæus and Aristoxenus write, that he ended his days in Crete; nay, Aristoxenus adds, that the Cretans show his tomb at Pergamia, near the high road. We are told he left an only son, named Antiorus: and as he died without issue, the family was extinct. His friends and relations observed his anniversary, which subsisted for many ages, and the days on which they met for that purpose they called *Lycurgidæ*. Aristocrates, the son of Hipparchus, relates, that the friends of Lycurgus, with whom he sojourned, and at last died in Crete, burned his body, and, at his request, threw his ashes into the sea. Thus he guarded against the possibility of his remains being brought back to Sparta by

the Lacedæmonians, lest they should then think themselves released from their oath, on the pretence that he was returned, and make innovations in the government. This is what we had to say of Lycurgus.

NUMA.

THERE is likewise a great diversity amongst historians about the time in which Numa lived, though some families seem to trace their genealogy up to him with sufficient accuracy. However, a certain writer, called Clodius, in his emendations of chronology, affirms, that the ancient archives were destroyed when Rome was sacked by the Gauls: and that those which are now shown as such, were forged in favour of some persons who wanted to stretch their lineage far back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious house. Some say, that Numa was the scholar of Pythagoras; but others contend, that he was unacquainted with the Grecian literature, either alleging, that his own genius was sufficient to conduct him to excellence, or that he was instructed by some *barbarian* philosopher superior to Pythagoras. Some, again, affirm, that Pythagoras of Samos flourished about five generations below the times of Numa: but that Pythagoras the Spartan, who won the prize at the Olympic race in the sixteenth Olympiad (about the third year of which it was that Numa came to the throne), travelling into Italy, became acquainted with that prince, and assisted him in regulating the government. Hence many Spartan customs, taught by Pythagoras, were intermixed with the Roman. But this mixture might have another cause, as Numa was of Sabine extraction, and the Sabines declare themselves to have been a Lacedæmonian colony. It is difficult, however, to adjust the times exactly, particularly those that are only distinguished with the names of the Olympic conquerors; of which, we are told, Hippias, the Elean, made a collection at a late period, without sufficient vouchers. We shall now ralate what we have met with most remarkable concerning Numa, beginning from that point of time which is most suitable to our purpose.

It was in the thirty-seventh year from the building of Rome, and of the reign of Romulus, on the seventh of the month of July (which day is now called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*), when that prince went out of the city to offer a solemn sacrifice at a place called the *Goat's Marsh*, in the presence of the senate and great part of the people. Suddenly there happened a great alteration in the air, and the clouds burst in a storm of wind and hail. The rest of the assembly were struck with

terror, and fled, but Romulus disappeared, and could not be found either alive or dead. Upon this, the senators fell under a violent suspicion; and a report was propagated against them among the people, that having long been weary of the yoke of kingly government, and desirous to get the power into their own hands, they had murdered the king; particularly as he had treated them for some time in an arbitrary and imperious manner. But they found means to obviate this suspicion, by paying divine honours to Romulus, as a person that had been privileged from the fate of other mortals, and was only removed to a happier scene. Moreover, Proculus, a man of high rank, made oath that he saw Romulus carried up to heaven in complete armour, and heard a voice commanding that he should be called *Quirinus*.

Fresh disturbances and tumults arose in the city about the election of a new king, the later inhabitants being not yet thoroughly incorporated with the first, the commonalty fluctuating and unsettled in itself, and the patricians full of animosity and jealousies of each other. All, indeed, agreed that a king should be appointed, but they differed and debated, not only about the person to be fixed upon, but from which of the two nations he should be elected. For, neither could they who with Romulus built the city, endure, that the Sabines, who had been admitted citizens, and obtained a share of the lands, should attempt to command those from whom they had received such privileges; nor yet could the Sabines depart from their claim of giving a king in their turn to Rome, having this good argument in their favour, that, upon the death of Tatius, they had suffered Romulus peaceably to enjoy the throne, without a colleague. It was also to be considered, that they did not come as inferiors to join a superior people, but by their rank and number added strength and dignity to the city that received them. These were the arguments on which they founded their claims. Lest this dispute should produce an utter confusion, whilst there was no king, nor any steersman at the helm, the senators made an order that the hundred and fifty members who composed their body *, should each, in their turns, be attired in the robes of state, in the room of *Quirinus;* offer the

* According to our author, in the Life of Romulus, the number of the senators was 200. Indeed, Dionysius says, that writers differed in this particular, some affirming, that 100 senators were added to the original number, upon the union of the Sabines with the Romans; and others, that only 50 were added. Livy gives the most probable account of the manner of the *Interregnum*. The senators, he says, divided themselves into decuries or tens. These decuries drew lots which should govern first; and the decury to whose lot it fell, enjoyed the supreme authority for five days; yet, in such a manner, that one person only of the governing decury had the ensigns of sovereignty at a time.

stated sacrifices to the gods, and dispatch the whole public business, six hours in the day, and six hours at night. This distribution of time seemed well contrived, in point of equality amongst the regents, and the change of power from hand to hand, prevented its being obnoxious to the people, who saw the same person, in one day and one night, reduced from a king to a private man. This occasional administration the Romans call an *Interregnum*.

But though the matter was managed in this moderate and popular way, the senators could not escape the suspicions and complaints of the people, that they were changing the government into an oligarchy, and, as they had the direction of all affairs in their hands, were unwilling to have a king. At last it was agreed between the two parties, that one nation should choose a king out of the whole body of the other. This was considered as the best means of putting a stop to the present contention, and of inspiring the king with an affection for both parties, since he would be gracious to these, because they had elected him, and to those as his kindred and countrymen. The Sabines leaving the Romans to their option, they preferred a Sabine king of their own electing, to a Roman chosen by the Sabines. Consulting, therefore, among themselves *, they fixed upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, who was not of the number of those that had migrated to Rome, but so celebrated for virtue, that the Sabines received the nomination even with greater applause than the Romans themselves. When they had acquainted the people with their resolution, they sent the most eminent personages of both nations ambassadors, to entreat him to come and take upon him the government.

Numa was of Cures, a considerable city of the Sabines, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the name of *Quirites*. He was the son of a person of distinction, named Pomponius, and the youngest of four brothers. It seemed to be by the direction of the gods, that he was born the twenty-first of April, the same day that Rome was founded by Romulus. His mind was naturally disposed to virtue; and he still farther subdued it by discipline, patience, and philosophy; not only purging it of the grosser and more infamous passions, but even of that ambition and rapaciousness which was reckoned honourable amongst the *barbarians;* persuaded, that true fortitude consists in the conquest of appetites by reason. On this account, he banished all luxury and

* The *interrex*, for the time being, having summoned the people, addressed them thus: "Romans, elect yourselves a king; the senate give their consent; and, if you choose a prince worthy to succeed Romulus, the senate will confirm your choice." The people were so well pleased with this condescension of the senate, that they remitted the choice to them.

splendour from his house; and both the citizens and strangers found in him a faithful counsellor, and an upright judge. As for his hours of leisure, he spent them not in the pursuits of pleasure, or schemes of profit, but in the worship of the gods, and in rational inquiries into their nature, and their power. His name became at length so illustrious, that Tatius, who was the associate of Romulus in the kingdom, having an only daughter, named Tatia, bestowed her upon him. He was not, however, so much elated with this match as to remove to the court of his father-in-law, but continued in the country of the Sabines, paying his attentions to his own father, who was now grown old. Tatia was partaker of his retirement, and preferred the calm enjoyment of life with her husband in privacy, to the honours and distinction in which she might have lived with her father at Rome. Thirteen years after their marriage she died.

Numa then left the society of the city, and passed his time in wandering about alone in the secret groves and lawns, in the most retired and solitary places. Hence the report concerning the goddess Egeria chiefly took its rise; and it was believed that it was not from any inward sorrow or melancholy turn that he avoided human conversation, but from his being admitted to that which was more venerable and excellent, from the honour he had of a familiar intercourse with a divinity that loved him, which led him to happiness and knowledge more than mortal. It is obvious enough, how much this resembles many of the ancient stories received and delivered down by the Phrygians of Atys, the Bythenians of Herodotus, and the Arcadians of Endymion; to whom might be added many others, who were thought to have attained to superior felicity, and to be beloved in an extraordinary manner by the gods. And, indeed, it is rational enough to suppose, that the deity would not place his affection upon horses or birds, but rather upon human beings, eminently distinguished by virtue; and that he neither dislikes nor disdains to hold conversation with a man of wisdom and piety. But that a *divinity* should be captivated with the external beauty of any human body, is irrational to believe. The Egyptians, indeed, make a distinction in this case, which they think not an absurd one, that it is not impossible for a woman to be impregnated by the approach of some divine spirit; but that a man can have no corporeal intercourse with a goddess. But they do not, however, consider that a mixture, be it of what sort it may, equally communicates its being. In short, the regard which the gods have for men, though, like a human passion, it be called love, must be employed in forming their manners, and raising them to higher degrees of virtue. In this sense we may admit the assertion of the poets, that Phorbas, Hyacinthus, and Admetus,

were beloved by Apollo; and that Hippolytus, the Sicyonian, was equally in his favour; so that whenever he sailed from Cirrha to Sicyon, the priestess, in order to signify the satisfaction of Apollo, repeated this heroic verse,

He comes; again the much-lov'd hero comes.

It is also fabled, that Pan was in love with Pindar, on account of his poetry; and that Archilochus and Hesiod, after their death, were honoured by the heavenly powers for the same reason. Sophocles, too, (as the story goes) was blessed in his life-time with the conversation of the god Æsculapius, of which many proofs still remain; and another deity procured him burial. Now, if we admit that these were so highly favoured, shall we deny that Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, kings and lawgivers, were happy in the same respect? Nay, rather, we shall think, that the gods might seriously converse with such excellent persons as these, to instruct and encourage them in their great attempts; whereas, if they indulge poets and musicians in the same grace, it must be by way of diversion. To such as are of another opinion, I shall say, however, with Bacchylides, *The way is broad.* For it is no unplausible account of the matter which others give, when they tell us, that Lycurgus, Numa, and other great men, finding their people difficult to manage, and alterations to be made in their several governments, pretended commissions from heaven, which were salutary, at least to those for whom they were invented.

Numa was now in his fortieth year, when ambassadors came from Rome to make him an offer of the kingdom. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, whom the people before had cast their eyes upon for the royal dignity, the Romans being attached to Proculus, and the Sabines to Velesus. As they imagined that Numa would gladly embrace his good fortune, they made but a short speech. They found it, however, no easy matter, to persuade him, but were obliged to make use of much entreaty to draw him from that peaceful retreat he was so fond of, to the government of a city, born, as it were, and brought up in war. In the presence, therefore, of his father, and one of his kinsmen, named Marcius, he gave them this answer: "Every change of human life has its dangers; but when a man has a sufficiency for every thing, and there is nothing in his present situation to be complained of, what but madness can lead him from his usual track of life, which, if it has no other advantage, has that of certainty, to experience another as yet doubtful and unknown? But the dangers that attend this government are beyond an uncertainty, if we may form a judgment from the fortunes of Romulus, who laboured under the suspicion

of taking off Tatius, his colleague, and was supposed to have lost his own life with equal injustice. Yet Romulus is celebrated as a person of divine origin, as supernaturally nourished, when an infant, and most wonderfully preserved. For my part I am only of mortal race, and you are sensible my nursing and education boast of nothing extraordinary. As for my character, if it has any distinction, it has been gained in a way not likely to qualify me for a king, in scenes of repose and employments by no means arduous. My genius is inclined to peace, my love has long been fixed upon it, and I have studiously avoided the confusion of war: I have also drawn others, so far as my influence extended, to the worship of the gods, to mutual offices of friendship, and to spend the rest of their time in tilling the ground, and feeding cattle. The Romans may have unavoidable wars left upon their hands by their late king, for the maintaining of which you have need of another more active and more enterprising. Besides, the people are of a warlike disposition, spirited with success, and plainly enough discover their inclination to extend their conquests. Of course, therefore, a person who has set his heart upon the promoting of religion and justice, and drawing men off from the love of violence and war, would soon become ridiculous and contemptible to a city that has more occasion for a general than a king."

Numa in this manner declining the crown, the Romans, on the other hand, exerted all their endeavours to obviate his objections, and begged of him not to throw them into confusion and civil war again, as there was no other whom both parties would unanimously elect. When the ambassadors had retired, his father and his friend Marcius privately urged him, by all the arguments in their power, to receive this great and valuable gift of heaven. "If contented," said they, "with a competence, you desire not riches, nor aspire after the honour of sovereignty, having a higher and better distinction in virtue; yet consider that a king is the minister of God, who now awakens, and puts in action your native wisdom and justice. Decline not, therefore, an authority which to a wise man is a field for great and good actions; where dignity may be added to religion, and men may be brought over to piety in the easiest and readiest way, by the influence of the prince. Tatius, though a stranger, was beloved by this people; and they pay divine honours to the memory of Romulus. Besides, who knows, as they are victorious, but they may be satiated with war; and having no farther wish for triumphs and spoils, may be desirous of a mild and just governor for the establishing of good laws, and the settling of peace? But, should they be ever so ardently inclined to war, yet is

it not better to turn their violence another way, and to be the centre of union and friendship between the country of the Sabines and so great and flourishing a state as that of Rome?" These inducements, we are told, were strengthened by auspicious omens, and by the zeal and ardour of his fellow-citizens, who, as soon as they had learnt the subject of the embassy, went in a body to entreat him to take the government upon him, as the only means to appease all dissentions, and effectually incorporate the two nations into one.

When he had determined to go, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and then set forward to Rome. Struck with love and admiration of the man, the senate and people met him on the way; the women welcomed him with blessings and shouts of joy; the temples were crowded with sacrifices; and so universal was the satisfaction, that the city might seem to have received a kingdom instead of a king. When they were come into the *Forum*, Spurius Vettius, whose turn it then was to be *Interrex*, put it to the vote whether Numa should be king, and all the citizens agreed to it with one voice. The robes and other distinctions of royalty then were offered him, but he commanded them to stop, as his authority yet wanted the sanction of heaven. Taking, therefore, with him the priests and *augurs*, he went up to the *Capitol*, which the Romans at that time called the *Tarpeian* rock. There the chief of the *augurs* covered the head of Numa*, and turned his face towards the south; then standing behind him and laying his right hand upon his head, he offered up his devotions, and looked around him, in hopes of seeing birds, or some other signal from the gods. An incredible silence reigned among the people, anxious for the event, and lost in suspense, till the auspicious birds appeared and passed on the right hand. Then Numa took the royal robe, and went down from the mount to the people, who received him with loud acclamations, as the most pious of men, and most beloved of the gods.

His first act of government was to discharge the body of three hundred men called *Celeres*, whom Romulus always kept about his person as guards; for he neither chose to distrust those who put confidence in him, nor to reign over a people that could distrust him. In the next place, to the priests of Jupiter and Mars he added one for Romulus, whom he styled *Flamen Quirinalis*. *Flamines* was a common name for priests before that time; and it is said to have been corrupted from *Pilamines*, a term derived from

* So it is in the text of Plutarch, as it now stands; but it appears from Livy, that the *augur* covered his own head, not that of Numa, *Augur ad lævum ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit*, &c. And, indeed, the augur always covered his head in a gown peculiar to his office, called *Læna*, when he made his observations.

Piloi, which in Greek signifies *caps*, (for they wore, it seems, a kind of caps or hoods); and the Latin language had many more Greek words mixed with it then, than it has at this time. Thus, royal mantles were by the Romans called *Kænæ*, which Juba assures us was from the Greek *Chlœnæ*; and the name of *Camillus** given to the youth who served in the temple of Jupiter, and who was to have both his parents alive, was the same which some of the Greeks give to Mercury, on account of his being an attendant of that god.

Numa having settled these matters with a view to establish himself in the people's good graces, immediately after attempted to soften them, as iron is softened by fire, and to bring them from a violent and warlike disposition, to a juster and more gentle temper. For, if any city ever was *in a state of inflammation*, as Plato expresses it, Rome certainly was, being composed at first of the most hardy and resolute men whom boldness and despair had driven thither from all quarters, nourished and grown up to power by a series of wars, and strengthened even by blows and conflicts, as piles fixed in the ground become firmer under the strokes of the rammer. Persuaded that no ordinary means were sufficient to form and reduce so high-spirited and untractable people to mildness and peace, he called in the assistance of religion. By sacrifices, religious dances, and processions, which he appointed, and wherein himself officiated, he contrived to mix the charms of festivity and social pleasure with the solemnity of the ceremonies. Thus, he soothed their minds, and calmed their fierceness and martial fire. Sometimes, also, by acquainting them with prodigies from heaven, by reports of dreadful apparitions and menacing voices, he inspired them with terror, and humbled them with superstition. This was the principal cause of the report that he drew his wisdom from the sources of Pythagoras; for a great part of the philosophy of the later, as well as the government of the former, consisted in religious attentions and the worship of the gods. It is likewise said that his solemn appearance and air of sanctity was copied from Pythagoras. That philosopher had so far tamed an eagle, that, by pronouncing certain words, he could stop it in his flight, or bring it down; and, passing through the multitudes assembled at the Olympic games, he showed them his golden thigh, besides other arts and

* Camillus is derived from the Bœotic *kadmilos*, which properly signifies a servitor. In every temple there was a youth of quality, whose business it was to minister to the priest. It was necessary that the father and mother of the youth should be both alive; for which reason Plutarch makes use of the word *amphimitus*, which the Latins call *patrimum et matrimum*.

actions by which he pretended to something supernatural. This led Timon the Phliasian to write,

> To catch applause, Pythagoras affects
> A solemn air and grandeur of expression.

But Numa feigned that some goddess or mountain nymph favoured him with her private regards, (as we have already observed), and that he had, moreover, frequent conversations with the muses. To the latter he ascribed most of his revelations; and there was one in particular that he called *Tacita*, as much as to say, *the muse of silence*, whom he taught the Romans to distinguish with their veneration. By this, too, he seemed to show his knowledge and approbation of the Pythagorean precept of silence.

His regulations concerning images seem likewise to have some relation to the doctrine of Pythagoras, who was of opinion, that the First Cause was not an object of sense, nor liable to passion, but invisible, incorruptible, and discernible only by the mind. Thus, Numa forbade the Romans to represent the Deity in the form either of man or beast. Nor was there among them formerly any image or statue of the Divine Being. During the first hundred and seventy years they built temples, indeed, and other sacred domes, but placed in them no figure of any kind, persuaded that it is impious to represent things divine by what is perishable, and that we can have no conception of God but by the understanding. His sacrifices, too, resembled the Pythagorean worship; for they were without any effusion of blood, consisting chiefly of flour, libations of wine, and other very simple and unexpensive things.

To these arguments other circumstances are added, to prove that these two great men were acquainted with each other; one of which is, that Pythagoras was enrolled a citizen of Rome. This account we have in an address to Antenor from Epicharmus, a writer of comedy, and a very ancient author, who was himself of the school of Pythagoras. Another, is, that Numa having four sons, called one of them Mamercus, after the name of a son of Pythagoras. From him, too, they tell us, the Æmilian family is descended, which is one of the noblest in Rome; the king having given him the surname of Æmilius, on account of his graceful and engaging manner of speaking. And I have myself been informed by several persons in Rome, that the Romans being commanded by the oracle to erect two statues, one to the wisest, and the other to the bravest of the Grecians, set up in brass the figures of Pythagoras and Alcibiades. But, as these matters are very dubious, to support or refute them farther would look like the juvenile affectation of dispute.

To Numa is attributed the institution of that high order of priests called *Pontifices**, over which he is said to have presided himself. Some say they were called *Pontifices*, as employed in the service of those *powerful* gods that govern the world: for *potens* in the Roman language signifies *powerful*. Others, from their being ordered by the lawgiver to perform such secret offices as were in their *power*, and standing excused when there was some great impediment. But most writers assign a ridiculous reason for the term, as if they were called *Pontifices* from their offering sacrifices upon the *bridge*, which the Latins call *Pontem*; such kind of ceremonies it seems being looked upon as the most sacred, and of greatest antiquity. These priests, too, are said to have been commissioned to keep the bridges in repair, as one of the most indispensable parts of their holy office. For the Romans considered it as an execrable impiety to demolish the wooden bridge; which, we are told, was built without iron, and put together by pins of wood only, by the direction of some oracle. The stone bridge was built many ages after, when Æmilius was quæstor. Some, however, inform us, that the wooden bridge was not constructed in the time of Numa, having the last hand put to it by Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter.

The *Pontifex maximus*, chief of these priests, is interpreter of all sacred rites, or rather a superintendant of religion, having the care, not only of public sacrifices, but even of private rites and offerings, forbidding the people to depart from the stated ceremonies, and teaching them how to honour and propitiate the gods. He had also the inspection of the holy virgins called *Vestals*. For, to Numa is ascribed the sacred establishment of the vestal virgins, and the whole service with respect to the perpetual fire which they watch continually. This office seems appropriated to them, either because fire, which is of a pure and incorruptible nature, should be looked after by persons untouched and undefiled, or else, because virginity, like fire, is barren and unfruitful. Agreeably to this last reason, at the places in Greece where the sacred fire is preserved unextinguished, as at Delphi and Athens, not virgins, but widows past child-bearing, have the charge of it. If it happens

* Numa created four, who were all patricians. But, in the year of Rome 453 or 454, four plebians were added to the number. The king himself is here asserted to have been the chief of them, or *Pontifex maximus*, though Livy attributes that honour to another person of the same name, *viz.* Numa Marcius, the son of Marcius, one of the senators. It seems however, not improbable, that Numa, who was of so religious a turn, reserved the chief dignity in the priesthood to himself, as kings had done in the first ages of the world, and as the emperors of Rome did afterwards.

by any accident to be put out, as the sacred lamp is said to have been at Athens under the tyranny of Aristion*; at Delphi, when the temple was burnt by the Medes; and at Rome, in the Mithridatic war; as also in the civil war†, when not only the fire was extinguished, but the altar overturned: it is not to be lighted again from another fire, but new fire is to be gained by drawing a pure and unpolluted flame from the sun-beams. They kindle it generally with concave vessels of brass, formed by the conic section of a rect-angled triangle, whose lines from the circumference meet in one central point. This being placed against the sun, causes its rays to converge in the centre, which, by reflection, acquiring the force and activity of fire, rarefy the air, and immediately kindle such light and dry matter as they think fit to apply‡. Some are of opinion that the sacred virgins have the care of nothing but the perpetual fire. But, others say, they have some private rites besides, kept from the sight of all but their own body, concerning which, I have delivered in the life of Camillus as much as it was proper to inquire into or declare.

It is reported that at first only two virgins were consecrated by Numa, whose names were Gegania and Verania; afterwards two others, Canuleia and Tarpeia; to whom Servius added two more; and that number has continued to this time. The *vestals* were obliged by the king to preserve their virginity for thirty years. The first ten years they spent in learning their office; the next ten in putting in practice what they had learned; and the third period in the instructing of others. At the conclusion of this time, such as chose it had liberty to marry, and, quitting their sacred employment, to take up some other. However, we have accounts of but very few that accepted this indulgence, and those did not prosper. They generally became a prey to repentance and regret, from whence the rest, inspired with a religious fear, were willing to end their lives under the same institution.

* This Aristion held out a long time against Sylla, who besieged and took Athens in the time of the Mithridatic war. Aristion himself committed innumerable outrages in the city, and was at last the cause of its being sacked and plundered. As for the sacred fire, it was kept in the temple of Minerva.

† Livy tells us (l. 86.) that towards the conclusion of the civil war between Sylla and Marius, Mutius Scævola, the pontiff, was killed at the entrance of the temple of Vesta; but we do not find that the sacred fire was extinguished. And even when that temple was burnt, towards the end of the first Punic war, L. Cecelius Metellus, then pontiff, rushed through the flames, and brought off the *Palladium*, and other sacred things, though with the loss of his sight.

‡ Burning-glasses were invented by Archimedes, who flourished 500 years after Numa.

The king honoured them with great privileges, such as power to make a will during their father's life, and to transact their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children now. When they went abroad they had the *fasces* carried before them*; and if, by accident, they met a person led to execution, his life was granted him. But the *vestal* was to make oath† that it was by chance she met him, and not by design. It was death to go under the chair in which they were carried.

For smaller offences these virgins were punished with stripes; and sometimes the *pontifex maximus* gave them the discipline naked, in some dark place, and under the cover of a veil: but she that broke her vow of chastity was buried alive by the *Colline* gate. There, within the walls, is raised a little mount of earth, called in Latin *Agger;* under which is prepared a small cell, with steps to descend to it. In this are placed a bed, a lighted lamp, and some slight provisions, such as bread, water, milk, and oil, as they thought it impious to take off a person consecrated with the most awful ceremonies, by such a death as that of famine. The criminal is carried to punishment through the *Forum* in a litter well covered without, and bound up in such a manner that her cries cannot be heard. The people silently make way for the litter, and follow it with marks of extreme sorrow and dejection. There is no spectacle more dreadful than this, nor any day which the city passes in a more melancholy manner. When the litter comes to the place appointed, the officers loose the cords, the high-priest, with hands lifted up towards heaven, offers up some private prayers just before the fatal minute, then takes out the prisoner, who is covered with a veil, and places her upon the steps which lead down to the cell: after this he retires with the rest of the priests, and when she is gone down, the steps are taken away, and the cell is covered with earth; so that the place is made level with the rest of the mount. Thus were the *vestals* punished that preserved not their chastity.

It is also said that Numa built the temple of *Vesta,* where the perpetual fire was to be kept‡, in an orbicular form, not intending to represent the figure of the earth, as if that was meant by *Vesta,* but the frame of the universe, in the center of which the Pythagoreans

* This honour was not conferred upon them by Numa, but by the triumvirate in the year of Rome 712.

† Neither a vestal nor a priest of Jupiter was obliged to take an oath. They were believed without that solemnity.

‡ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. ii.) is of opinion, and probably he is right, that Numa did build the the temple of *Vesta* in a round form, to represent the figure of the earth; for, by *Vesta,* they meant the earth.

place the element of fire *, and give it the name of *Vesta* and *Unity*. The earth they suppose not to be without motion, nor situated in the centre of the world, but to make its revolution round the sphere of fire, being neither one of the most valuable nor principal parts of the great machine. Plato, too, in his old age, is reported to have been of the same opinion, assigning the earth a different situation from the centre, and leaving that, as the place of honour, to a nobler element.

The *Pontifices* were, moreover, to prescribe the form of funeral rites to such as consulted them. Numa himself taught them to look upon the last offices to the dead as no pollution. He instructed them to pay all due honour to the infernal gods, as receiving the most excellent part of us, and more particularly to venerate the goddess *Libitina*, as he called her, who presides over funeral solemnities; whether he meant by her *Proserpine*, or rather Venus †, as some of the most learned Romans suppose; not improperly ascribing to the same divine power the care of our birth and of our death.

He himself likewise fixed the time of mourning, according to the different ages of the deceased. He allowed none for a child that died under three years of age; and for one older, the mourning was only to last as many months as he lived years, provided those were not more than ten. The longest mourning was not to continue above ten months, after which space widows were permitted to marry again: but she that took another husband before that term was out, was obliged by his decree to sacrifice a cow with calf ‡.

Numa instituted several other sacred orders; two of which I shall mention, the *Salii* ‖ and *Feciales* §, which afford particular proofs

* That this was the opinion of Philolaus and other Pythagoreans is well known: but Diogenes Laertius tells us, that Pythagoras himself held the earth to be the centre.

† This Venus *Libitina* was the same with Proserpine. She was called at Delphi, Venus *Epitumbia*. Pluto was the Jupiter of the shades below; and there they had their Mercury too.

‡ Such an unnatural sacrifice was intended to deter the widows from marrying again before the expiration of their mourning. Romulus's year consisting but of ten months, when Numa afterwards added two months more, he did not alter the time he had before settled for mourning; and therefore, though after that time we often meet with *Luctus annus*, or a year's mourning, we must take it only for the old year of Romulus.

The ordinary colour to express their grief, used alike by both sexes, was black, without trimmings. But after the establishment of the empire, when abundance of colours came in fashion, the old primitive white grew so much into contempt, that it became peculiar to the women for their mourning. *Vide Plut. Quest. Rom.*

There were several accidents which often occasioned the concluding of a public mourning, or suspension of a private one, before the fixed time; such as the dedication of a temple, the solemnity of public games or festivals, the solemn lustration performed by the censor, and the discharging of a vow made by a magistrate or general. They likewise put off their mourning habit when a father, brother, or son, returned from captivity, or when some of the family were advanced to a considerable employment.

‖ The *Salii* were the guardians of the *Ancilia*, or twelve shields, hung up in the temple of Mars. They took their name from their dancing in the celebration of an annual

of his piety. The *Feciales*, who were like the *Irenophylakes*, or *guardians of the peace*, among the Greeks, had, I believe, a name expressive of their office; for they were to *act* and mediate between the two parties, to decide their differences by reason, and not suffer them to go to war till all hopes of justice were lost. The Greeks call such a peace *Irene*, as puts an end to strife, not by mutual violence, but in a rational way. In like manner, the *feciales*, or *heralds*, were often dispatched to such nations as had injured the Romans, to persuade them to entertain more equitable sentiments: if they rejected their application, they called the gods to witness, with imprecations against themselves and their country, if their cause was not just; and so they declared war. But if the *feciales*, refused their sanction, it was not lawful for any Roman soldier, nor even for the king himself, to begin hostilities. War was to commence with their approbation, as the proper judges whether it was just, and then the supreme magistrate was to deliberate concerning the proper means of carrying it on. The great misfortunes which befel the city from the Gauls, are said to have proceeded from the violation of these sacred rites: for when those barbarians were besieging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus was sent ambassador to their camp with proposals of peace in favour of the besieged. But receiving a harsh answer, he thought himself released from his character of ambassador, and, rashly taking up arms for the Clusians, challenged the bravest man in the Gaulish army. He proved victorious indeed in the combat, for he killed his adversary, and carried off his spoils: but the Gauls having discovered who he was, sent a herald to Rome, to accuse Fabius of bearing arms against them, contrary to treaties and good faith, and without a declaration of war. Upon this the *feciales* exhorted the senate to deliver him up to the Gauls; but he applied to the people, and, being a favourite with them, was screened from the sentence. Soon after this the Gauls marched to Rome and sacked the whole city, except the Capitol; as is related at large in the life of Camillus.

The order of priests called *Salii* is said to have been instituted on this occasion. In the eighth year of Numa's reign, a pestilence prevailed in Italy; Rome also felt its ravages. While the people were greatly dejected, we are told that a brazen buckler fell from heaven into the hands of Numa. Of this he gave a very wonderful account,

festival instituted in memory of a miraculous shield, which Numa pretended fell down from heaven.

§ Dionysius of Halicarnassus finds them among the Aborigines; and Numa is said to have borrowed the institution from the people of Latium. He appointed twenty *feciales* chosen out of the most eminent families in Rome, and settled them in a college. The *pater patratus*, who made peace, or denounced war, was probably one of their body selected for that purpose, because he had both a father and a son alive.—*Liv.* l. i. c. 24.

received from Egeria and the muses: that the buckler was sent down for the preservation of the city, and should be kept with great care: that eleven others should be made as like it as possible in size and fashion, in order, that if any person were disposed to steal it, he might not be able to distinguish that which fell from heaven from the rest. He farther declared, that the place, and the meadows about it, where he frequently conversed with the muses, should be consecrated to those divinities; and that the spring which watered the ground should be sacred to the use of the vestal virgins, daily to sprinkle and purify their temple. The immediate cessation of the pestilence is said to have confirmed the truth of this account. Numa then showed the buckler to the artists, and commanded them to exert all their skill for an exact resemblance. They all declined the attempt, except Veturius Mamurius, who was so successful in the imitation, and made the other eleven so like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. He gave these bucklers in charge to the *Salii;* who did not receive their name, as some pretend, from Salius of Samothrace or Mantinea, that taught the way of dancing in arms, but rather from the subsultive dance itself, which they lead up along the streets, when in the month of March they carry the sacred bucklers through the city. On that occasion they are habited in purple vests, girt with broad belts of brass; they wear also brazen helmets, and carry short swords, with which they strike upon the bucklers, and to those sounds they keep time with their feet. They move in an agreeable manner, performing certain involutions and evolutions in a quick measure, with vigour, agility, and ease.

These bucklers are called *Ancilia*, from the form of them. For they are neither circular, nor yet like the *pelta*, semicircular, but fashioned in two crooked indented lines, the extremities of which meeting close, form a curve, in Greek, *Ancylon*. Or else they may be so named from the *ancon*, or *bend of the arm*, on which they are carried. This account of the matter we have from Juba, who is very desirous to derive the term from the Greek. But if we must have an etymology from that language, it may be taken from their descending, *anekathen*, from on high; or from *akesis*, their healing of the sick; or from *auchmon lusis*, their putting an end to the drought; or, lastly, from *anaschesis*, deliverance from calamaties: for which reason also Castor and Pollux were by the Athenians called *anakes*. The reward Mamurius had for his art, was, we are told, an ode, which the Salians sung in memory of him, along with the Pyrrhic dance. Some, however, say, it was not *Veturius Mamurius* who was celebrated in that composition, but *vetus memoria*, the *ancient remembrance* of the thing.

After Numa had instituted these several orders of priests, he erected a royal palace called *Regia*, near the temple of Vesta; and there he passed most of his time, either in performing some sacred function, or instructing the priests, or, at least, in conversing with them on some divine subject. He had also another house upon the *Quirinal* mount, the situation of which they still show us. In all public ceremonies and processions of the priests, a herald went before, who gave notice to the people to keep holiday: for, as they tell us, the Pythagoreans would not suffer their disciples to pay any homage or worship to the gods in a cursory manner, but required them to come prepared for it by meditation at home: so Numa was of opinion that his citizens should neither see nor hear any religious service in a slight or careless way, but, disengaged from other affairs, bring with them that attention which an object of such importance required. The streets and ways, on such occasions, were cleared of clamour, and all manner of noise which attends manual labour, that the solemnities might not be disturbed. Some vestiges of this still remain; for when the consul is employed either in augury or sacrificing, they call out to the people, *Hoc age, Mind this;* and thus admonish them to be orderly and attentive.

Many other of his institutions resemble those of the Pythagoreans. For, as these had precepts which enjoined them not to sit upon a bushel*, nor to stir the fire with a sword †; not to turn back upon a journey ‡; to offer an odd number to the celestial gods, and an even one to the terrestrial ‖; the sense of which precepts is hid from the vulgar: so some of Numa's have a concealed meaning; as, not to offer to the gods wine proceeding from a vine unpruned; nor to offer sacrifice without meal §; to turn round when you worship ¶; and to sit down when you have worshipped. The two first precepts seem to recommend agriculture as a part of religion. And the turning round in adoration is said to represent the circular motion of the

* That is, not to give ourselves up to idleness.

† Not to irritate him who is already angry.

‡ In another place Plutarch gives this precept thus, *Never return from the borders.* But the sense is the same—Die like a man; do not long after life, when it is departing, or wish to be young again.

‖ The Pagans looked on an odd number as the more perfect, and the symbol of concord, because it cannot be divided into two equal parts as the even number may, which is therefore the symbol of division. This prejudice was not only the reason why the first month was consecrated to the celestial, and the second to the terrestrial deities; but gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, which in some countries are still kept up by those whom reason and religion ought to have undeceived.

§ The principal intention of this precept might be to wean them from sacrifices of blood, and to bring them to offer only cakes and figures of animals made of paste.

¶ Probably to represent the immensity of the Godhead.

world. But, I rather think, that as the temples opened towards the east, such as entered them necessarily turned their backs upon the rising sun, made a half turn to that quarter in honour of the god of day, and then completed the circle, as well as their devotions, with their faces towards the god of the temple; unless, perhaps, this change of posture may have an enigmatical meaning, like the Egyptian wheels, admonishing us of the instability of every thing human, and preparing us to acquiesce and rest satisfied with whatever turns and changes the Divine Being allots us. As for sitting down after an act of religion, they tell us it was intended as an omen of success in prayer, and of lasting happiness afterwards. They add, that as actions are divided by intervals of rest, so when one business was over, they sat down in presence of the gods, that under their auspicious conduct they might begin another. Nor is this repugnant to what has already been advanced; since the lawgiver wanted to accustom us to address the Deity, not in the midst of business or hurry, but when we have time and leisure to do it as we ought.

By this sort of religious discipline the people became so tractable, and were impressed with such a veneration of Numa's power, that they admitted many improbable, and even fabulous tales, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he undertook. Thus, he is said to have invited many of the citizens to his table*, where he took care the vessels should be mean, and the provisions plain and elegant; but, after they were seated, he told them the goddess with whom he used to converse was coming to visit him, when, on a sudden, the room was supplied with the most costly vessels, and the table with a most magnificent entertainment. But nothing can be imagined more absurd than what is related of his conversation with Jupiter. The story goes, that when Mount *Aventine* was not inclosed within the walls, nor yet inhabited, but abounded with flowing springs and shady groves, it was frequented by two demigods, Picus and Faunus. These, in other respects, were like the *Satyrs*, or the race of *Titans*†; but in the wonderful feats they performed by their skill in pharmacy and magic, more resembled the *Idæi Dactyli*‡ (as the Greeks call them), and thus provided, they roamed

* Dionysius tells us, that Numa showed these Romans all the rooms of his palace in the morning meanly furnished, and without any signs of a great entertainment; that he kept them with him great part of the day; and when they returned to sup with him by invitation in the evening, they found every thing surprisingly magnificent. It is likely Numa imputed the change to his invisible friend.

† Some manuscripts give us Πανων instead of Τιτανων, which is a better reading, because Picus and Faunus were horned Sylvan deities like Pan.

‡ Diodorus tells us from Ephorus, the Idæi Dactyli were originally from Mount Ida in Phrygia, from whence they passed into Europe with king Minos. They settled first

about Italy. They tell us, that Numa, having mixed the fountain of which they used to drink with wine and honey, surprised and caught them. Upon this they turned themselves into many forms, and, quitting their natural figure, assumed strange and horrible appearances. But when they found they could not break or escape from the bond that held them, they acquainted him with many secrets of futurity, and taught him a charm for thunder and lightning, composed of onions, hair, and pilchards, which is used to this day. Others say, these demigods did not communicate the charm, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this at Numa's hand, ordered *the charm to consist of heads*. *Of onions*, replied Numa. *No, human.*—*Hairs*, said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. *Living*, said Jupiter: *Pilchards*, said Numa. He was instructed, it seems by Egeria, how to manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious, in Greek *ileos*, whence the place was called *Ilicium**; and so the charm was effected. These things, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, show how superstition, confirmed by custom, operated upon the minds of the people. As for Numa himself, he placed his confidence so entirely in God, that when one brought him word the enemy was coming, he only smiled, saying, *And I am sacrificing*.

He is recorded to have been the first that built temples to *Fides*†, or *Faith*, and to *Terminus*‡; and he taught the Romans to swear

in Samothrace, where they taught the inhabitants religious rites. Orpheus is thought to have been their disciple; and the first that carried a form of worship over into Greece. The Dactyli are likewise said to have found out the use of fire, and to have discovered the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of Mount Berecynthus, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this, and many other useful discoveries, they were after their death worshipped as gods.

* This is Plutarch's mistake. Ovid informs us (Fast. l. iii.) that Jupiter was called *Elicius* from *elicere, to draw out*, because Jupiter was drawn out of heaven on this occasion.

† This was intended to make the Romans pay as much regard to their word as to a contract in writing. And so excellent, in fact, were their principles, that Polybius gives the Romans of his time this honourable testimony: "They most inviolably keep their word, without being obliged to it by bail, witness, or promise; whereas ten securities, twenty promises, and as many witnesses, cannot hinder the faithless Greeks from attempting to deceive and disappoint you." No wonder, then, that so virtuous a people were victorious over those that were become thus degenerate and dishonest.

‡ The *Dii Termini* were represented by stones, which Numa caused to be placed on the borders of the Roman state, and of each man's private lands. In honour of these deities, he instituted a festival called *Terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the 22d or 23d of February. To remove the Dii Termini was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature, that any man might kill, with impunity, the transgressor.

by *faith*, as the greatest of oaths; which they still continue to make use of. In our times they sacrifice animals in the fields, both on public and private occasions, to *Terminus*, as the god of boundaries; but formerly the offering was an inanimate one; for Numa argued that there should be no effusion of blood in the rites of a god, who is the witness of justice, and guardian of peace. It is indeed certain, that Numa was the first that marked out the bounds of the Roman territory; Romulus being unwilling, by measuring out his own, to shew how much he had encroached upon the neighbouring countries: For bounds, if preserved, are barriers against lawless power: if violated, they are evidences of injustice. The territory of the city was by no means extensive at first, but Romulus added to it a considerable district gained by the sword. All this Numa divided among the indigent citizens, that poverty might not drive them to rapine; and, as he turned the application of the people to agriculture, their temper was subdued together with the ground. For no occupation implants so speedy and so effectual a love of peace as a country life, where there remains indeed courage and bravery sufficient to defend their property, but the temptations to injustice and avarice are removed. Numa, therefore, introduced among his subjects an attachment to husbandry, as a charm of peace, and, contriving a business for them which would rather form their manners to simplicity, than raise them to opulence, he divided the country into several portions, which he called *pagi* or boroughs, and appointed over each of them a governor or overseer. Sometimes also he inspected them himself, and judging of the disposition of the people by the condition of their farms, some he advanced to posts of honour and trust; and, on the other hand, he reprimanded, and endeavoured to reform the negligent and the idle*.

But the most admired of all his institutions, is his distribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. For the city consisting, as we have before observed, of two nations, or rather factions, who were by no means willing to unite, or to blot out the remembrance of their original difference, but maintained perpetual contests and party quarrels; he took the same method with them as is used to incorporate hard and solid bodies, which, while entire, will not mix at all, but, when reduced to powder, unite with ease. To attain his purpose, he divided, as I said, the whole multitude into small bodies, who, gaining new distinctions, lost, by degrees, the great and original one, in consequence of their being thus broken into so many parts. This distribution

* To neglect the cultivation of a farm, was considered, amongst the Romans, as a *censorium probrum*, a fault that merited the chastisement of the censor.

was made according to the several arts or trades, of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, brasiers, and potters. He collected the other artificers also into companies, who had their respective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies, peculiar to each society. By these means he first took away the distinction of Sabines and Romans, subjects of Tatius, and subjects of Romulus, both name and thing, the very separation into parts mixing and incorporating the whole together.

He is celebrated also in his political capacity, for correcting the law which empowered fathers to sell their children*, excepting such as married by their father's command or consent; for he reckoned it a great hardship that a woman should marry a man as free, and then live with a slave.

He attempted the reformation of the kalendar, too, which he executed with some degree of skill, though not with absolute exactness. In the reign of Romulus, it had neither measure nor order, some months consisting of fewer than twenty days†, while some were stretched out to thirty-five, and others even to more. They had no idea of the difference between the annual course of the sun and

* Romulus had allowed fathers greater power over their children, than masters had over their slaves. For a master could sell his slave but once; whereas a father could sell his son three times, let him be of what age or condition soever.

† But Macrobius tells us (Saturnal l. i. c. 12.) that Romulus settled the number of days with more equality, allotting to March, May, Quintilis, and October, one-and-thirty days each; to April, June, Sextilis, November, and December, thirty; making up in all three hundred and four days. Numa was better acquainted with the celestial motions; and therefore, in the first place, added the two months of January and February. By the way, it is probable, the reader will think, that neither Romulus, nor any other man, could be so ignorant as to make the lunar year consist of three hundred and four days; and that the Romans reckoned by lunar months, and consequently by the lunar year, originally, is plain from their calends, nones, and ides. To compose these two months, he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them answer to the course of the moon. Besides this, he observed the difference between the solar and the lunar course to be eleven days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled those days after every two years, adding an interstitial month after February; which Plutarch here calls *Mercedinus*; and, in the life of Julius Cæsar, *Mercedonius*. Festus speaks of certain days, which he calls Dies Mercedonii, because they were appointed for the payment of workmen and domestics, which is all we know of the word. As Numa was sensible that the solar year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, and that the six hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded that the month Mercedinus, after every four years, should consist of twenty-three days; but the care of these intercalations being left to the priests, they put in or left out the intercalary day or month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky; and, by that means, created such a confusion, that the festivals came, in process of time, to be kept at a season quite contrary to what they had been formerly. The Roman kalendar had gained near three months in the days of Julius Cæsar, and therefore wanted a great reformation again.

that of the moon, and only laid down this position, that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty days. Numa, then, observing that there was a difference of eleven days, three hundred and fifty-four days making up the lunar year, and three hundred and sixty-five the solar, doubled those eleven days, and inserted them as an intercalary month, after that of February, every other year. This additional month was called by the Romans *Mercedinus*. But this amendment of the irregularity afterwards required a farther amendment. He likewise altered the order of the months, making March the third, which was the first; January the first, which was the eleventh of Romulus; and February the second, which was the twelfth and last. Many, however, assert, that the two months of January and February were added by Numa, whereas, before they had reckoned but ten months in the year, as some barbarous nations had but three; and, among the Greeks, the Arcadians four, and the Arcananians six. The Egyptian year, they tell us, at first, consisted only of one month, afterwards of four. And therefore, though they inhabit a new country, they seem to be a very ancient people, and reckon in their chronology an incredible number of years, because they account months for years*.

That the Roman year contained at first ten months only, and not twelve, we have proof in the name of the last; for they still call it December, or the tenth month; and that March was the first, is also evident, because the fifth from it was called *Quintilis*, the sixth *Sextilis*, and so the rest in their order. If January and February had then been placed before March, the month *Quintilis* would have been the fifth in name, but the seventh in reckoning. Besides, it is reasonable to conclude, that the month of March, dedicated by Romulus to the god *Mars*, should stand first; and April second, which has its name from *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, for in this month the women sacrifice to that goddess, and bathe on the first of it, with crowns of myrtle on their heads. Some however say, April derives not its name from *Aphrodite;* but, as the very sound of the term seems to dictate, from *aperire, to open*, because the spring having then attained its vigour, it *opens* and unfolds the

* To suppose the Egyptians reckoned months for years, does, indeed, bring their computation pretty near the truth, with respect to the then age of the world; for they reckoned a succession of kings for the space of 36,000 years. But that supposition would make the reigns of their kings unreasonably short. Besides, Herodotus says; the Egyptians were the first that began to compute by years; and that they made the year to consist of twelve months. Their boasted antiquity must, therefore, be imputed to their stretching the fabulous part of their history too far back. As to Plutarch's saying that Egypt was a new country, it is strange that such a notion could ever be entertained by a man of his knowledge.

blossoms of plants. The next month, which is that of May, is so called from *Maia*, the mother of Mercury; for to him it is sacred. June is so styled from the *youthful* season of year. Some again inform us, that these two months borrow their names from the two ages, *old* and *young*; for the older men are called *Majores*, and and the younger *Juniores*. The succeeding months were denominated according to their order, of fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth. Afterwards *Quintilis* was called July, in honour of Julius Cæsar, who overcame Pompey; and *Sextilis* August, from Augustus the second emperor of Rome. To the two following months Domitian gave his two names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, which lasted but a little while; for when he was slain, they resumed their old names, September and October. The two last were the only ones that all along retained the original appellation which they had from their order. February, which was either added or transposed by Numa, is the month of purification; for so the term signifies; and then rites are celebrated for the purifying of trees, and procuring a blessing on their fruits; then also the feast of the *Lupercalia* is held, whose ceremonies greatly resemble those of a lustration. January, the first month, is so called from *Janus*. And Numa seems to me to have taken away the precedency from March, which is denominated from the god of war, with a design to show his preference of the political virtues to the martial. For this *Janus*, in the most remote antiquity, whether a demigod or a king, being remarkable for his political abilities, and his cultivation of society, reclaimed men from their rude and savage manners; he is therefore represented with two faces, as having altered the former state of the world, and given quite a new turn to life. He has also a temple at Rome with two gates, which they call the gates of war. It is the custom for this temple to stand open in the time of war, and to be shut in time of peace. The latter was seldom the case, as the empire has been generally engaged in war, on account of its great extent, and its having to contend with so many surrounding barbarous nations. It has therefore been shut only in the reign of Augustus Cæsar*, when he had conquered Antony: and before, in the consulate of Marcus Attilius† and Titus Manlius, a little while; for a new war breaking out, it was soon opened again. In Nu-

* Augustus shut the temple of Janus three several times; one of which was in the year of Rome 750 before the birth of our Saviour, according to Isaiah's prophecy, that all the world should be blessed with peace, when the Prince of Peace was born. This temple was also shut by Vespasian after his triumph over the Jews.

† Instead of Marcus, we should read Caius Attilius. Titus Manlius, his colleague, shut the temple of Janus at the conclusion of the first Punic war.

ma's reign, however, it was not opened for one day, but stood constantly shut during the space of forty-three years, while uninterrupted peace reigned in every quarter. Not only the people of Rome were softened and humanized by the justice and mildness of the king, but even the circumjacent cities, breathing, as it were, the same salutary and delightful air, began to change their behaviour. Like the Romans, they became desirous of peace and good laws, of cultivating the ground, educating their children in tranquillity, and paying their homage to the gods. Italy then was taken up with festivals and sacrifices, games, and entertainments; the people without any apprehension of danger, mixed in a friendly manner, and treated each other with mutual hospitality; the love of virtue and justice, as from the source of Numa's wisdom, gently flowing upon all, and moving with the composure of *his* heart. Even the hyperbolical expressions of the poets fall short of describing the happiness of those days:

> Secure Arachne spread her slender toils
> O'er the broad buckler; eating rust consum'd
> The vengeful swords and once far-gleaming spears:
> No more the trump of war swells it hoarse throat,
> Nor robs the eye-lids of their genial slumber*.

We have no account of either war or insurrection in the state during Numa's reign. Nay, he experienced neither enmity nor envy; nor did ambition dictate either open or private attempts against his crown. Whether it were the fear of the gods, who took so pious a man under their protection, or reverence for his virtue, or the singular good fortune of his times, that kept the manners of men pure and unsullied, he was an illustrious instance of that truth which Plato, several ages after, ventured to deliver concerning governments: *That the only sure prospect of deliverance from the evils of life will be, when the divine Providence shall so order it, that the regal power, invested in a prince who has the sentiments of a philosopher, shall render virtue triumphant over vice.* A man of such wisdom is not only happy in himself, but contributes by his instructions to the happiness of others. There is, in truth, no need either of force or menaces to direct the multitude; for when they see virtue exemplified in so glorious a pattern as the life of their prince, they become wise of themselves, and endeavour, by friendship and unanimity, by a strict regard to justice and temperance, to form themselves to an innocent and happy life. This is the noblest end of government; and he is most worthy of the royal seat who

* Plutarch took this passage from some excellent verses of Bacchylides in praise of peace given us by Stobæus.

can regulate the lives and dispositions of his subjects in such a manner. No man was more sensible of this than Numa.

As to his wives and children, there are great contradictions among historians. For some say he had no wife but Tatia, nor any child but one daughter named Pompilia. Others, besides that daughter, give an account of four sons, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus; every one of which left an honourable posterity, the Pomponii being descended from Pompon, the Pinarii from Pinus, the Calpurnii from Calpus, and the Mamercii from Mamercus. These were surnamed *Reges* or *kings**. But a third set of writers accuse the former of forging these genealogies from Numa, in order to ingratiate themselves with particular families. And they tell us, that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife, whom he married after he ascended the throne. All, however, agree, that Pompilia was married to Marcius, son of that Marcius who persuaded Numa to accept the crown; for he followed him to Rome, where he was enrolled a senator, and after Numa's death, was competitor with Tullus Hostilius for the throne; but failing in the enterprise, he starved himself to death. His son Marcius, husband to Pompilia, remained in Rome, and had a son named Ancus Marcius, who reigned after Tullus Hostilius. This son is said to have been but five years old at the death of Numa.

Numa was carried off by no sudden or acute distemper; but, as Piso relates, wasted away insensibly with old age and a gentle decline. He was some few years above eighty when he died.

The neighbouring nations, that were in friendship and alliance with Rome, strove to make the honours of his burial equal to the happiness of his life, attending with crowns and other public offerings. The senators carried the bier, and the ministers of the gods walked in procession. The rest of the people, with the women and children, crowded to the funeral, not as if they were attending the interment of an aged king, but as if they had lost one of their beloved relations in the bloom of life; for they followed it with tears and loud lamentations. They did not burn the body†,

* *Rex* was the surname of the Æmilians and Marcians; but not of the Pomponians, the Pinarians, or Mamercians. The Pinarii were descended from a family who were priests of Hercules, and more ancient than the times of Numa.

† In the most ancient times they committed the bodies of the dead to the ground, as appears from the history of the patriarchs. But the Egyptians, from a vain desire of preserving their bodies from corruption after death, had them embalmed; persons of condition with rich spices, and even the poor had theirs preserved with salt. The Greeks, to obviate the inconveniences that might possibly happen from corruption, burnt the bodies of the dead; but Pliny tells us, that Sylla was the first Roman whose body was burnt. When Paganism was abolished, the burning of dead bodies ceased

because, as we are told, he himself forbade it; but they made two stone coffins, and buried them under the Janiculum; the one containing his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written in the same manner as the Grecian legislators wrote their tables of laws.

Numa had taken care, however, in his life-time, to instruct the priests in all that those books contained, and to impress both the sense and practice on their memories. He then ordered them to be buried with him, persuaded that such mysteries could not safely exist in lifeless writing. Influenced by the same reasoning, it is said, the Pythagoreans did not commit their precepts to writing, but intrusted them to the memories of such as they thought worthy of so great a deposit. And when they happened to communicate to an unworthy person their abstruse problems in geometry, they gave out that the gods threatened to avenge his profaneness and impiety with some great and signal calamity. Those, therefore, may be well excused who endeavour to prove by so many resemblances, that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras. Valerius Antias relates, that there were twelve books written in Latin, concerning religion, and twelve more of philosophy, in Greek, buried in that coffin. But four hundred years after *, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were consuls, a prodigious fall of rain having washed away the earth that covered the coffins, and the lids falling off, one of them appeared entirely empty, without the least remains of the body; in the other, the books were found. Petilius, then prætor, having examined them, made his report upon oath to the senate, that it appeared to him inconsistent, both with justice and religion, to make them public; in consequence of which all the volumes were carried into the Comitium, and burnt.

Glory follows in the train of great men, and increases after their death; for envy does not long survive them: nay, it sometimes dies with it; and, in the belief of the resurrection, Christians committed their dead with due care and honour to the earth, to repose there till that great event.

* Plutarch probably wrote in five hundred; for this happened in the year of Rome 573. "One Terentius," says Varro (*Ap. S. August. de Civ. Dei*), "had a piece of ground, near the Janiculum; and an husbandman of his one day accidentally running over Numa's tomb, turned up some of the legislator's books, wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the Romans as he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the prætor, and the prætor to the senate, who, after having read his frivolous reasons for his religious establishments, agreed that the books should be destroyed, in pursuance of Numa's intentions. It was accordingly decreed, that the prætor should throw them into the fire." But though Numa's motives for the religion he established might be trivial enough, that was not the chief reason for suppressing them. The real, at least the principal reason, was the many new superstitions, equally trivial, which the Romans had introduced, and the worship which they paid to images, contrary to Numa's appointment.

before them. The misfortunes, indeed, of the succeeding kings added lustre to the character of Numa. Of the five that came after him, the last was driven from the throne, and lived long in exile; and of the other four not one died a natural death. Three were traiterously slain. As for Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, he ridiculed and despised many of his best institutions, particularly his religious ones, as effeminate and tending to inaction; for his view was to dispose the people to war. He did not, however, abide by his irreligious opinions, but falling into a severe and complicated sickness, he changed them for a superstition * very different from Numa's piety: others, too, were infected with the same false principles, when they saw the manner of his death, which is said to have happened by lightning †.

NUMA AND LYCURGUS COMPARED.

HAVING gone through the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, we must now endeavour (though it is no easy matter) to *contrast* their actions. The resemblances between them, however, are obvious enough; their wisdom, for instance, their piety, their talents for government, the instruction of their people, and their deriving their laws from a divine source. But the chief of their peculiar distinctions was Numa's accepting a crown, and Lycurgus's relinquishing one. The former received a kingdom without seeking it, the latter resigned one when he had it in possession. Numa was advanced to sovereign power, when a private person and a stranger; Lycurgus reduced himself from a king to a private person. It was an honour to the one to attain to royal dignity by his justice; and it was an honour to the other to prefer justice to that dignity. Virtue rendered the one so respectable as to deserve a throne, and the other so great as to be above it.

The second observation is, that both managed their respective governments as musicians do the lyre, each in a different manner. Lycurgus wound up the strings of Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, to a stronger tone: Numa softened the high and harsh

* None are so superstitious in their distress as those who, in their prosperity, have laughed at religion. The famous Canon Vossius was no less remarkable for the greatness of his fears, than he was for the littleness of his faith.

† The palace of Tullus Hostilius was burnt down by lightning; and he, with his wife and children, perished in the flames. Though some historians say, that Ancus Marcius, who, as the grandson of Numa, expected to succeed to the crown, took the opportunity of the storm to assassinate the king.

tone of Rome. The former had the more difficult task: for it was not their swords and breast-plates which he persuaded his citizens to lay aside, but their gold and silver, their sumptuous beds and tables: what he taught them was, not to devote their time to feasts and sacrifices, after quitting the rugged paths of war, but to leave entertainments and the pleasures of wine for the laborious exercises of arms and the wrestling ring. Numa effected his purposes in a friendly way, by the regard and veneration the people had for his person; Lycurgus had to struggle with conflicts and dangers, before he could establish his laws. The genius of Numa was more mild and gentle, softening and attempering the fiery dispositions of his people to justice and peace. If we be obliged to admit the sanguinary and unjust treatment of the Helotes, as a part of the politics of Lycurgus, we must allow Numa to have been far the more humane and equitable lawgiver, who permitted absolute slaves to taste of the honour of free men, and in the *Saturnalia* to be entertained along with their masters *. For this also, they tell us, was one of Numa's institutions, that persons in a state of servitude should be admitted, at least once a-year, to the liberal enjoyment of those fruits which they had helped to raise. Some, however, pretend to find in this custom the vestiges of the equality which subsisted in the times of Saturn, when there was neither servant nor master, but all were upon the same footing, and, as it were, of one family.

Both appear to have been equally studious to lead their people to temperance and sobriety. As to the other virtues, the one was more attached to fortitude, and the other to justice; though possibly the different nature and quality of their respective governments required a different process. For it was not through want of courage, but to guard against injustice, that Numa restrained his subjects from war: nor did Lycurgus endeavour to infuse a martial spirit into his people with a view to encourage them to injure others, but to guard them against being injured by invasions. As each had the luxuriances of his citizens to prune, and their deficiencies to fill up, they must necessarily make very considerable alterations.

Numa's distribution of the people was indulgent and agreeable to the commonalty, as with him a various and mixed mass of goldsmiths,

* The *Saturnalia* was the feast celebrated on the 14th of the kalends of January. Besides the sacrifices in honour of Saturn, who, upon his retiring into Italy, introduced there the happiness of the golden age, servants were at this time indulged in mirth and freedom, in memory of the equality which prevailed in that age; presents were sent from one friend to another; and no war was to be proclaimed, or offender executed. It is uncertain when this festival was instituted. Macrobius says, it was celebrated in Italy long before the building of Rome; and probably he is right, for the Greeks kept the same feast, under the name of *Chronea*. *Macrob. Satur.* l. i. c. 7.

musicians, shoemakers, and other trades, composed the body of the city. But Lycurgus inclined to the nobility in modelling his state, and he proceeded in a severe and unpopular manner; putting all mechanic arts in the hands of slaves and strangers, while the citizens were only taught how to manage the spear and shield. They were only artists in war, and servants of Mars, neither knowing nor desiring to know any thing but how to obey, command, and conquer their enemies. That the freemen might be entirely and once for all free, he would not suffer them to give any attention to their circumstances, but that the whole business was to be left to the slaves and Helotes, in the same manner as the dressing of their meat. Numa made no such distinction as this: he only put a stop to the gain of rapine. Not solicitous to prevent an inequality of substance, he forbade no other means of increasing the fortunes of his subjects, nor their rising to the greatest opulence; neither did he guard against poverty, which at the same time made its way into and spread in the city. While there was no great disparity in the possessions of his citizens, but all were moderately provided, he should at first have combatted the desire of gain, and, like Lycurgus, have watched against its inconveniences; for those were by no means inconsiderable, but such as gave birth to the many and great troubles that happened in the Roman state.

As to an equal division of lands, neither was Lycurgus to blame for making it, nor Numa for not making it. The equality which it caused afforded the former a firm foundation for his government; and the latter, finding a division already made, and probably as yet subsisting entire, had no occasion to make a new one.

With respect to the community of wives and children, each took a politic method to banish jealousy. A Roman husband, when he had a sufficient number of children, and was applied to by one that had none, might give up his wife to him *, and was at liberty both to divorce her and to take her again. But the Lacedæmonian, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage subsisted in its original force, allowed his friend, who desired to have children by her, the use of his bed; and (as we have already observed) many husbands invited to their houses such men as were likely to give them healthy and well made children. The difference between the two customs is this, that the Lacedæmonians appeared very easy and unconcerned about an affair that in other places causes so much disturbance, and consumes men's hearts wish jealousy and sorrow; whilst, among the Romans, there was a modesty which veiled the matter with a new

* It does not appear that Numa gave any sanction to this liberty. Plutarch himself says a little below, that no divorce was known in Rome till long after.

contract, and seemed to declare that a community in wedlock is intolerable.

Yet, farther, Numa's strictness as to virgins tended to form them to that modesty which is the ornament of their sex: but the great liberty which Lycurgus gave them, brought upon them the censure of the poets, particularly Ibycus: for they call them *Phœnomerides*, and *Andromancis*. Euripides describes them in this manner:

> These quit their homes, ambitious to display,
> Amidst the youths, their vigour in the race,
> Or feats of wrestling, whilst their airy robe
> Flies back, and leaves their limbs uncovered.

The skirts of the habit which the virgins wore were not sewed to the bottom, but opened at the sides as they walked, and discovered the thigh; as Sophocles very plainly writes:

> Still in the light dress struts the vain Hermione,
> Whose opening folds display the naked thigh.

Consequently their behaviour is said to have been too bold and too masculine, in particular to their husbands: for they considered themselves as absolute mistresses in their houses; nay, they wanted a share in affairs of state, and delivered their sentiments with great freedom concerning the most weighty matters. But Numa, though he preserved entire to the matrons all the honour and respect that were paid them by their husbands in the time of Romulus, when they endeavoured by kindness to compensate for the rape, yet he obliged them to behave with great reserve, and to lay aside all impertinent curiosity. He taught them to be sober, and accustomed them to silence, entirely to abstain from wine *, and not to speak even of the most necessary affairs, except in the presence of their husbands. When a woman once appeared in the *forum* to plead her own cause, it is reported that the senate ordered the oracle to be consulted, what this strange event protended to the city †. Nay, what is recorded of a few infamous women is a proof of the obedience and meekness of the Roman matrons in general: for as our historians give us accounts of those who first carried war into the bowels of their country, or against their brothers, or were first guilty of parri-

* Romulus made the drinking of wine, as well as adultery, a capital crime in women. For, he said, adultery opens the door to all sorts of crimes, and wine opens the door to adultery. The severity of this law was softened in the succeeding ages; the women who were overtaken in liquor were not condemned to die, but to lose their dowers.

† What then appeared so strange became afterwards common enough; insomuch that every troublesome woman of that kind was called Afrania, from a senator's wife of that name, who busied herself much in courts of justice. The eloquent Hortentia, daughter to to the orator Hortensius, pleaded with such success for the women, when the triumvirs had laid a fine upon them, that she got a considerable part of it remitted.

cide; so the Romans relate, that Spurius Carvilius was the first among them that divorced his wife, when no such thing had happened before for two hundred and thirty years from the building of Rome*: and that Thalæa, the wife of Pinarius, was the first that quarrelled, having a dispute with her mother-in-law Gegania, in the reign of Tarquin *the Proud*. So well framed for the preserving of decency and a propriety of behaviour were this lawgiver's regulations with respect to marriage.

Agreeable to the education of virgins in Sparta were the directions of Lycurgus as to the time of their being married. For he ordered them to be married when both their age and wishes led them to it; that the company of a husband, which nature now required, might be the foundation of kindness and love, and not of fear and hatred, which would be the consequence when nature was forced; and that their bodies might have the strength to bear the troubles of breeding and the pangs of child-birth; the propagation of children being looked upon as the only end of marriage. But the Romans married their daughters at the age of twelve years, or under, that both their bodies and manners might come pure and untainted into the management of their husbands. It appears, then, that the former institution more naturally tended to the procreation of children, and the latter to the forming of the manners for the matrimonial union.

However, in the education of the boys, in regulating their classes, and laying down the whole method of their exercises, their diversions, and their eating at a common table, Lycurgus stands distinguished, and leaves Numa only upon a level with ordinary lawgivers. For Numa left it to the option or convenience of parents to bring up their sons to agriculture, to ship-building, to the business of a brasier, or the art of a musician; as if it were not necessary for one design to run through the education of them all, and for each individual to have the same bias given him; but as if they were all like passengers in a ship, who, coming each from a different employment, and with a different intent, stand upon their common defence in time of danger, merely out of fear for themselves or their property, and on other occasions are attentive only to their private ends. In such a case common legislators would have been excusable, who might have failed through ignorance or want of power. But should not so wise a man as Numa, who took upon him the government of a state so lately formed, and not likely to make the least opposition to any thing he proposed, have considered it as his first care to give the children such a bent of education, and the youth such a mode of exercise, as would prevent any great difference or confusion in their manners,

* It was in the 520th year of Rome that this happened.

that so they might be formed from their infancy, and persuaded to walk together in the same paths of virtue? Lycurgus found the utility of this in several respects, and particularly in securing the continuance of his laws. For the oath the Spartans had taken would have availed but little, if the youth had not been already tinctured with his discipline, and trained to a zeal for his establishment. Nay, so strong and deep was the tincture, that the principal laws which he enacted continued in force for more than five hundred years. But the primary view of Numa's government, which was to settle the Romans in lasting peace and tranquillity, immediately vanished with him; and, after his death, the temple of Janus, which he had kept shut (as if he had really held war in prison and subjection), was set wide open, and Italy was filled with blood*. The beautiful pile of justice which he had reared presently fell to the ground, being without the cement of education.

You will say then, was not Rome bettered by her wars? A question this which wants a long answer, to satisfy such as place the happiness of a state in riches, luxury, and an extent of dominion, rather than in security, equity, temperance, and content. It may seem, however, to afford an argument in favour of Lycurgus, that the Romans, upon quitting the discipline of Numa, soon arrived at a much higher degree of power; whereas the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they departed from the institutions of Lycurgus, from being the most respectable people of Greece, became the meanest, and were in danger of being absolutely destroyed. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged something truly great and divine in Numa to be invited from another country to the throne; to make so many alterations by means of persuasions; to reign undisturbed over a city not yet united in itself, without the use of an armed force (which Lycurgus was obliged to have recourse to, when he availed himself of the aid of the nobility against the commons), and, by his wisdom and justice alone, to conciliate and combine all his subjects in peace.

SOLON†.

DIDYMUS the grammarian, in his answer to Asclepiades, concerning the laws of Solon, cites the testimony of one Philocles, by which he would prove Solon the son of Euphorion, contrary to the opinion of others that have wrote of him. For they all with one voice

* In the wars with the Fidenates, the Albans, and the Latins.

† Solon flourished about the year before Christ 597.

declare that Execestides was his father; a man of moderate fortune and power, but of the noblest family in Athens, being descended from Codrus. His mother, according to Heraclides of Pontus, was cousin-german to the mother of Pisistratus. This tie of friendship at first united Solon and Pisistratus in a very intimate friendship, which was drawn closer, if we may believe some writers, by the regard which the former had for the beauty and excellent qualities of the latter*. Hence we may believe it was, that when they differed afterwards about matters of state, this dissension broke not out into any harsh or ungenerous treatment of each other; but their first union kept some hold of their hearts, *some sparks of the flame still remained*, and the tenderness of former friendship was not quite forgotten. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Solon's father having hurt his fortune †, as Hermippus tells us, by indulging his great and munificent spirit, though the son might have been supported by his friends, yet, as he was of a family that had long been assisting to others, he was ashamed to accept of assistance himself; and therefore, in his younger years, applied himself to merchandise. Some, however, say that he travelled, rather to gratify his curiosity and extend his knowledge, than to raise an estate. For he professed his love of wisdom, and, when far advanced in years, made this declaration, *I grow old in the pursuit of learning*. He was not too much attached to wealth as we may gather from the following verses:

* Pisistratus was remarkably courteous, affable, and liberable. He had always two or three slaves near him with bags of silver coin; when he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any died insolvent, he relieved the one, and buried the others at his own expence. If he perceived people melancholy, he inquired the cause, and if he found it was poverty, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly. Nay, he left even his gardens and orchards open, and the fruit free to the citizens. His looks were easy and sedate, his language soft and modest. In short, if his virtues had been genuine, and not dissembled, with a view to the tyranny of Athens, he would, as Solon told him, have been the best citizen in it.

† Aristotle reckons Solon himself among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it. The truth is, that Solon was never rich, it may be, because he was always honest. In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry. And Plato, in *Timæo*, says, that if he had finished all his poems, and particularly the History of the Atlantic Island, which he had brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to revise and correct them as others did, neither Homer, Hesiod, or any other ancient poet, would have been more famous. It is evident, both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a pleasant and agreeable temper. He considered men as men, and keeping both their capacity for virtue, and their proneness to evil, in his view, he adapted his laws so as to strengthen and support the one, and to check and keep under the other. His institutions are as remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as those of Lycurgus are for harshness and forcing human nature.

The man that boasts of golden stores,
Of grain that loads his bending floors,
Of fields with fresh'ning herbage green,
Where bounding steeds and herds are seen,
I call not happier than the swain
Whose limbs are sound, whose food is plain;
Whose joys a blooming wife endears,
Whose hours a smiling offspring cheers *.

Yet in another place he says:

The flow of riches, though desir'd;
Life's real goods, if well acquir'd,
Unjustly let me never gain,
Lest vengeance follow in their train.

Indeed, a good man, a valuable member of society, should neither set his heart upon superfluities, nor reject the use of what is necessary and convenient. And in those times, as Hesiod † informs us, no business was looked upon as a disparagement, nor did any trade cause a disadvantageous distinction. The profession of merchandise was honourable, as it brought home the produce of barbarous countries, engaged the friendship of kings, and opened a wide field of knowledge and experience. Nay, some merchants have been founders of great cities; Protus, for instance, that built Marseilles, for whom the Gauls about the Rhone had the highest esteem. Thales also, and Hippocrates the mathematician, are said to have had their share in commerce; and the oil that Plato disposed of Egypt ‡ defrayed the expence of his travels.

If Solon was too expensive and luxurious in his way of living, and indulged his poetical vein in his description of pleasure too freely for a philosopher, it is imputed to his mercantile life; for as he passed through many and great dangers, he might surely compensate them with a little relaxation and enjoyment. But that he placed himself rather in the class of the poor than the rich, is evident from these lines:

For vice, though plenty fills her horn,
And virtue sinks in want and scorn;
Yet never, sure, shall Solon change
His truth for wealth's most easy range!
Since virtue lives, and truth shall stand,
While wealth eludes the grasping hand.

He seems to have made use of his poetical talent at first not for any serious purpose, but only for amusement, and to fill up his hours of

* This passage of Solon's, and another below, are now found among the sentences of Theognis.

† Lib. Ob. et Di. ver. 309.

‡ It was usual to trade into Egypt with the oil of Greece and Judea. It is said, in prophet Hosea, c. 12. v. 1. *Ephraim carrieth oil into Egypt.*

leisure; but afterwards he inserted moral sentences, and interwove many political transactions in his poems, not for the sake of recording or remembering them, but sometimes by way of apology for his own administration, and sometimes to exhort, to advise, or to censure the citizens of Athens. Some are of opinion, that he attempted to put his laws, too, in verse; and they give us this beginning:

Supreme of gods, whose power we first address
This plan to honour, and these laws to bless.

Like most of the sages of his time, he cultivated that part of moral philosophy which treats of civil obligations. His physics were of a simple and ancient cast, as appears from the following lines:

From cloudy vapours falls the treasur'd snow,
And the fierce hail: from lightning's rapid blaze
Springs the loud thunder—winds disturb the deep
Than whose unruffled breast, no smoother scene
In all the works of nature!

Upon the whole, Thales seems to have been the only philosopher who then carried his speculations beyond things in common use, while the rest of the wise men maintained their character by rules for social life.

They are reported to have met at Delphi, and afterwards at Corinth, upon the invitation of Periander, who made provision for their entertainment. But what contributed most to their honour was their sending the *tripod* from one to another, with an ambition to outvie each other in modesty. The story is this: when some Coans were drawing a net, certain strangers from Miletus bought the draught unseen. It proved to be a golden tripod, which Helen, as she sailed from Troy, is said to have thrown in there, in compliance with an ancient oracle. A dispute arising at first between the strangers and the fishermen about the tripod, and afterwards extending itself to the states to which they belonged, so as almost to engage them in hostilities, the priestess of Apollo took up the matter, by ordering that the wisest man they could find should have the tripod. And first it was sent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans voluntarily presenting that to one of the Milesians, for which they would have gone to war with them all. Thales declared that Bias was a wiser man than he, so it was brought to him. He sent it to another as wiser still. After making a farther circuit, it came to Thales the second time. And at last it was carried from Miletus to Thebes, and dedicated to the Ismenian Apollo. Theophrastus relates, that the tripod was first sent to Bias at Prienne; that Bias sent it back again to Thales at Miletus; that so having passed through the hands of the seven, it came round to Bias again, and at last was sent to the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

This is the most current account; yet some say the present was not a tripod, but a bowl sent by Crœsus; and others, that it was a cup which one Bathycles had left for that purpose.

We have a particular account of a conversation which Solon had with Anacharsis*, and of another he had with Thales. Anacharsis went to Solon's house at Athens, knocked at the door, and said, *he was a stranger, who desired to enter into engagements of friendship and mutual hospitality with him.* Solon answered, *Friendships are best formed at home. Then do you*, said Anacharsis, *who are at home, make me your friend, and receive me into you house.* Struck with the quickness of his repartee, Solon gave him a kind welcome, and kept him some time with him, being then employed in public affairs, and in modelling his laws. When Anacharsis knew what Solon was about, he laughed at his undertaking, and at the absurdity of imagining he could restrain the avarice and injustice of his citizens by *written laws, which in all respects resembled spiders' webs, and would, like them, only entangle, and hold the poor and weak, while the rich and powerful easily broke through them.* To this Solon replied, *Men keep their agreements, when it is an advantage to both parties not to break them; and he would so frame his laws, as to make it evident to the Athenians, that it would be more for their interest to observe them than to transgress them.* The event, however, showed that Anacharsis was nearer the truth in his conjecture than Solon was in his hope. Anacharsis having seen an assembly of the people at Athens, said, *he was surprised at this, that in Greece wise men pleaded causes, and fools determined them.*

When Solon was entertained by Thales at Miletus, he expressed some wonder that *he did not marry, and raise a family.* To this Thales gave no immediate answer; but some days after, he instructed a stranger to say, that *he came from Athens ten days before.* Solon inquiring, *What news there was at Athens?* The man, according to his instructions, said, *None, except the funeral of a young man, which was attended by the whole city: for he was the son, as they told me, of a person of great honour, and of the highest reputation*

* The Scythians, long before the days of Solon, had been celebrated for their frugality, their temperance, and justice. Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and a prince of the blood. He went to Athens about the forty-seventh Olympiad, that is, 590 years before Christ. His good sense, his knowledge, and great experience, made him pass for one of the seven wise men. But the greatest and wisest men have their inconsistencies: for such it certainly was, for Anacharsis to carry the Grecian worship, the rights Cybele, into Scythia, contrary to the laws of his country. Though he performed those rites privately in a woody part of the country, a Scythian happened to see him, and acquainted the king with it, who came immediately, and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. *Herodot.* l. iv. c. 76.

for virtue, who was then abroad upon his travels. What a miserable man is he! said Solon: *but what was his name? I have heard his name,* answered the stranger, *but do not recollect it. All I remember is, that there was much talk of his wisdom and justice.* Solon, whose apprehensions increased with every reply, was now much disconcerted, and mentioned his own name, asking, *Whether it was not Solon's son that was dead?* The stranger answering in the affirmative, he began to beat his head, and to do and say such things as are usual to men in a transport of grief*. Then Tales, taking him by the hand, said, with a smile, *These things which strike down so firm a man as Solon, kept me from marriage, and from having children. But take courage, my good friend, for not a word of what has been told you is true.* Hermippus says, he took this story from Patæcus, who used to boast he had the soul of Æsop.

But after all, to neglect the procuring of what is necessary or convenient in life, for fear of losing it, would be acting a very mean and absurd part. By the same rule a man might refuse the enjoyment of riches, or honour, or wisdom, because it is possible for him to be deprived of them. Even the excellent qualities of the mind, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world, we see destroyed by poisonous drugs, or by the violence of some disease. Nay, Thales himself could not be secure from fears by living single, unless he would renounce all interest in his friends, his relations, and his country. Instead of that, however, he is said to have adopted his sister's son, named Cybisthus. Indeed the soul has not only a principle of sense, of understanding, of memory, but of love; and when it has nothing at home to fix its affection upon, it unites itself, and cleaves to something abroad. Strangers, or persons of spurious birth, often insinuate themselves into such a man's heart, as into a house or land that has no lawful heirs; and, together with love, bring a train of cares and apprehensions for them. It is not uncommon to hear persons of a morose temper, who talk against marriage and a family, uttering the most abject complaints when a child which they have had by a slave or a concubine happens to sicken or die. Nay, some have expressed a very great regret upon the death of dogs and horses; whilst others have borne the loss of valuable children without any affliction, or at least without any indecent sorrow, and have passed the rest of their days with calmness and composure. It is certainly weakness, not affection, which brings infinite troubles and fears upon men who are not fortified by reason against the power of fortune;

* Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, Solon being desired not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; he answered, with much humanity and good sense, *And for this cause I weep.*

who have no enjoyment of a present good, because of their apprehensions, and the real anguish they find in considering that in time they may be deprived of it. No man, surely, should take refuge in poverty, to guard against the loss of an estate; nor remain in the unsocial state of celibacy, that he may have neither friends nor children to lose; he should be armed by reason against all events. But perhaps we have been too diffuse in these sentiments.

When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war against the Megarensians for the isle of Salamis, made a law, that no one for the future, under pain of death, should either by speech or writing propose that the city should assert its claim to that island; Solon was very uneasy at so dishonourable a decree, and seeing great part of the youth desirous to begin the war again, being restrained from it only by fear of the law, he feigned himself insane*; and a report spread from his house into the city that he was out of his senses. Privately, however, he had composed an elegy, and got it by heart, in order to repeat it in public; thus prepared, he sallied out unexpectedly into the market-place with a cap upon his head†. A great number of people flocking about him there, he got upon the herald's stone, and sung the elegy, which begins thus:

Hear and attend: from Salamis I came
To show your error.

This composition is entitled *Salamis*, and consists of a hundred very beautiful lines. When Solon had done, his friends began to express their admiration, and Pisistratus in particular exerted himself in persuading the people to comply with his directions; whereupon they repealed the law, once more undertook the war, and invested Solon with the command. The common account of his proceedings is this: he sailed with Pisistratus to Colias, and having seized the women who, according to the custom of the country, were offering sacrifice to Ceres there, he sent a trusty person to Salamis, who was to pretend he was a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they had a mind to seize the principal Athenian matrons, to set sail immediately for Colias. The Megarensians readily embracing the proposal, and sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island; and causing the women directly to withdraw, or-

* When the Athenians were delivered from their fears by the death of Epaminondas, they began to squander away, upon shows and plays, the money that had been assigned for the pay of the army and navy, and at the same time they made it death for any one to propose a reformation. In that case, Demosthenes did not, like Solon, attack their error under a pretence of insanity, but boldly and resolutely spoke against it; and, by the force of his eloquence, brought them to correct it.

† None wore caps but the sick.

dered a number of young men, whose faces were yet smooth, to dress themselves in their habits, caps, and shoes. Thus, with weapons concealed under their clothes, they were to dance and play by the sea-side till the enemy was landed, and the vessel near enough to be seized. Matters being thus ordered, the Megarensians were deceived with the appearance, and ran confusedly on shore, striving which should first lay hold upon the women. But they met with so warm a reception, that they were cut off to a man; and the Athenians embarking immediately for Salamis, took possession of the island.

Others deny that it was recovered in this manner, and tell us that Apollo, being first consulted at Delphi, gave this answer:

> Go, first propitiate the country's chiefs
> Hid in Æsop's lap; who, when interr'd,
> Fac'd the declining sun.

Upon this Solon crossed the sea by night, and offered sacrifices in Salamis to the heroes Periphemus and Cichreus. Then taking five hundred Athenian volunteers, who had obtained a decree, that if they conquered the island, the government of it should be vested in them, he sailed with a number of fishing-vessels and one galley of thirty oars for Salamis, where he cast anchor at a point which looks towards Eubœa.

The Megarensians that were in the place having heard a confused report of what had happened, betook themselves in a disorderly manner to arms, and sent a ship to discover the enemy. As the ship approached too near, Solon took it, and securing the crew, put in their place some of the bravest of the Athenians, with orders to make the best of their way to the city as privately as possible. In the mean time, with the rest of his men, he attacked the Megarensians by land, and while these were engaged, those from the ship took the city. A custom which prevailed afterwards, seems to bear witness to the truth of this account; for an Athenian ship once a-year passed silently to Salamis, and the inhabitants coming down upon it with noise and tumult, one man in armour leaped ashore, and ran shouting towards the promontory of Sciradium, to meet those that were advancing by land. Near that place is a temple of Mars erected by Solon; for there it was that he defeated the Megarensians, and dismissed, upon certain conditions, such as were not slain in battle.

However, the people of Megara persisted in their claim till both sides had severely felt the calamities of war, and then they referred the affair to the decision of the Lacedæmonians. Many authors relate that Solon availed himself of a passage in Homer's catalogue of ships, which he produced as an argument before the arbitrators, dexterously inserting a line of his own; for to this verse,

Ajax from Salamis twelve ships commands,

he is said to have added,

And ranks his forces with th' Athenian power*.

But the Athenians look upon this as an idle story, and tell us, that Solon made it appear to the judges that Philæus and Eurysaces, sons of Ajax, being admitted by the Athenians to the freedom of their city, gave up the island to them, and removed the one to Brauron, and the other to Milete in Attica; likewise, that the tribe of the Philaidæ, of which Pisistratus was, had its name from that Philæus. He brought another argument against the Megarensians from the manner of burying in Salamis, which was agreeable to the custom of Athens, and not that of Megara; for the Megarensians inter the dead with their faces to the east, and the Athenians turn theirs to the west. On the other hand, Hereas of Megara insists that the Megarensians likewise turn the faces of the dead to the west; and what is more, that, like the people of Salamis, they put three or four corpses in one tomb, whereas the Athenians have a separate tomb for each. But Solon's cause was farther assisted by certain oracles of Apollo, in which the island was called *Ionian* Salamis. This matter was determined by five Spartans, Critolaides, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes.

Solon acquired considerable honour and authority in Athens by this affair; but he was much more celebrated among the Greeks in general for negotiating succours for the temple at Delphi against the insolent and injurious behaviour of the Cirrhæans†, and persuading the Greeks to arm for the honour of the god. At his motion it was that the *Amphictyons* declared war, as Aristotle, among others, testifies in his book concerning the Pythian games, where he attributes

* This line could be no sufficient evidence; for there are many passages in Homer which prove that the ships of Ajax were stationed near the Thessalians.

† The inhabitants of Cirrha, a town seated in the bay of Corinth, after having, by repeated incursions, wasted the territory of Delphi, besieged the city itself, from a desire of making themselves masters of the riches contained in the temple of Apollo. Advice of this being sent to the *Amphictyons*, who were the states-general of Greece, Solon advised that this matter should be universally resented. Accordingly Clysthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was sent commander in chief against the Cirrhæans; Alcmæon was general of the Athenian quota; and Solon went as counsellor or assistant to Clysthenes. When the Greek army had besieged Cirrha some time without any great appearance of success, Apollo was consulted, who answered, that they should not be able to reduce the place till the waves of the Cirrhæan sea washed the territories of Delphi. This answer struck the army with surprise, from which Solon extricated them, by advising Clysthenes to consecrate the whole territories of Cirrha to the Delphic Apollo, whence it would follow that the sea must wash the sacred coast. Pausanias, *in Phocis*, mentions another stratagem, which was not worthy of the justice of Solon. Cirrha, however, was taken, and became henceforth the arsenal of Delphi.

that decree to Solon. He was not, however, appointed general in that war, as Hermippus relates from Euanthes the Samian. For Æschines the orator says no such thing; and we find in the records of Delphi, that Alcmæon, not Solon, commanded the Athenians on this occasion.

The execrable proceedings against the accomplices of Cylon* had long occasioned great troubles in the Athenian state. The conspirators had taken sanctuary in Minerva's temple; but Megacles, then archon, persuaded them to quit it, and stand trial, under the notion, that if they tied a thread to the shrine of the goddess, and kept hold of it, they would still be under her protection. But when they came over against the temple of the Furies, the thread broke of itself; upon which Megacles and his colleagues rushed upon them and seized them, as if they had lost their privilege. Such as were out of the temple were stoned; those that fled to the altars were cut in pieces there; and they only were spared who made application to the wives of the magistrates. From that time those magistrates were called *execrable*, and became objects of the public hatred. The remains of Cylon's faction afterwards recovered strength, and kept up the quarrel with the descendants of Megacles. The dispute was greater than ever, and the two parties more exasperated, when Solon, whose authority was now very great, and others of the principal Athenians, interposed, and by entreaties and arguments persuaded the persons called *execrable* to submit to justice and a fair trial, before three hundred judges selected from the nobility. Myron, of the *Phylensian* ward, carried on the impeachment, and they were condemned: as many as were alive were driven into exile; and the bodies of the dead dug up and cast out beyond the borders of Attica. Amidst these disturbances, the Megarensians renewed the war, took Nisæ from the Athenians, and recovered Salamis once more.

About this time the city was likewise afflicted with superstitious

* There was, for a long time after the democracy took place, a strong party against it, who left no measures untried in order, if possible, to restore their ancient form of government. Cylon, a man of quality, and son-in-law to Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, repined at the sudden change of the magistrates, and had thoughts of asking that as a favour which he apprehended to be due to his birthright. He formed, therefore, a design to seize the citadel, which he put in practice in the forty-fifth Olympiad, when many of the citizens were gone to the Olympic games. Megacles, who was at that time chief archon, with the other magistrates and the whole power of Athens, immediately besieged the conspirators there, and reduced them to such distress, that Cylon and his brother fled, and left the meaner sort to shift for themselves. Such as escaped the sword, took refuge, as Plutarch relates, in Minerva's temple; and though they deserved death for conspiring against the government, yet, as the magistrates put them to death in breach of the privilege of sanctuary, they brought upon themselves the indignation of the superstitious Athenians, who deemed such a breach a greater crime than treason.

fears and strange appearances: and the soothsayers declared, that there were certain abominable crimes which wanted expiation pointed out by the entrails of the victims. Upon this they sent to Crete for Epimenides the *Phæstian**, who is reckoned the seventh among the wise men, by those that do not admit Periander into the number. He was reputed a man of great piety, beloved by the gods, and skilled in matters of religion, particularly in what related to inspiration and the sacred mysteries: therefore the men of those days called him the son of the nymph Balte, and one of the *Curetes* revived. When he arrived at Athens, he contracted a friendship with Solon, and privately gave him considerable assistance, preparing the way for the reception of his laws: for he taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worship, and more moderate in their mourning, by intermixing certain sacrifices with the funeral solemnities, and abolishing the cruel and barbarous customs that had generally prevailed among the women before. What is of still greater consequence, by expiations, lustrations, and the erecting of temples and shrines, he hallowed and purified the city, and made the people more observant of justice, and more inclined to union.

When he had seen Munychia, and considered it some time, he is reported to have said to those about him†, *How blind is man to futurity! If the Athenians could foresee what trouble that place will give them, they would tear it in pieces with their teeth rather than it should stand.* Something similar to this is related of Thales; for he ordered the Milesians to bury him in a certain recluse and neglected place, and foretold, at the same time, that their market-place would one day stand there. As for Epimenides, he was held in ad-

* This Epimenides was a very extraordinary person. Diogenes Laërtius tells us, that he was the inventor of the art of lustrating or purifying houses, fields, and persons; which, if spoken of Greece, may be true; but Moses had long before taught the Hebrews something of this nature. (*Vide* Levit. xvi.) Epimenides took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the Areopagus, and, turning them loose, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice them to the local diety. This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. There were, however, other ceremonies practised for the purpose of lustration, of which Tzetzes, in his poetical chronicle, gives a particular account, but which are too trifling to be mentioned here.

† This prediction was fulfilled 270 years after, when Antipater constrained the Athenians to admit his garrison into that place. Besides this prophecy, Epimenides uttered another during his stay at Athens; for hearing that the citizens were alarmed at the progress of the Persian power at sea, he advised them to make themselves easy, for that the Persians would not for many years attempt any thing against the Greeks, and when they did, they would receive greater loss themselves than they would be able to bring upon the states they thought to destroy. *Laert. in Vita et Rimen.*

miration at Athens, great honours were paid him, and many valuable presents made; yet he would accept of nothing but a branch of the sacred olive, which they gave him at his request; and with that he departed.

When the troubles about Cylon's affair were over, and the sacrilegious persons removed in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians relapsed into their old disputes concerning the government; for there were as many parties among them as there were different tracks of land in their country. The inhabitants of the mountainous part were, it seems, for a democracy; those of the plains for an oligarchy; and those of the sea-coasts contending for a mixed kind of government, hindered the other two from gaining their point. At the same time, the inequality between the poor and the rich occasioned the greatest discord; and the state was in so dangerous a situation, that there seemed to be no way to quell the seditious, or to save it from ruin, but changing it to a monarchy. So greatly were the poor in debt to the rich, that they were obliged either to pay them a sixth part of the produce of the land, whence they were called *Hectemorii* and *Thetes*, or else to engage their persons to their creditors, who might seize them on failure of payment. Accordingly, some made slaves of them, and others sold them to foreigners. Nay, some parents were forced to sell their own children, (for no law forbade it), and to quit the city, to avoid the severe treatment of those usurers. But the greater number, and men of the most spirit, agreed to stand by each other, and to bear such impositions no longer. They determined to choose a trusty person for their leader, to deliver those who had failed in their time of payment, to divide the land, and to give an entire new face to the commonwealth.

Then the most prudent of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, as a man least obnoxious to either party, having neither been engaged in oppressions with the rich, nor entangled in necessities with the poor. Him, therefore, they entreated to assist the public in this exigency, and to compose these differences. Phanias the Lesbian asserts, indeed, that Solon, to save the state, dealt artfully with both parties, and privately promised the poor a division of the lands, and the rich a confirmation of their securities. At first he was loath to take the administration upon him, by reason of the avarice of some, and the insolence of others; but was, however, chosen archon next after Philombrotus, and, at the same time, arbitrator and lawgiver; the rich accepting of him readily as one of *them*, and the poor as a good and worthy man. They tell us, too, that a saying of his, which he had let fall some time before, that *equality causes no war*, was then much repeated, and pleased both the rich and the poor; the

latter expecting to come to a balance by their numbers and by the measure of divided lands, and the former to preserve an equality at least by their dignity and power. Thus both parties being in great hopes, the heads of them were urgent with Solon to make himself king, and endeavoured to persuade him, that he might with better assurance take upon him the direction of a city where he had the supreme authority. Nay, many of the citizens that leaned to neither party, seeing the intended change difficult to be effected by reason and law, were not against the intrusting of the government to the hands of one wise and just man. Some, moreover, acquaint us that he received this oracle from Apollo,

Seize, seize the helm, the reeling vessel guide,
With aiding patriots stem the raging tide.

His friends in particular told him it would appear that he wanted courage if he rejected the monarchy for fear of the name of tyrant, as if the sole and supreme power would not soon become a lawful sovereignty through the virtues of him that received it. Thus, formerly, said they, the Eubœans set up Tynnondas, and lately the Mitylenæans Pittacus for their prince*. None of these things moved Solon from his purpose; and the answer he is said to have given to his friends is this, *Absolute monarchy is a fair field, but it has no outlet.* And in one of his poems he thus addresses himself to his friend Phocus:

..... If I spar'd my country,
If gilded violence and tyrannic sway
Could never charm me, thence no shame accrues;
Still the mild honour of my name I boast,
And find my empire there.

Whence it is evident that his reputation was very great before he appeared in the character of a legislator. As for the ridicule he was exposed to for rejecting kingly power, he describes as follows:

Nor wisdom's palm nor deep-laid policy
Can Solon boast; for when its noblest blessings
Heaven pour'd into his lap, he spurn'd them from him.
Where was his sense and spirit, when enclos'd
He found the choicest prey, nor deign'd to draw it?
Who, to command fair Athens but one day,
Would not himself, with all his race, have fallen
Contented on the morrow?

* Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, made himself master of Mitylene; for which Alcæus, who was of the same town, cotemporary with Pittacus, and, as a poet, a friend, satirized him, as he did the other tyrants. Pittacus disreguarded his censures, and having by his authority quelled the seditions of his citizens, and established peace and harmony among them, he voluntarily quitted his power, and restored his country to its liberty.

Thus he has introduced the multitude and men of low minds as discoursing about him. But, though he rejected absolute power, he proceeded with spirit enough in the administration: he did not make any concessions in behalf of the powerful, nor, in the framing of his laws, did he indulge the humour of his constituents. Where the former establishment was tolerable, he neither applied remedies, nor used the incision-knife, lest he should put the whole in disorder, and not have power to settle or compose it afterwards in the temperature he could wish. He only made such alterations as he might bring the people to acquiesce in by persuasion, or compel them to by his authority, making, as he says, *force and right conspire.* Hence it was, that having the question afterwards put to him, *Whether he had provided the best of laws for the Athenians?* he answered, *The best they were capable of receiving.* And as the moderns observe that the Athenians used to qualify the harshness of things by giving them softer and politer names, calling whores *mistresses*, tributes *contributions*, garrisons *guards*, and prisons *castles;* so Solon seems to be the first that distinguished the cancelling of debts by the name of a *discharge.* For this was the first of his public acts, that debts should be forgiven, and that no man in future should take the body of his debtor for security. Though Androtion and some others say, that it was not by the cancelling of debts, but, by moderating the interest, that the poor were relieved, they thought themselves so happy in it, that they gave the name of *discharge* to this act of humanity, as well as to the enlarging of measures, and the value of money, which went along with it. For he ordered the *minæ*, which before went but for seventy-three *drachmas*, to go for a hundred; so that, as they paid the same in value, but much less in weight, those that had great sums to pay were relieved, while such as received them were no losers.

The greater part of writers, however, affirm, that it was the abolition of past securities that was called a *discharge;* and with these the poems of Solon agree: for in them he values himself on *having taken away the marks of mortgaged land*, which before were almost every where set up, and made free those fields which before were bound;* and not only so, but *of such citizens as were seizable by their creditors for debt, some,* he tells us, *he had brought back from other countries, where they had wandered so long, that they had forgot the Attic dialect; and others he had set at liberty, who had experienced a cruel slavery at home.*

This affair, indeed, brought upon him the greatest trouble he

* The Athenians had a custom of fixing up billets, to show that houses or lands were mortgaged.

met with: for when he undertook the annulling of debts, and wa considering of a suitable speech, and a proper method of introducin the business, he told some of his most intimate friends, namely Canon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, that he intended only to abolis the debts, and not to meddle with the lands. These friends of hi hastening to make their advantage of the secret before the decre took place, borrowed large sums of the rich, and purchased estate with them. Afterwards, when the decree was published, they kep their possessions, without paying the money they had taken up which brought great reflections upon Solon, as if he had not bee imposed upon with the rest, but were rather an accomplice in th fraud. This charge, however, was soon removed, by his being th first to comply with the law, and remitting a debt of five talents which he had out at interest. Others, among whom is Polyzelus th Rhodian, say it was fifteen talents. But his friends went by the nam of *Chreocopidæ*, or *debt-cutters*, ever after.

The method he took satisfied neither the poor nor the rich. Th latter were displeased by the cancelling of their bonds, and the for mer at not finding a division of lands. Upon this they had fixed thei hopes; and they complained that they had not, like Lycurgus, mad all the citizens equal in estate. Lycurgus, however, being the ele venth from Hercules, and having reigned many years in Lacedæmon had acquired great authority, interest, and friends, of which he knew very well how to avail himself in setting up a new form of govern ment; yet he was obliged to have recourse to force, rather than per suasion, and had an eye struck out in the dispute, before he coul bring it to a lasting settlement, and establish such a union an equality as left neither rich nor poor in the city. On the other hand Solon's estate was but moderate, not superior to that of some com moners, and therefore he attempted not to erect such a common wealth as that of Lycurgus, considering it as out of his power; h proceeded as far as he thought he could be supported by the confi dence the people had in his probity and wisdom.

That he answered not the expectations of the generality, bu offended them by falling short, appears from these verses of his—

> Those eyes with joy once sparkling when they view'd me,
> With cold, oblique regard, behold me now.

And a little after—

> ..... Yet who but Solon
> Could have spoke peace to their tumultuous waves,
> And not have sunk beneath them*?

* ....., πιαζ εξελη γαλα is a proverbial expression, which will not bear a liter rose translation, much less a poetical one; it was necessary, therefore, to give a ne urn to the sentence, only keeping the sense in view.

But being soon sensible of the utility of the decree, they laid aside their complaints, offered a public sacrifice, which they called *seisacthia*, or the sacrifice of the *discharge*, and constituted Solon lawgiver and superintendent of the commonwealth; committing to him the regulation, not of a part only, but the whole, magistracies, assemblies, courts of judicature, and senate; and leaving him to determine the qualification, number, and time of meeting for them all, as well as to abrogate or continue the former constitutions at his pleasure.

First, then, he repealed the laws of Draco*, except those concerning murder, because of the severity of the punishments they appointed, which for almost all offences were capital; even those that were convicted of idleness were to suffer death, and such as stole only a few apples or pot-herbs were to be punished in the same manner as sacrilegious persons and murderers. Hence a saying of Demades, who lived long after, was much admired, that *Draco wrote his laws not with ink, but with blood.* And he himself being asked, *Why he made death the punishment for most offences?* answered, *Small ones deserve it, and I can find no greater for the most heinous.*

In the next place, Solon took an estimate of the estates of the citizens; intending to leave the great offices in the hands of the rich, but to give the rest of the people a share in other departments which they had not before. Such as had a yearly income of five hundred measures in wet and dry goods, he placed in the first rank, and called them *Pentacosiomedimni*†: The second consisted

* Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the last year of the thirty-ninth Olympiad, about the year before Christ 623. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we nowhere find so much as ten lines together concerning him and his institutions. He may be considered as the first legislator of the Athenians; for the laws, or rather precepts, of Triptolemus were very few, viz. *Honour your parents; worship the gods; hurt not animals.* Draco was the first of the Greeks that punished adultery with death; and he esteemed murder so high a crime, that, to imprint a deep abhorrence of it on the minds of men, he ordained that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they accidentally caused the death of any person. But, besides murder and adultery, which deserved death, he made a number of smaller offences capital; and that brought almost all his laws into disuse. The extravagant severity of them, like an edge too finely ground, hindered his *thesmoi*, as he called them, from striking deep. Porphyry *(de abstinent.)* has preserved one of them concerning divine worship; "It is an everlasting law in Attica, that the gods are to be worshipped, and "the heroes also, according to the customs of our ancestors, and in private only, with a "proper address, first fruits, and annual libations."

† The *Pentacosiomedimni* paid a talent to the public treasury; the *Hippodateluntes*, as the word signifies, were obliged to find a horse, and to serve as cavalry in the wars; the *Zeugitæ* were so called, as being a middle rank between the knights and those of the lowest order, (for rowers who have the middle bench between the Thalamites and the Thranites, are called *Zeugitæ;*) and though the *Thetes* had barely each a vote in the general assemblies, yet that, as Plutarch observes, appeared in time to be a great privilege, most causes being brought by appeal before the people.

of those that could keep a horse, or whose lands produced three hundred measures; these were of the *equestrian* order, and called *Hippodateloυntes*. And those of the third class, who had but two hundred measures, were called *Zeugitæ*. The rest were named *Thetes*, and not admitted to any office; they had only a right to appear and give their vote in the general assembly of the people. This seemed at first but a slight privilege, but afterwards showed itself a matter of great importance: for most causes came at last to be decided by them; and in such matters as were under the cognizance of the magistrates, there lay an appeal to the people. Besides, he is said to have drawn up his laws in an obscure and ambigious manner, on purpose to enlarge the authority of the popular tribunal; for, as they could not adjust their difference by the letter of the law, they were obliged to have recourse to living judges; I mean the whole body of citizens, who therefore had all controversies brought before them, and were in a manner superior to the laws. Of this quality he himself takes notice in these words:

> By me the people held their native rights
> Uninjur'd, unoppress'd—The great restrain'd
> From lawless violence, and the poor from rapine,
> By me their mutual shield.

Desirous yet farther to strengthen the common people, he empowered any man whatever to enter an action for one that was injured. If a person was assaulted, or suffered damage or violence, another that was able and willing to do it might prosecute the offender. Thus the lawgiver wisely accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and to resent one another's injuries. And we are told of a saying of his agreeable to this law: being asked, *What city was best modelled?* he answered, *That where those who are not injured are no less ready to prosecute and punish offenders than those who are.*

When these points were adjusted, he established the council of the *areopagus* *, which was to consist of such as had borne the office of *archon* †, and himself was one of the number. But observing that

* The court of *Areopagus*, though settled long before, had lost much of its power by Draco's preferring the Ephetæ. In ancient times, and till Solon became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity: but Solon made it a rule, that such only should have a seat in it as had borne the office of *archon*. This had the effect he designed; it raised the reputation of the *areopagites* very high, and rendered their decrees so venerable, that none contested or repined at them through a long course of ages.

† After the extinction of the race of the Medontidæ, the Athenians made the office of *archon* annual, and, instead of one, they created nine *archons*. By the latter expedient, they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former they took away all apprehension of the *archons* setting up for sovereigns. In one word, they attained now what they had long sought, the making their supreme magistrates dependen

ıe people, now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and im-
erious, he proceeded to constitute another council or senate, of
ur hundrerd*, a hundred out of each tribe, by whom all affairs
ere to be previously considered; and ordered that no matter, with-
ıt their approbation, should be laid before the general assembly. In
e mean time, the high court of the *areopagus* were to be the in-
ectors and guardians of the laws. Thus he supposed the common-
ealth, secured by two councils, as by two anchors, would be less
ible to be shaken by tumults, and the people would become more
derly and peaceable. Most writers, as we have observed, affirm
at the council of the *areopagus* was of Solon's appointing: and it
ems greatly to confirm their assertion, that Draco has made no
ention of the *areopagites*, but, in capital causes, constantly ad-
esses himself to the *ephetæ*; yet the eighteenth law of Solon's
irteenth table is set down in these very words: *Whoever were de-
red infamous before Solon's archonship, let them be restored in
nour, except such as, having been condemned in the areopagus,
by the ephetæ, or by the kings in the Prytaneum, for murder or
bbery, or attempting to usurp the government, had fled their
untry before this law was made.* This, on the contrary, shows,
at before Solon was chief magistrate, and delivered his laws, the
uncil of the *areopagus* was in being: for who could have been
ndemned in the *areopagus* before Solon's time, if he was the first
at erected it into a court of judicature? Unless, perhaps, there be
me obscurity or deficiency in the text, and the meaning be, that
ch as have been convicted of crimes that are now cognizable before
e *areopagites*, the *ephetæ* †, and *prytanes*, shall continue infa-

he people. This remarkable era of the completion of the Athenian democracy was, ording to the *Marmora*, in the first year of the xxivth Olympiad, before Christ 684. at these magistrates might, however, retain sufficient authority and dignity, they had h titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The first was styled, by way of emi-ice, *The Archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The second was called *ileus*, that is *king*; for they chose to have that title considered as a secondary one. is officer had the care of religion. The third had the name of *Polemarch*, for war was particular province. The other six had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, and were considered he guardians of the laws. These *archons* continued till the time of the emperor Callienus.

* The number of tribes were increased by Callisthenes to ten, after he had driven out Pisistratidæ; and then this senate consisted of five hundred, fifty being chosen out each tribe. Towards the close of the year, the president of each tribe gave in a list of ıdidates, out of whom the senators were elected by lot. The senators then ap-nted the officers called *Prytanes*. The *prytanes*, while the senate consisted of 500, re 50 in number; and, for the avoiding of confusion, ten of these presided a week, ring which space they were called *proëdri*; and out of them an *epistates*, or president, s chosen, whose office lasted but one day.

† The *ephetæ* were first appointed in the reign of Demophon, the son of Theseus, for

mous, while others are restored. But this I submit to the judgment of the reader.

The most peculiar and surprising of his other laws is that which declares the man infamous who stands neuter in time of sedition *. It seems, he would not have us be indifferent and unaffected with the fate of the public, when our own concerns are upon a safe bottom; nor, when we are in health, be insensible to the distempers and griefs of our country. He would have us espouse the better and juster cause, and hazard every thing in defence of it, rather than wait in safety to see which side the victory will incline to. That law, too, seems quite ridiculous and absurd, which permits a rich heiress, whose husband happens to be impotent, to console herself with his nearest relations. Yet some say this law was very properly levelled against those who, conscious of their own inability, match with heiresses for the sake of the portion, and, under colour of law, do violence to nature. For when they know that such heiresses may make choice of others to grant their favours to, they will either let those matches alone, or, if they do marry in that manner, they must suffer the shame of their avarice and dishonesty. It is right that the heiress should not have liberty to choose at large, but only amongst her husband's relations, that the child which is born may, at least, belong to his kindred and family. Agreeable to this is the direction that the bride and the bridegroom should be shut up together, and eat of the same quince †; and that the husband of an heiress should approach her at least three times in a month. For, though they may happen not to have children, yet it is a mark of honour and regard due from a man to the chastity of his wife: it removes many uneasinesses, and prevents differences from proceeding to an absolute breach.

In all other marriages, he ordered that no dowries should be given:

the trying of wilful murders and cases of manslaughter. They consisted at first of fifty Athenians, and as many Argives; but Draco excluded the Argives, and ordered that it should be composed of fifty-one Athenians, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age. He also fixed their authority above that of the areopagites; but Solon brought them under that court, and limited their jurisdiction.

* Aulus Gellius, who has preserved the very words of this law, adds, that one who so stood neuter, should lose his houses, his country, and estate, and be sent out an exile. *Noct. Attic.* l. ii. c. 12.

Plutarch in another place condemns this law; but Gellius highly commends it, and assigns this reason—The wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to choose some side, matters were easily accommodated; whereas, if the latter only, as is generally the case with other cities, had the management of factions, they would, for private reasons, be continually kept up to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin, of the state.

† The eating of the quince, which was not peculiar to an heiress and her husband, for all new-married people ate it, implied that their discourses should be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet.

the bride was to bring with her only three suits of clothes, and some household stuff of small value *. For he did not choose that marriages should be made with mercenary or venial views, but would have that union cemented by the endearment of children, and every other instance of love and friendship. Nay, Dionysius himself, when his mother desired to be married to a young Syracusan, told her, *He had, indeed, by his tyranny, broke through the laws of his country, but he could not break those of nature, by countenancing so disproportioned a match.* And surely such disorders should not be tolerated in any state, nor such matches where there is no equality of years, or inducements of love, or probability that the end of marriage will be answered. So, that, to an old man who marries a young woman, some prudent magistrate or lawgiver might express himself in the words addressed to Philoctetes,

Poor soul! how fit thou art to marry!

And if he found a young man in the house of a rich old woman, like a partridge, growing fat in his private services, he would remove him to some young virgin who wanted a husband. But enough of this.

That law of Solon's is also justly commended, which forbids men to speak ill of the dead. For piety requires us to consider the deceased as sacred: justice calls upon us to spare those that are not in being; and good policy, to prevent the perpetuating of hatred. He forbade his people also to revile the living in a temple, in a court of justice, in the great assembly of the people, or at the public games. He that offended in this respect was to pay three *drachmas* to the person injured, and two to the public. Never to restrain anger is, indeed, a proof of weakness or want of breeding; and always to guard against it is very difficult, and to some persons impossible. Now, what is enjoined by law should be practicable, if the legislator desires to punish a few to some good purpose, and not many to no purpose.

His law concerning wills has likewise its merit. For before his time the Athenians were not allowed to dispose of their estates by will; the houses and other substance of the deceased were to remain among his relations. But he permitted any one that had not children to leave his possessions to whom he pleased; thus preferring the tie of friendship to that of kindred, and choice to necessity, he gave every man the full and free disposal of his own. Yet he allowed not all sorts of legacies, but those only that were not extorted by frenzy, the consequence of disease or poisons, by imprisonment or violence, or the persuasions of a wife. For he considered inducements that

* The bride brought with her an earthen pan called *phrageteon*, wherein barley was parched; to signify that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family.

operated against reason as no better than force: to be deceived was with *him* the same thing as to be compelled; and he looked upon pleasure to be as great a perverter as pain*.

He regulated, moreover, the journies of women, their mournings and sacrifices, and endeavoured to keep them clear of all disorder and excess. They were not to go out of town with more than three habits; the provisions they carried with them were not to exceed the value of an *obolus*; their basket was not to be above a cubit high; and in the night they were not to travel but in a carriage, with a torch before them. At funerals they were forbid to tear themselves †, and no hired mourner was to utter lamentable notes, or to act any thing else that tended to excite sorrow. They were not permitted to sacrifice an ox, on those occasions, or to bury more than three garments with the body; or to visit any tombs besides those of their own family, except at the time of interment. Most of these things are likewise forbidden by our laws, with the addition of this circumstance, that those who offend in such a manner are fined by the censors of the women, as giving way to weak passions and childish sorrow.

As the city was filled with persons who assembled from all parts, on account of the great security in which people lived in Attica, Solon observing this, and that the country withal was poor and barren, and that merchants who traffic by sea do not choose to import their goods where they can have nothing in exchange, turned the attention of the citizens to manufactures. For this purpose he made a law, that no son should be obliged to maintain his father, if he had not taught him a trade ‡. As for Lycurgus, whose city was clear of strangers, and whose country, according to Euripides, was sufficient for twice the number of inhabitants; where there was, moreover, a multitude of *Helotes*, who were not only to be kept constantly employed, but to be humbled and worn out by servitude, it was right for him to set the citizens free from laborious and mechanic arts, and to employ

* He likewise ordained that adopted persons should make no will; but, as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted; or, if they continued in it till their death, the estates reverted to the relations of the persons who adopted them. *Demosth. in Orat. Leptin.*

† Demosthenes (*in Timocr.*) recites Solon's directions as to funerals as follows: "Let "the dead bodies be laid out in the house, according as the deceased gave order, and "the day following, before sunrise, carried forth. Whilst the body is carrying to the "grave, let the men go before, the women follow. It shall not be lawful for any "woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave, un-"der threescore years of age, except such as are within the degrees of cousins."

‡ He that was thrice convicted of idleness was to be declared *infamous*. Herodotus (l. vii.) and Diodorus Siculus (l. i.) agree that a law of this kind was in use in Egypt. It is probable, therefore, that Solon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them.

them in arms, as the only art fit for them to learn and exercise. But Solon, rather adapting his laws to the state of his country than his country to his laws, and perceiving that the soil of Attica, which hardly rewarded the husbandman's labour, was far from being capable of maintaing a lazy multitude, ordered that trades should be accounted honourable; that the council of the *areopagus* should examine into every man's means of subsisting, and chastise the idle.

But that law was more rigid which, as Heraclides of Pontus informs us, excused bastards from relieving their fathers. Nevertheless, the man that disregards so honourable a state as marriage does not take a woman for the sake of children, but merely to indulge his appetite. He has therefore his reward; and there remains no pretence for him to upbraid those children, whose very birth he has made a reproach to them.

In truth, his laws concerning women, in general, appear very absurd: for he permitted any one to kill an adulterer taken in the fact*; but if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he was only to be fined a hundred drachmas; if he gained his purpose by persuasion, twenty: but prostitutes were excepted, because they have their price. And he would not allow them to sell a daughter or sister, unless she were taken in an act of dishonour before marriage. But to punish the same fault sometimes in a severe and rigorous manner, and sometimes lightly, and as it were in sport, with a trivial fine, is not agreeable to reason; unless the scarcity of money in Athens at that time made a pecuniary mulct a heavy one. And indeed, in the valuation of things for the sacrifice, a sheep and a *medimnus* of corn were reckoned each at a *drachma* only. To the victor in the Isthmean games, he appointed a reward of a hundred *drachmas;* and to the victor in the Olympian, five hundred†. He that caught a he-wolf was to have five *drachmas;* he that took a she-wolf, one: and the former sum, as Demetrius Phalereus asserts, was the value of an ox, the latter of a sheep. Though the prices which he fixes in his sixteenth table for select victims were probably much higher than the common, yet they are small in comparison of the present. The Athenians of old were great enemies to wolves, because their country was better for pasture than tillage; and some say their tribes

* No adulteress was to adorn herself, or to assist at the public sacrifices; and, in case she did, he gave liberty to any one to tear her clothes off her back, and beat her into the bargain.

† At the same time he contracted the rewards bestowed upon wrestlers, esteeming such gratuities useless and even dangerous, as they tended to encourage idleness, by putting men upon wasting that time in exercises which ought to be spent in providing for their families.

had not their names from the sons of Ion, but from the different occupations they followed: the soldiers being called *hoplitæ*, the artificers *ergades;* and of the other two, the husbandmen *geleontes*, and the graziers *ægicores*.

As Attica was not supplied with water from perennial rivers, lakes, or springs*, but chiefly by wells dug for that purpose, he made a law, that where there was a public well, all within the distance of four furlongs should make use of it; but, where the distance was greater, they were to provide a well of their own. And if they dug ten fathoms deep in their own ground, and could find no water, they had liberty to fill a vessel of six gallons twice a-day at their neighbour's. Thus he thought it proper to assist persons in real necessity, but not to encourage idleness. His regulations with respect to the planting of trees were also very judicious. He that planted any tree in his field was to place it at least five feet from his neighbour's ground; and if it was a fig-tree or an olive, nine; for these extend their roots farther than others, and their neighbourhood is prejudicial to some trees, not only as they take away the nourishment, but as their effluvia is noxious. He that would dig a pit or a ditch was to dig it as far from another man's ground as it was deep; and if any one would raise stocks of bees, he was to place them three hundred feet from those already raised by another.

Of all the products of the earth, he allowed none to be sold to strangers but oil; and whoever presumed to export any thing else, the *archon* was solemnly to declare him accursed, or to pay himself a hundred *drachmas* into the public treasury. This law is in the first table. And therefore it is not absolutely improbable, what some affirm, that the exportation of figs was formerly forbidden, and that the informer against the delinquents was called a *sycophant*.

He likewise enacted a law for reparation of damage received from beasts. A dog that had bit a man was to be delivered up bound to a log of four cubits long†; an agreeable contrivance for security against such an animal.

But the wisdom of the law concerning the naturalizing of foreigners is a little dubious, because it forbids the freedom of the city to be granted to any but such as are for ever exiled from their

*. Strabo tells us there was a spring of fresh water near the Lyceum; but the soil of Attica in general was dry, and the rivers Hissus and Eridamus did not run constantly.

† This law, and several others of Solon's, were taken into the twelve tables. In the consulate of T. Romilius and C. Veturius, in the year of Rome 303, the Romans sent deputies to Athens to transcribe his laws, and those of the other lawgivers of Greece, in order to form thereby a code of laws for Rome.

own country, or transplant themselves to Athens with their whole family, for the sake of exercising some manual trade. This, we are told, he did, not with a view to keep strangers at a distance, but rather to invite them to Athens, upon the sure hope of being admitted to the privilege of citizens: and he imagined the settlement of those might be entirely depended upon, who had been driven from their native country, or had quitted it by choice.

That law is peculiar to Solon which regulates the going to entertainments made at the public charge, by him called *parasitien**. For he does not allow the same person to repair to them often, and he lays a penalty upon such as refuse to go when invited; looking upon the former as a mark of epicurism, and the latter of contempt of the public.

All his laws were to continue in force for a hundred years, and were written upon wooden tables, which might be turned round in the oblong cases that contained them. Some small remains of them are preserved in the *Prytaneum* to this day. They were called *cyrbes*, as Aristotle tells us; and Cratinus, the comic poet, thus spoke of them:

> By the great names of Solon and of Draco,
> Whose cyrbes now but serve to boil our pulse.

Some say those tables were properly called *cyrbes*, on which were written the rules for religious rites and sacrifices, and the other *axones*. The senate, in a body, bound themselves by oath to establish the laws of Solon: and the *thesmothetæ*, or *guardians of the laws*, severally took an oath in a particular form, by the stone in the market place, that, for every law they broke, each would dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself†.

Observing the irregularity of the months‡, and that the moon

* In the first ages the name of *parasite* was venerable and sacred, for it properly signified one that was a messmate at the table of sacrifices. There were in Greece several persons particularly honoured with this title, much like those whom the Romans called *epulones*, a religious order instituted by Numa. Solon ordained that every tribe should offer a sacrifice once a-month, and at the end of the sacrifice make a public entertainment, at which all who were of that tribe should be obliged to assist by turns.

† Gold, in Solon's time, was so scarce in Greece, that when the Spartans were ordered by the oracle to gild the face of Apollo's statue, they inquired in vain for gold all over Greece, and were directed by the Pythoness to buy some of Crœsus king of Lydia.

‡ Solon discovered the falseness of Thales's maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, and found that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. He directed therefore, that each of the twelve months should be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately. By this means a lunar year was formed of 354 days; and, to reconcile it to the solar year, he ordered a month of twenty-two days

neither rose nor set at the same time with the sun, as it often happened that in the same day she overtook and passed by him, he ordered that day to be called *hene kai nea* (the old and the new;) assigning the part of it before the conjunction to the old month, and the rest to the beginning of the new. He seems, therefore, to have been the first that understood that verse in Homer, which makes mention of a day wherein *the old month ended, and the new began**.

The day following he called the *new moon*. After the twentieth he counted not by adding, but subtracting, to the thirtieth, according to the decreasing phases of the moon.

When his laws took place†, Solon had his visitors every day, finding fault with some of them, and commending others, or advising him to make certain additions or retrenchments. But the greater part came to desire a reason for this or that article, or a clear and precise explication of the meaning and design. Sensible that he could not well excuse himself from complying with their desires, and that, if he indulged their importunity, the doing it might give offence, he determined to withdraw from the difficulty,

intercalated every two years, and at the end of the second two years, he directed that a month of twenty-three days should be intercalated. He likewise engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts, styled the *beginning*, *middling*, and *ending*; each of these consisted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the last of nine, when it was nine-and-twenty days long. In speaking of the two first parts, they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, viz. the first, &c. day of the moon beginning; the first, second, &c. of the moon middling; but with respect to the last part of the month, they reckoned backwards, that is, instead of saying the first, second, &c. day of the moon ending, they said the tenth, ninth, &c. of the moon ending. This is a circumstance which should be carefully attended to.

* Odyss. xiv. 162.

† Plutarch has only mentioned such of Solon's laws as he thought the most singular and remarkable; Diogenes Laërtius and Demosthenes have given us an account of some others that ought not to be forgotten.—"Bet not the guardian live in the same house with the mother of his wards. Let not the tuition of minors be committed to him who is next after them in the inheritance. Let not an engraver keep the impression of a seal which he has engraved. Let him that puts out the eye of a man who has but one, lose both his own. If an archon is taken in liquor, let him be put to death. Let him who refuses to maintain his father and mother be reckoned infamous; and so let him that has consumed his patrimony. Let him who refuses to go to war, flies, or behaves cowardly, be debarred the precincts of the *forum*, and places of public worship. If a man surprise his wife in adultery, and lives with her afterwards, let him be deemed infamous. Let him who frequents the houses of lewd women be debarred from speaking in the assemblies of the people. Let a pander be pursued, and put to death if taken. If any man steal in the day-time, let him be carried to the eleven officers; if in the night, it shall be lawful to kill him in the act, or to wound him in the pursuit, and carry him to the aforesaid officers: if he steal common things, let him pay double; and, if the convictor thinks fit, be exposed in chains five days: if he is guilty of sacrilege, let him be put to death.

and to get rid at once of their cavils and exceptions: For, as he himself observes,

Not all the greatest enterprise can please.

Under pretence, therefore, of traffic, he set sail for another country, having obtained leave of the Athenians for ten years absence, In that time he hoped his laws would become familiar to them.

His first voyage was to Egypt, where he abode some time, as himself relates,

On the Canopian shore, by Nile's deep mouth.

There he conversed upon points of philosophy with Psenophis the Heliopolitan, and Senchis the Saite, the most learned of the Egyptian priests; and having an account from them of the *Atlantic* Island* (as Plato informs us), he attempted to describe it to the Grecians in a poem. From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, and there was honoured with the best regards of Philocyprus, one of the kings of that island, who reigned over a small city built by Demophon the son of Theseus, near the river Clarius, in a strong situation indeed, but very indifferent soil. As there was an agreeable plain below, Solon persuaded him to build a larger and pleasanter city there, and to remove the inhabitants of the other to it. He also assisted in laying out the whole, and building it in the best manner for convenience and defence; so that Philocyprus in a short time had it so well peopled as to excite the envy of the other princes. Though the former city was called *Aipeia*, yet, in honour of Solon, he called the new one *Soli*. He speaks of the building of it in his elegies, addressing himself thus to Philocyprus:

For you be long the Solian throne decreed!
For you a race of prosperous sons succeed!
If in those scenes, to her so justly dear,
My hand a blooming city help'd to rear,
May the sweet voice of smiling Venus bless,
And speed me home with honour and success!

* Plato finished this history from Solon's memoirs, as may be seen in his Timæus and Critias. He pretends that this Atlantis, an island situated in the Atlantic ocean, was bigger than Asia and Africa, and that, notwithstanding its vast extent, it was drowned in one day and night. Diodorus Siculus says, the Carthaginians, who discovered it, made it death for any one to settle in it. Amidst a number of conjectures concerning it, one of the most probable is, that in those days the Africans had some knowledge of America. Another opinion worth mentioning is, that the *Atlantides*, or *Fortunate* islands, were what we now call the Canaries. Homer thus describes them:

Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime:
The fields are florid with unfading prime.
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;
But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
The fragrant murmurs of the western gale. POPE.

As for his interview with Crœsus, some pretend to prove from chronology that it is fictitious. But since the story is so famous, and so well attested, nay (what is more), so agreeable to Solon's character, so worthy of his wisdom and magnanimity, I cannot prevail with myself to reject it for the sake of certain chronological tables, which thousands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring them to any certainty. Solon, then, is said to have gone to Sardis, at the request of Crœsus; and when he came there, he was affected much in the same manner as a person born in an inland country, when he first goes to see the ocean: for as he takes every great river he comes to for the sea, so Solon, as he passed through the court, and saw many of the nobility richly dressed, and walking in great pomp amidst a crowd of attendants and guards, took each of them for Crœsus. At last, when he was conducted into the presence, he found the king set off with whatever can be imagined curious or valuable, either in beauty of colours, elegance of golden ornaments, or splendour of jewels, in order that the grandeur and variety of the scene might be as striking as possible. Solon, standing over against the throne, was not at all surprised, nor did he pay those compliments that were expected; on the contrary, it was plain to all persons of discernment that he despised such vain ostentation and littleness of pride. Crœsus then ordered his treasures to be opened, and his magnificent apartments and furniture to be shown him; but this was quite a needless trouble; for Solon, in one view of the king, was able to read his character. When he had seen all, and was conducted back, Crœsus asked him, *If he had ever beheld a happier man than he?* Solon answered, *He had, and that the person was one Tellus, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left valuable children behind him; and who, having been above the want of necessaries all his life, died gloriously fighting for his country.* By this time he appeared to Crœsus to be a strange, uncouth kind of rustic, who did not measure happiness by the quantity of gold and silver, but could prefer the life and death of a private and mean person to *his* high dignity and power. However, he asked him again, *Whether, after Tellus, he knew another happier man in the world?* Solon answered, *Yes, Cleobis and Biton, famed for their brotherly affection, and dutiful behaviour to their mother; for the oxen not being ready, they put themselves in the harness, and drew their mother to Juno's temple, who was extremely happy in having such sons, and moved forward amidst the blessings of the people. After the sacrifice, they drank a cheerful cup with their friends, and then laid down to rest, but rose no more; for they died in the night without sorrow*

or pain, in the midst of so much glory. Well! said Crœsus, now highly displeased, *and do you not then rank us in the number of happy men?* Solon unwilling either to flatter him, or to exasperate him more, replied, *King of Lydia, as God has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise he has favoured them with a democratic spirit, and a liberal kind of wisdom, which has no taste for the splendours of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life suffer us not to be elated by any present good fortune, or to admire that felicity which is liable to change. Futurity carries for every man many various and uncertain events in its bosom. He, therefore, whom heaven blesses with success to the last, is in our estimation the happy man. But the happiness of him who still lives, and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion, before the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain.* With these words Solon departed, leaving Crœsus chagrined, but not instructed.

At that time Æsop the fabulist was at the court of Crœsus, who had sent for him and carressed him not a little. He was concerned at the unkind reception Solon met with, and thereupon gave him this advice—*A man should either not converse with kings at all, or say what is agreeable to them:* To which Solon replied, *Nay, but he should either not do it all, or say what is useful to them.*

Though Crœsus at that time held our lawgiver in contempt, yet, when he was defeated in his wars with Cyrus, when his city was taken, himself made prisoner, and laid bound upon the pile, in order to be burnt, in the presence of Cyrus and all the Persians he cried out as loud as he possibly could, "Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus surprised at this, sent to inquire of him, "What god or man it was whom alone he thus invoked under so great a calamity?" Crœsus answered, without the least disguise, "He is one of the wise men of Greece, whom I sent for, not with a design to hear his wisdom, or to learn what might be of service to me, but that he might see and extend the reputation of that glory, the loss of which I find a much greater misfortune than the possession of it was a blessing. My exalted state was only an exterior advantage, the happiness of opinion; but the reverse plunges me into real sufferings, and ends in misery irremediable. This was foreseen by that great man, who, forming a conjecture of the future from what he then saw, advised me to consider the end of life, and not to rely or grow insolent upon uncertainties." When this was told Cyrus, who was a much wiser man than Crœsus, finding Solon's maxim confirmed by an example before him, he not only set Crœsus at liberty, but honoured him with his protection as long as he lived.

Thus Solon had the glory of saving the life of one of these kings, and of instructing the other.

During his absence, the Athenians were much divided among themselves, Lycurgus being at the head of the low country*; Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, of the people that lived near the sea coast; and Pisistratus, of the mountaineers; among which last was a multitude of labouring people, whose enmity was chiefly levelled at the rich. Hence it was, that though the city did observe Solon's laws, yet all expected some change, and were desirous of another establishment; not in hopes of an equality, but with a view to be gainers by the alteration, and entirely to subdue those that differed from them.

While matters stood thus, Solon arrived at Athens, where he was received with great respect, and still held in veneration by all; but, by reason of his great age, he had neither the strength nor spirit to act or speak in public as he had done. He therefore applied in private to the heads of the factions, and endeavoured to appease and reconcile them. Pisistratus seemed to give him greater attention than the rest; for Pisistratus had an affable and engaging manner. He was a liberal benefactor to the poor†; and even to his enemies he behaved with great candour. He counterfeited so dexterously the good qualities which nature had denied him, that he gained more credit than the real possessors of them, and stood foremost in the public esteem in point of moderation and equity, in zeal for the present government, and aversion to all that endeavoured at a change. With these arts he imposed upon the people: but Solon soon discovered his real character, and was the first to discern his insidious designs. Yet he did not absolutely break with him, but endeavoured to soften him, and advise him better; declaring both to him and others, that if ambition could but be banished from his soul, and he could be cured of his desire of absolute power, there would not be a man better disposed, or a more worthy citizen in Athens.

About this time Thespis began to change the form of tragedy, and the novelty of the thing attracted many spectators; for this was before any prize was proposed for those that excelled in this respect.

* These three parties into which the Athenians were divided, viz. the Pediæi, the Parali, and Diacrii, have been mentioned in this life before.

† By the poor we are not to understand such as asked alms, for there were none such at Athens. "In those days," says Isocrates, "there was no citizen that died of want, or begged in the streets, to the dishonour of the community." This was owing to the laws against idleness and prodigality, and the care which the *areopagus* took that every man should have a visible livelihood.

Solon, who was always willing to hear and to learn, and in his old age more inclined to any thing that might divert and entertain, particularly to music and good fellowship, went to see Thespis himself exhibit, as the custom of the ancient poets was. When the play was done, he called to Thespis, and asked him, *If he was not ashamed to tell so many lies before so great an assembly?* Thespis answered, *It was no great matter, if he spoke or acted so in jest.* To which Solon replied, striking the ground violently with his staff, *If we encourage such jesting as this, we shall quickly find it in our contracts and agreements.*

Soon after this, Pisistratus having wounded himself for the purpose, drove in that condition into the market-place, and endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people, by telling them his enemies had laid in wait for him, and treated him in that manner on account of his patriotism. Upon this the multitude loudly expressed their indignation; but Solon came up, and thus accosted him, *Son of Hippocrates, you act Homer's Ulysses but very indifferently; for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies, but you have done it to impose upon your countrymen.* Notwithstanding this, the rabble were ready to take up arms for him: and a general assembly of the people being summoned, Ariston made a motion, that a body guard of fifty clubmen should be assigned him. Solon stood up and opposed it with many arguments of the same kind with those he has left us in his poems:

> You hang with rapture on his honey'd tongue.

And again,

> Your art, to public interest ever blind,
> Your fox-like art, still centers in yourself.

But when he saw the poor behave in a riotous manner, and determined to gratify Pisistratus at any rate, while the rich, out of fear, declined the opposition, he retired with this declaration, that he had shown more wisdom than the former, in discerning what method should have been taken; and more courage than the latter, who did not want understanding, but spirit to oppose the establishment of a tyrant. The people, having made the decree, did not curiously inquire into the number of guards which Pisistratus employed, but visibly connived at his keeping as many as he pleased, till he seized the citadel. When this was done, and the city in great confusion, Megacles, with the rest of the Alcmæonidæ, immediately took to flight. But Solon, though he was now very old, and had none to second him, appeared in public, and addressed himself to the citizens, sometimes upbraiding them with their past

indiscretion and cowardice, sometimes exhorting and encouraging them to stand up for their liberty. Then it was that he spoke those memorable words, *It would have been easier for them to repress the advances of tyranny, and prevent its establishment; but now it was established, and grown to some height, it would be more glorious to demolish it.* However, finding that their fears prevented their attention to what he said, he returned to his own house, and placed his weapons at the street-door, with these words, *I have done all in my power to defend my country and its laws.* This was his last public effort. Though some exhorted him to fly, he took no notice of their advice, but was composed enough to make verses, in which he thus reproaches the Athenians,

If fear or folly has your rights betray'd,
Let not the fault on righteous heav'n be laid.
You gave them guards, you rais'd your tyrants high,
T' impose the heavy yoke that draws the heaving sigh.

Many of his friends, alarmed at this, told him the tyrant would certainly put him to death for it, and asked him what he trusted to, that he went such imprudent lengths? He answered, *To old age.* However, when Pisistratus had fully established himself, he made his court to Solon, and treated him with so much kindness and respect, that Solon became, as it were, his counsellor, and gave sanction to many of his proceedings. He observed the greatest part of Solon's laws, showing himself the example, and obliging his friends to follow it. Thus, when he was accused of murder before the court of *areopagus*, he appeared in a modest manner to make his defence; but the accuser dropped the impeachment. He likewise added other laws, one of which was, that *persons maimed in the wars should be maintained at the public charge.* Yet this, Heraclides tells us, was in pursuance of Solon's plan, who had decreed the same in the case of Thersippus. But, according to Theophrastus, Pisistratus, not Solon, made the law against idleness, which produced at once greater industry in the country, and tranquillity in the city.

Solon, moreover, attempted in verse a large description, or rather fabulous account, of the Atlantic Island, which he had learned of the wise men of Sais, and which particularly concerned the Athenians; but by reason of his age, not want of leisure (as Plato would have it), he was apprehensive the work would be too much for him, and therefore did not go through with it. These verses are a proof that business was not the hinderance:

I grow in learning as I grow in years.

And again,

> Wine, wit, and beauty, still their charms bestow,
> Light all the shades of life, and cheer us as we go.

Plato, ambitious to cultivate and adorn the subject of the Atlantic Island, as a delightful spot in some fair field unoccupied, to which also he had some claim by his being related to Solon*, laid out magnificent courts and enclosures, and erected a grand entrance to it, such as no other story, fable, or poem, ever had. But, as he began it late, he ended his life before the work; so that the more the reader is delighted with the part that is written, the more regret he has to find it unfinished.—As the temple of Jupiter Olympius in Athens is the only one that has not the last hand put to it, so the wisdom of Plato, amongst his many excellent works, has left nothing imperfect but the Atlantic Island.

Heraclides Ponticus relates that Solon lived a considerable time after Pisistratus usurped the government, but, according to Phanias the Ephesian, not quite two years: For Pisistratus began his tyranny in the archonship of Comias, and Phanias tells us Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus, the immediate successor to Comias. The story of his ashes being scattered about the isle of Salamis appears absurd and fabulous; and yet it is related by several authors of credit, and by Aristotle in particular.

PUBLICOLA.

SUCH is the character of Solon; and therefore with him we will compare Publicola, so called by the Roman people, in acknowledgment of his merit; for his paternal name was Valerius. He was descended from that ancient Valerius who was the principal author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines; for he it was that most effectually persuaded the two kings to come to a conference, and to settle their differences. From this man our Valerius deriving his extraction, distinguished himself by his eloquence and riches, even while Rome was yet under kingly government. His eloquence he employed with great propriety and spirit in defence of justice, and his riches in relieving the necessitous. Hence it was natural to conclude, that if the government should become republican, his station in it would soon be one of the most eminent.

When Tarquin *the Proud*, who made his way to the throne by the

* Plato's mother was a descendant of the brother of Solon.

violation of all rights * divine and human, and then exercised his power as he acquired it, when, like an oppressor and a tyrant, he became odious and insupportable to the people, they took occasion to revolt, from the unhappy fate of Lucretia, who killed herself on account of the rape committed upon her by the son of Tarquin †, Lucius Brutus, meditating a change of government, applied to Valerius first, and with his powerful assistance expelled the king and his family. Indeed, while the people seemed inclined to give one person the chief command, and to set up a general instead of a king, Valerius acquiesced, and willingly yielded the first place to Brutus, under whose auspices the republic commenced. But when it appeared that they could not bear the thought of being governed by a single person, when they seemed more ready to obey a divided authority, and indeed proposed and demanded to have two consuls at the head of the state, then he offered himself as a candidate for that high office, together with Brutus, but lost his election; for, contrary to Brutus's desire, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was appointed his colleague; not that he was a more worthy or able man than Valerius, but those that had the chief interest in the state, apprehensive of the return of the Tarquins, who made great efforts without, and endeavoured to soften the resentment of the citizens within, were desirous to be commanded by the most implacable enemy of that house.

Valerius, taking it ill that it should be supposed he would not do his utmost for his country, because he had received no particular injury from the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, forbore to attend the *forum*, and would not intermeddle in the least with public affairs; so that many began to express their fear and concern, lest

* He made use of the body of his father-in-law, Servius Tullius, whom he had murdered, as a step to the throne.

† Livy tells us, that she desired her father and husband to meet her at her own house. With her father Lucretius came Publius Valerius, afterwards Publicola, and with her husband Lucius Junius Brutus, and many other Romans of distinction. To them she disclosed in a few words the whole matter, declared her firm resolution not to outlive the loss of her honour, and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpunished. Then the heroine, notwithstanding their endeavours to dissuade her from it, plunged a dagger in her breast. While the rest were filled with grief and consternation, Brutus, who till that time had feigned himself an idiot, to prevent him being obnoxious to the tyrant, took the bloody poniard, and, showing it to the assembly, said, "I swear by this blood, which once was so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villany of Tarquin could have polluted, that I will pursue L. Tarquinius the Proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword; nor will ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever to reign at Rome. Ye gods! I call you to witness this my oath." At these words he presented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company, and engaged them to take the same oath.

through resentment he should join the late royal family, and overturn the commonwealth, which as yet was but tottering. Brutus was not without his suspicions of some others, and therefore determined to bring the senators to their oath on a solemn day of sacrifice, which he appointed for that purpose. On this occasion Valerius went with great alacrity into the *forum*, and was the first to make oath that he would never give up the least point, or hearken to any terms of agreement with Tarquin, but would defend the Roman liberty with his sword; which afforded great satisfaction to the senate, and strengthened the hands of the consuls*. His actions soon confirmed the sincerity of his oath; for ambassadors came from Tarquin with letters calculated to gain the people, and instructions to treat with them in such a manner as might be most likely to currupt them; as they were to tell them from the king, that he had bid adieu to his high notions, and was willing to listen to very moderate conditions. Though the consuls were of opinion that they should be admitted to confer with the people, Valerius would not suffer it, but opposed it strongly, insisting that no pretext for innovation should be given the needy multitude, who might consider war as a greater grievance than tyranny itself.

After this, ambassadors came to declare that he would give up all thoughts of the kingdom, and lay down his arms, if they would but send him his treasures and other effects, that his family and friends might not want a subsistence in their exile. Many persons inclined to indulge him in this, and Collatinus in particular, agreed to it; but Brutus†, a man of great spirit, and quick resentment, ran into the *forum*, and called his colleague traitor, for being disposed to grant the enemy the means to carry on the war, and recover the crown, when, indeed, it would be too much to grant them bread in the place where they might retire to. The citizens being assembled on that occasion, Caius Minutius, a private man, was the first who delivered his sentiments to them, advising Brutus, and exhortiug the Romans, to take care that the treasures should fight for them against

* Thus ended the regal state of Rome, 242 years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city. But Sir Isaac Newton justly observes, that this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature; for we meet with no instance in all history, since chronology was certain, wherein seven kings, most of whom were slain, reigned so long a time in continual succession. By contracting, therefore, the reigns of these kings, and those of the kings of Alba, he places the building of Rome not in the seventh, but in the thirty-eighth Olympiad.

† Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the contrary, says, the affair was debated in the senate with great moderation; and when it could not be settled there whether they should prefer honour or profit, it was referred to the people, who, to their immortal praise, carried it, by a majority of one vote, for honour.

the tyrants, rather than for the tyrants against *them*. The Romans, however, were of opinion, that while they obtained that liberty for which they began the war, they should not reject the offered peace for the sake of the treasures, but cast them out, together with the tyrants.

In the mean time Tarquinius made but small account of his effects; but the demand of them furnished a pretence for sounding the people, and for preparing a scene of treachery. This was carried on by the ambassadors, under pretence of taking care of the effects, part of which they said they were to sell, part to collect, and the rest to send away. Thus they gained time to corrupt two of the best families in Rome, that of the Aquilii, in which were three senators, and the Vitellii, among whom are two. All these, by the mother's side, were nephews to Collatinus the consul. The Vitellii were likewise allied to Brutus; for their sister was his wife, and he had several children by her*; two of whom, just arrived at years of maturity, and being of their kindred and acquaintance, the Vitellii drew in, and persuaded to engage in the conspiracy; insinuating, that by this means they might marry into the family of the Tarquins, share in their royal prospects, and, at the same time be set free from the yoke of a stupid and cruel father: for his inflexibility in punishing criminals they called cruelty; and the stupidity which he had used a long time as a cloak to shelter him from the bloody designs of the tyrants had procured him the name of *Brutus*†, which he did not refuse to be known by afterwards.

The youths, thus engaged, were brought to confer with the Aquilii; and all agreed to take a great and horrible oath, by drinking together of the blood‡, and tasting§ the entrails of a man sacrificed for that purpose. This ceremony was performed in the house of the Aquilii; and the room chosen for it (as it was natural to suppose) was dark and retired. But a slave, named Vindicius lurked there undiscovered; not that he had placed himself in that room by design, nor had he any suspicion of what was going to be transacted; but happening to be there, and perceiving with what haste and concern they entered, he stopt short for fear of being seen, and hid

* Dionysius and Livy make mention of no more than two; but Plutarch agrees with those who say that Brutus had more, and that Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, was descended from one of them. Cicero is among those that hold the latter opinion; or else he pretended to be so, to make the cause and person of Brutus more popular.

† Tarquin had put the father and brother of Brutus to death.

‡ They thought such a horrid sacrifice would oblige every member of the conspiracy to inviolable secrecy. Cataline put the same in practice afterwards.

§ The word *thigein* signifies *to taste*, as well as *to touch*.

himself behind a chest; yet so that he could see what was done, and hear what was resolved upon. They came to a resolution to kill the consuls; and having wrote letters to signify as much to Tarquin, they gave them to the ambassadors, who then were guests to the Aquilii, and present at the conspiracy.

When the affair was over, they withdrew, and Vindicius stealing from his lurking-hole, was not determined what to do, but disturbed with doubts. He thought it shocking, as indeed it was, to accuse the sons of the most horrid crimes to their father Brutus, or the nephews to their uncle Collatinus; and it did not presently occur to him that any private Roman was fit to be trusted with so important a secret. On the other hand, he was so much tormented with the knowledge of such an abominable treason, that he could do any thing rather than conceal it. At length, induced by the public spirit and humanity of Valerius, he bethought himself of applying to him, a man of easy access, and willing to be consulted by the necessitous, whose house was always open, and who never refused to hear the petitions even of the meanest of the people.

Accordingly Vindicius coming, and discovering to him the whole, in the presence of his brother Marcus and his wife, Valerius, astonished and terrified at the plot, would not let the man go, but shut him up in the room, and left his wife to watch the door. Then he ordered his brother to surround the late king's palace, to seize the letters, if possible, and to secure the servants; while himself, with many clients and friends, whom he always had about him, and a numerous retinue of servants, went to the house of the Aquilii. As they were gone out, and no one expected him, he forced open the doors, and found the letters in the ambassador's room. Whilst he was thus employed, the Aquilii ran home in great haste, and engaged with him at the door, endeavouring to force the letters from him. But Valerius and his party repelled their attack, and twisting their gowns about their necks, after much struggling on both sides, dragged them with great difficulty through the streets into the *forum*. Marcus Valerius had the same success at the royal palace, where he seized other letters ready to be conveyed away among the goods, laid hands on what servants of the king he could find, and had them also into the *forum*.

When the consuls had put a stop to the tumult, Vindicius was produced by order of Valerius; and the accusation being lodged, the letters were read, which the traitors had not the assurance to contradict. A melancholy stillness reigned among the rest; but a few, willing to favour Brutus, mentioned banishment. The tears of Collatinus, and the silence of Valerius, gave some hopes of mer-

cy. But Brutus called upon each of his sons by name, and said, *You Titus, and you Valerius*, why do not you make your defence against the charge?* After they had been thus questioned three several times, and made no answer, he turned to the *lictors*, and said, *Your's is the part that remains.* The *lictors* immediately laid hold on the youths, stripped them of their garments, and, having tied their hands behind them, flogged them severely with their rods. And though others turned their eyes aside, unable to endure the spectacle, yet it is said, that Brutus neither looked another way, nor suffered pity in the least to smooth his stern and angry countenance†: regarding his sons, as they suffered, with a threatening aspect, till they were extended on the ground, and their heads cut off with the axe. Then he departed, leaving the rest to his colleague. This was an action which it is not easy to praise or condemn with propriety; for either the excess of virtue raised his soul above the influence of the passions, or else the excess of resentment depressed it into insensibility. Neither the one nor the other was natural or suitable to the human faculties, but was either divine or brutal. It is more equitable, however, that our judgment should give its sanction to the glory of this great man, than that our weakness should incline us to doubt of his virtue: for the Romans do not look upon it as so glorious a work for Romulus to have built the city, as for Brutus to have founded and established the commonwealth.

After Brutus had left the tribunal, the thought of what was done involved the rest in astonishment, horror, and silence. But the easiness and forbearance of Collatinus gave fresh spirits to the Aquilii; they begged time to make their defence, and desired that their slave Vindicius might be restored to them, and not remain with their accusers. The consul was inclined to grant their request, and thereupon to dismiss the assembly; but Valerius would neither suffer the slave to be taken from among the crowd, nor the people to dismiss the traitors and withdraw. At last he seized the criminals himself, and called for Brutus, exclaiming that Collatinus acted most unworthily in laying his colleague under the hard necessity of putting his own sons to death, and then inclining to gratify the women, by releasing the betrayers and enemies of their country. Collatinus, upon this, losing all patience, commanded Vindicius to be

* The name of Brutus's second son was not Valerius, but Tiberius.

† Livy gives us a different account of Brutus's behaviour. *Quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque et os ejus, spectaculo esset; eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium.* There could not be a more striking spectacle than the countenance of Brutus, for anguish sat mixed with dignity, and he could not conceal the father, though he supported the magistrate. *Liv. lib.* ii. *cap.* 5.

taken away; the lictors made way through the crowd, seized the man, and came to blows with such as endeavoured to rescue him. The friends of Valerius stood upon their defence, and the people cried out for Brutus. Brutus returned, and silence being made, he said, *It was enough for him to give judgment upon his own sons; as for the rest, he left them to the sentence of the people, who were now free; and any one that chose it might plead before them.* They did not, however, wait for pleadings, but immediately put it to the vote, and with one voice condemned them to die; and the traitors were beheaded. Collatinus, it seems, was somewhat suspected before, on account of his near relationship to the royal family*; and one of his names was obnoxious to the people, for they abhorred the very name of Tarquin. But, on this occasion, he had provoked them beyond expression; and therefore he voluntarily resigned the consulship, and retired from the city. A new election consequently was held, and Valerius declared consul with great honour, as a proper mark of gratitude for his patriotic zeal. As he was of opinion that Vindicius should have his share of the reward, he procured a decree of the people, that the freedom of the city should be given him, which was never conferred on a slave before, and that he should be enrolled in what tribe he pleased, and give his suffrage with it. As for other freedmen, Appius, wanting to make himself popular, afterwards procured them a right of voting. The act of enfranchising a slave is to this day called *Vindicta* (we are told) from this Vindicius.

The next step that was taken was to give up the goods of the Tarquins to be plundered; and their palace and other houses were levelled with the ground. The pleasantest part of the *Campus Martius* had been in their possession, and this was now consecrated to the god Mars†. It happened to be the time of harvest, and the sheaves then lay upon the ground; but as it was consecrated, they thought it not lawful to thrash the corn, or to make use of it; a great number of hands, therefore, took it up in baskets, and threw it into the river. The trees were also cut down and thrown in after it, and the ground left entirely without fruit or product, for the ser-

* Lucius Tarquinius, the son of Egerius, and nephew of Tarquinius Priscus, was called Collatinus, from Collatia, of which he was governor. Tarquinius Superbus, and Egerius, the father of Collatinus, were first cousins.

† Plutarch should have said re-consecrated; for it was devoted to that god in the time of Romulus, as appears from his laws. But the Tarquins had sacrilegiously converted it to their own use.

vice of the god*. A great quantity of things being thus thrown in together, they were not carried far by the current, but only to the shallows where the first heaps had stopped. Finding no farther passage, every thing settled there, and the whole was bound still faster by the river; for that washed down to it a deal of mud, which not only added to the mass, but served as a cement to it; and the current, far from dissolving it, by its gentle pressure gave it the greater firmness. The bulk and solidity of this mass received continual additions, most of what was brought down by the Tiber settling there.—It is now an island sacred to religious uses†; several temples and porticoes have been built upon it, and it is called in Latin, *Inter duos pontes*‡, the island *between the two bridges*. Some say, however, that this did not happen at the dedication of Tarquin's field, but some ages after, when Tarquinia, a vestal, gave another adjacent field to the public; for which she was honoured with great privileges, particularly that of giving her testimony in court, which was refused to other women. They likewise voted her liberty to marry, but she did not except it. This is the account, though seemingly fabulous, which some give of the matter.

Tarquin, despairing to reascend the throne by stratagem, applied to the Tuscans, who gave him a kind reception, and prepared to conduct him back with a great armament. The consuls led the Roman forces against them; and the two armies were drawn up in certain consecrated parcels of ground, the one called the Arsian grove, the other the Æsuvian meadow. When they came to charge, Aruns, the son of Tarquin, and Brutus the Roman consul§, met each other, not by accident, but design; animated by hatred and resentment, the one against a tyrant and enemy of his country, the other to revenge his banishment, they spurred their horses to the encounter. As they engaged rather with fury than conduct, they laid themselves open, and fell by each other's hand. The battle, whose onset was so dreadful, had not a milder conclusion; the carnage was prodigious, and equal on both sides, till at length the armies were separated by a storm.

* A field so kept was very properly adapted to the service of the god of war, who lays waste all before him.

† Livy says it was secured against the force of the current by jettees.

‡ The Fabrician bridge joined it to the city on the side of the capitol, and the Cestian bridge on the side of the Janiculine gate.

§ Brutus is deservedly reckoned among the most illustrious heroes. He restored liberty to his country, secured it with the blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against a tyrant. The Romans afterwards erected his statue in the capitol, where he was placed in the midst of the kings of Rome, with a naked sword in his hand.

Valerius was in great perplexity, as he knew not which side had the victory, and found his men as much dismayad at the sight of their own dead, as animated by the loss of the enemy. So great, indeed, was the slaughter, that it could not be distinguished who had the advantage; and each army having a near view of their own loss, and only guessing at that of the enemy, were inclined to think themselves vanquished, rather than victorious. When night came on (such a night as one might imagine after so bloody a day), and both camps were hushed in silence and repose, it is said that the grove shook, and a loud voice proceeding from it declared, that *the Tuscans had lost one man more than the Romans.* The voice was undoubtedly divine*; for immediately upon that the Romans recovered their spirits, and the field rung with acclamations; while the Tuscans struck with fear and confusion, deserted their camp, and most of them dispersed. As for those that remained, who were not quite five thousand, the Romans took them prisoners, and plundered the camp.—When the dead were numbered, there were found on the side of the Tuscans eleven thousand three hundred, and on that of the Romans as many, excepting one. This battle is said to have been fought on the last of February. Valerius was honoured with a triumph, and was the first consul that made his entry in a chariot and four. The occasion rendered the spectacle glorious and venerable, not invidious, and (as some would have it) grievous to the Romans; for, if that had been the case, the custom would not have been so zealously kept up, nor would the ambition to obtain a triumph have lasted so many ages. The people were pleased too with the honours paid by Valerius to the remains of his colleague, his burying him with so much pomp, and pronouncing his funeral oration; which last the Romans so generally approved, or rather were so much charmed with, that afterwards all the great and illustrious men among them, upon their decease, had their encomium from persons of distinction. This funeral oration was more ancient than any among the Greeks, unless we allow what Anaximenes the orator relates, that Solon was the author of this custom.

But that which offended and exasperated the people was this: Brutus, whom they considered as the father of liberty, would not rule alone, but took to himself a first and second colleague; *yet this man* (said they) *grasps the whole authority, and is not the successor to the consulate of Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. To what purpose is it in words to extol Brutus, and in deeds to imitate Tarquin, while he has all the rods and axes carried before him alone, and sets out from a house*

* It was said to be the voice of the god Pan.

more stately than the royal palace which he demolished? It is true, Valerius did live in a house too lofty and superb, on the Velian eminence, which commanded the *forum*, and every thing that passed; and as the avenues were difficult, and the ascent steep, when he came down from it, his appearance was very pompous, and resembled the state of a king rather than that of a consul. But he soon showed of what consequence it is for persons in high stations and authority to have their ears open to truth and good advice rather than flattery: for, when his friends informed him that most people thought he was taking wrong steps, he made no dispute, nor expressed any resentment, but hastily assembled a number of workmen, whilst it was yet night, who demolished his house entirely; so that when the Romans in the morning assembled to look upon it, they admired and adored his magnanimity, but at the same time were troubled to see so grand and magnificent an edifice ruined by the envy of the citizens, as they would have lamented the death of a great man who had fallen as suddenly, and by the same cause. It gave them pain, too, to see the consul, who had now no home, obliged to take shelter in another man's house: for Valerius was entertained by his friends till the people provided a piece of ground for him, where a less stately house was built, in the place where the temple of *Victory* now stands*.

Desirous to make his high office, as well as himself, rather agreeable than formidable to the people, he ordered the axes to be taken away from the rods, and that, whenever he went to the great assembly, the rods should be avaled in respect to the citizens, as if the supreme power was lodged in *them;* a custom which the consuls observe to this day†. The people were not aware, that by this he did not lessen his own power, (as they imagined), but only, by such an instance of moderation, obviated and cut off all occasion of envy, and gained as much authority to his person as he seemed to take from his office; for they all submitted to him with pleasure, and were so much charmed with his behaviour, that they gave him the name of *Publicola*, that is, *the people's respectful friend.* In this both his former names were lost; and this we shall make use of in the sequel of his life.

Indeed it was no more than his due: for he permitted all to sue for the consulship‡. Yet, before a colleague was appointed him, as he

* Plutarch has it *where the temple called* Vicus Publicus *now stands.* He had found in the historians *vicæ potæ*, which in old Latin signifies *victory;* but as he did not understand it, he substituted *Vicus Publicus*, which here would have no sense at all.

† The axes, too, were still borne before the consuls, when they were in the field.

‡ If Publicola gave the plebeians, as well as the patricians, a right to the consulate, that right did not then take place: for Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian who arrived

knew not what might happen, and was apprehensive of some opposition from ignorance or envy, while he had the sole power, he made use of it to establish some of the most useful and excellent regulations. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which then was very thin: several of that august body having been put to death by Tarquin before, and others fallen in the late battle. He is said to have made up the number to one hundred and sixty-four. In the next place, he caused certain laws to be enacted, which greatly augmented the power of the people. The first gave liberty of appeal from the consuls to the people; the second made it death to enter upon the magistracy without the people's consent; the third was greatly in favour of the poor, as, by exempting them from taxes*, it promoted their attention to manufactures. Even his law against disobedience to the consuls was not less popular than the rest; and, in effect, it favoured the commonalty rather than the great; for the fine was only the value of five oxen and two sheep. The value of a sheep was ten *oboli*, of an ox a hundred†; the Romans as yet not making much use of money, because their wealth consisted in abundance of cattle. To this day they call their substance *peculia*, from *pecus*, cattle, their most ancient coins having the impression of an ox, a sheep, or a hog; and their sons being distinguished with the names of *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*, derived from the names of such animals.

Though these laws of Publicola were popular and equitable, yet amidst this moderation, the punishment he appointed in one case was severe; for he made it lawful, without a form of trial, to kill any man that should attempt to set himself up for a king; and the person that took away his life was to stand excused, if he could make proof of the intended crime. His reason for such a law, we presume, was this: though it is not possible that he who undertakes so great an enterprise should escape all notice, yet it is very probable that, though suspected, he may accomplish his designs before he can be brought to answer for it in a judicial way; and as the crime, if committed, would prevent his being called to account for it, this law empowered any one to punish him before such cognizance was taken.

His law concerning the treasury did him honour. It was necessary that money should be raised for the war from the estates of the

at that honour, many ages after the time of which Plutarch speaks; and this continued but eleven years; for in the twelfth, which was the four hundredth year of Rome, both the consuls were again patricians. *Liv. lib.* vii. *cap.* 18.

* He exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute.

† Before, the fine was such as the commonalty could not pay without absolute ruin.

citizens, but he determined that neither himself nor any of his friends should have the disposal of it; nor would he suffer it to be lodged in any private house. He therefore appointed the temple of Saturn to be the treasury, which they still made use of for that purpose, and empowered the people to choose two young men as *quæstors*, or *treasurers**.—The first were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minutius; and a large sum was collected; for a hundred and thirty thousand persons were taxed, though the orphans and widows stood excused.

These matters thus regulated, he procured Lucretius, the father of the injured Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague. To him he gave the *fasces*, (as they are called), together with the precedency, as the older man; and this mark of respect to age has ever since continued. As Lucretius died a few days after, another election was held, and Marcus Horatius† appointed in his room for the remaining part of the year.

About that time, Tarquin making preparations for a second war against the Romans, a great prodigy is said to have happened. This prince, while yet upon the throne, had almost finished the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when, either by the direction of an oracle‡, or upon some fancy of his own, he ordered the artists of Veii to make an earthen chariot, which was to be placed on the top of it. Soon after this he forfeited the crown. The Tuscans, however, moulded the chariot, and set it in the furnace; but the case was very different with it from that of other clay in the fire, which condenses and contracts upon the exhalation of the moisture, whereas it enlarged itself and swelled, till it grew to such a size and hardness, that it was with difficulty they got it out, even after the furnace was dismantled. The soothsayers being of opinion that this chariot betokened power and success to the persons with whom it should remain, the people of Veii determined not to give it up to the Romans; but, upon their demanding it, returned this answer, that it belonged to Tarquin, not to those that had driven him from his kingdom. It happened that, a few days after, there was a chariot-race at Veii, which was observed as usual, except that as the charioteer, who had won the prize and

* The office of the quæstors was to take care of the public treasure, for which they were accountable when their year was out; to furnish the necessary sums for the service of the public, and to receive ambassadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and other necessaries. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph till he had given them a faithful account of the spoils he had taken, and sworn to it. There were at first two quæstors only, but, when the Roman empire was considerably enlarged, their number was increased. The office of quæstor, though often discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments.

† Horatius Pulvillus.

‡ It was an usual thing to place chariots on the tops of temples.

received the crown, was gently driving out of the ring, the horses took fright from no visible cause, but, either by some direction of the gods, or turn of fortune, ran away with their driver at full speed towards Rome. It was in vain that he pulled the reins, or soothed them with words; he was obliged to give way to the career, and was whirled along till they came to the capitol, where they flung him at the gate now called *Ratumena*. The Veientes, surprised and terrified at this incident, ordered the artists to deliver up the chariot*.

Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, in his wars with the Sabines, made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, which was performed by Tarquin *the Proud*, son or grandson to the former. He did not, however, consecrate it, for it was not quite finished when he was expelled from Rome†. When the last hand was put to it, and it had received every suitable ornament, Publicola was ambitious of the honour of dedicating it.—This excited the envy of some of the nobility, who could better brook his other honours, to which, indeed, in his legislative and military capacities, he had a better claim; but, as he had no concern in this, they did not think proper to grant it him, but encouraged and importuned Horatius to apply for it. In the mean time, Publicola's command of the army necessarily required his absence, and his adversaries taking the opportunity to procure an order from the people that Horatius should dedicate the temple, conducted him to the capitol, a point which they could not have gained, had Publicola been present. Yet some say, the consuls having cast lots for it‡, the dedication fell to Horatius, and the expedition, against his inclination, to Publicola. But we may easily conjecture how they stood disposed, by the proceedings on the day of dedication. This was the thirteenth of September, which is about the full moon of the month *Melagitnion*, when prodigious numbers of all ranks being assembled, and silence enjoined, Horatius, after the other ceremonies, took hold of one of the gate-posts, (as the custom is), and was going to pronounce the prayer of consecration; but Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had stood for some time by the gates watching his opportunity, cried out, *Consul, your son lies dead in the camp.* This gave great pain to all that heard it; but

* A miracle of this kind, and not less extraordinary, is said to have happened in modern Rome. When poor St. Michael's church was in a ruinous condition, the horses that were employed in drawing stones through the city unanimously agreed to carry their loads to St. Michael's.

† This temple was 200 feet long, and 185 and upwards broad. The front was adorned with three rows of columns, and the sides with two. In the nave were three shrines, one of Jupiter, another of Juno, and the third of Minerva.

‡ Livy says positively, *they cast lots for it.* Plutarch seems to have taken the sequel of the story from him.—*Liv. lib.* ii, *cap.* 8.

the consul, not in the least disconcerted, made answer, *Then cast out the dead where you please, I admit of no mourning on this occasion;* and so proceeded to finish the dedication. The news was not true, but an invention of Marcus, who hoped by that means to hinder Horatius from completing what he was about. But his presence of mind is equally admirable, whether he immediately perceived the falsity, or believed the account to be true, without shewing any emotion.

The same fortune attended the dedication of the second temple. The first, built by Tarquin, and dedicated by Horatius, as we have related, was afterwards destroyed by fire in the civil wars*. Sylla rebuilt it, but did not live to consecrate it; so the dedication of this second temple fell to Catullus. It was again destroyed in the troubles which happened in the time of Vitellius; and a third was built by Vespasian, who, with his usual good fortune, put the last hand to it, but did not see it demolished, as it was soon after: happier in this respect than Sylla, who died before his was dedicated, Vespasian died before his was destroyed; for immediately after his decease the capitol was burnt. The fourth, which now stands, was built and dedicated by Domitian. Tarquin is said to have expended thirty thousand pound weight of silver upon the foundations only; but the greatest wealth any private man is supposed to be now possessed of in Rome, would not answer the expense of the gilding of the present temple, which amounted to more than twelve thousand talents†. The pillars are of Pentelic marble, and the thickness was in excellent proportion to their length, when we saw them at Athens; but, when they were cut and polished anew at Rome, they gained not so much in the polish as they lost in the proportion; for their beauty is injured by their appearing too slender for their height. But after admiring the magnificence of the capitol, if any one was to go and

* After the first temple was destroyed in the wars between Sylla and Marius, Sylla rebuilt it with columns of marble, which he had taken out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and transported to Rome. But (as Plutarch observes) he did not live to consecrate it; and he was heard to say, as he was dying, that his leaving that temple to be dedicated by another was the only unfortunate circumstance of his life.

† 194,350*l.* sterling. In this we may see the great difference between the wealth of private citizens in a free country, and that of the subjects of an arbitrary monarch. In Trajan's time there was not a private man in Rome worth £200,000; whereas, under the commonwealth, Æmilius Scaurus, in his ædileship, erected a temporary theatre, which cost above £500,000; Marcus Crassus had an estate in land of above a million a-year; L. Cornelius Balbus left by will, to every Roman citizen, twenty-five *denarii*, which amount to about sixteen shillings of our money; and many private men among the Romans maintained from ten to twenty thousand slaves, not so much for service as ostentation. No wonder, then, that the slaves once took up arms, and went to war with the Roman commonwealth.

see a gallery, a hall, or bath, or the apartments of the women, in Domitian's palace, what is said by Epicharmus of a prodigal,

> Your lavish'd stores speak not the liberal mind,
> But the disease of giving;

he might apply to Domitian in some such manner as this: *Neither piety nor magnificence appears in your expence; you have the disease of building; like Midas of old, you would turn every thing to gold and marble.* So much for this subject.

Let us now return to Tarquin. After that great battle in which he lost his son, who was killed in single combat by Brutus, he fled to Clusium, and begged assistance of Laras Porsena, then the most powerful prince in Italy, and a man of great worth and honour. Porsena promised him succours*; and, in the first place, sent to the Romans, commanding them to receive Tarquin. Upon their refusal, he declared war against them; and having informed them of the time when, and place where, he would make his assault, he marched thither accordingly with a great army. Publicola, who was then absent, was chosen consul the second time†, and with him Titus Lucretius. Returning to Rome, and desirous to outdo Porsena in spirit‡, he built the town of Sigliuria, notwithstanding the enemy's approach; and when he had finished the walls at a great expence, he placed in it a colony of seven hundred men, as if he held his adversary very cheap. Porsena, however, assaulted it in a spirited manner, drove out the garrison, and pursued the fugitives so close, that he was near entering Rome along with them. But Publicola met him without the gates, and joining battle by the river, sustained the enemy's attack, who pressed on with numbers, till at last sinking under the wounds he had gallantly received, he was carried out of the battle. Lucretius, his colleague, having the same fate, the courage of the Romans drooped, and they retreated into the city for security. The enemy making good the pursuit to the wooden bridge, Rome was in great danger of being taken, when Horatius Cocles§, and with him two others of the first rank, Herminius and Spurius

* Besides that Porsena was willing to assist a distressed king, he considered the Tarquins as his countrymen, for they were of Tuscan extraction.

† It was when Publicola was consul the third time, and had for his colleague Horatius Pulvillus, that Porsena marched against Rome.

‡ Sigliuria was not built at that time, nor out of ostentation, as Plutarch says; for it was built as a barrier against the Latins and the Hernici, and not in the third, but in the second consulship of Publicola.

§ He was son to a brother of Horatius the consul, and a descendant of that Horatius who remained victorious in the great combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

Lartius*, stopped them at the bridge. Horatius had the surname of *Cocles*, from his having lost an eye in the wars; or, as some will have it, from the form of his nose, which was so very flat, that both his eyes, as well as eyebrows, seemed to be joined together; so that, when the vulgar intended to call him *Cyclops*, by a misnomer, they called him *Cocles*, which name remained with him. This man, standing at the head of the bridge, defended it against the enemy, till the Romans broke it down behind him. He then plunged into the Tiber, armed as he was, and swam to the other side, but was wounded in the hip with a Tuscan spear. Publicola, struck with admiration of his valour, immediately procured a decree, that every Roman should give him one day's provisions†; and that he should have as much land as he himself could encircle with a plough in one day. Besides, they erected his statue in brass in the temple of Vulcan, with a view to console him by this honour for his wound, and lameness consequent upon it‡.

While Porsena laid close siege to the city, the Romans were attacked with famine, and another body of Tuscans laid waste the country. Publicola, who was now consul the third time, was of opinion, that no operations could be carried on against Porsena but defensive ones. He marched out§, however, privately against those Tuscans who had committed such ravages, defeated them, and killed five thousand.

The story of Mucius‖ has been the subject of many pens, and is variously related: I shall give that account of it which seems most credible. Mucius was in all respects a man of merit, but particularly distinguished by his valour. Having secretely formed a scheme to take off Porsena, he made his way into his camp in a Tuscan dress, where he likewise took care to speak the Tuscan language. In this disguise he approached the seat where the king sat with his nobles; and as he did not certainly know Porsena, and thought it improper to ask, he drew his sword, and killed the person that seemed most likely to be the king. Upon this he was seized and examined. Meantime, as there happened to be a portable altar there, with fire

* In the Greek text it is Lucretius, which, we suppose, is a corruption of Lartius, the name we find in Livy.

† Probably he had three hundred thousand contributors, for even the women readily gave in their quota.

‡ This defect, and his having but one eye, prevented his ever being consul.

§ The consuls spread a report, which was soon carried into the Tuscan camp by the slaves who deserted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country would be sent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambush.

‖ Mucius Cordus.

upon it, where the king was about to offer sacrifice, Mucius thrust his right hand into it*; and as the flesh was burning, he kept looking upon Porsena with a firm and menacing aspect, till the king, astonished at his fortitude, returned him his sword with his own hand. He received it with his left hand, from whence we are told he had the surname of *Scævola*, which signifies *left-handed;* and thus addressed himself to Porsena: "Your threatenings I regarded not, but am conquered by your generosity, and out of gratitude, will declare to you what no force should have wrested from me. There are three hundred Romans that have taken the same resolution with mine, who now walk about your camp, watching their opportunity. It was my lot to make the first attempt, and I am sorry that my sword was directed by fortune against another, instead of a man of so much honour, who, as such, should rather be a friend than an enemy to the Romans." Porsena believed this account, and was more inclined to hearken to terms, not so much, in my opinion, through fear of the three hundred assassins, as admiration of the dignity of the Roman valour. All authors call this man Mucius Scævola†, except Athenodorus Sandon, who, in a work addressed to Octavia, sister to Augustus, says he was named Posthumius.

Publicola, who did not look upon Porsena as so bitter an enemy to Rome, but that he deserved to be taken into its friendship and alliance, was so far from refusing to refer the dispute with Tarquin to his decision, that he was really desirous of it, and several times offered to prove that Tarquin was the worst of men, and justly deprived of the crown. When Tarquin roughly answered, that he would admit of no arbitrator, much less of Porsena, if he changed his mind, and forsook his alliance; Porsena was offended, and began to entertain an ill opinion of him; being likewise solicited to it by his son Aruns, who used all his interest for the Romans, he was prevailed upon to put an end to the war, on condition that they gave up that part of Tuscany which they had conquered‡, together with the prisoners, and received their deserters. For the performance of these conditions, they gave as hostages ten young men, and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome; among whom was Valeria, the daughter of Publicola.

Upon the faith of this treaty, Porsena had ceased from all acts of

* Livy says, that Porsena threatened Mucius with the torture by fire, to make him discover his accomplices; whereupon Mucius thrust his hand into the flame, to let him see that he was not to be intimidated.

† Mucius was rewarded with a large piece of ground belonging to the public.

‡ The Romans were required to reinstate the Veientes in the possession of seven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars.

hostility; when the Roman virgins went down to bathe, at a place where the bank, forming itself into a crescent, embraces the river in such a manner, that there it is quite calm and undisturbed with waves. As no guard was near, and they saw none passing or repassing, they had a violent inclination to swim over, notwithstanding the depth and strength of the stream. Some say, one of them, named Cloelia, passed it on horseback, and encouraged the other virgins as they swam. When they came safe to Publicola, he neither commended nor approved their exploit, but was grieved to think he should appear unequal to Porsena in point of honour, and that this daring enterprise of the virgins should make the Romans supected of unfair proceeding, he took them, therefore, and sent them back to Porsena. Tarquin, having timely intelligence of this, laid an ambuscade for them, and attacked their convoy. They defended themselves, though greatly inferior in number; and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, broke through them, as they were engaged, with three servants, who conducted her safe to Porsena's camp. As the skirmish was not yet decided, nor the danger over, Aruns, the son of Porsena, being informed of it, marched up with all speed, put the enemy to flight, and rescued the Romans. When Porsena saw the virgins returned, he demanded which of them was she that proposed the design, and set the example. When he understood that Cloelia was the person, he treated her with great politeness, and commanding one of his own horses to be brought, with very elegant trappings, he made her a present of it. Those that say Cloelia was the only one that passed the river on horseback, allege this as a proof. Others say, no such consequence can be drawn from it, and that it was nothing more than a mark of honour to her from the Tuscan king for her bravery. An equestrian statue of her stands in the *Via sacra**, where it leads to Mount *Palatine*; yet some will have even this to be Valeria's statue, not Cloelia's.

Porsena, thus reconciled to the Romans, gave many proofs of his greatness of mind. Among the rest, he ordered the Tuscans to carry off nothing but their arms, and to leave their camp full of provisions, and many other things of value, for the Romans. Hence it is, that even in our times, whenever there is a sale of goods belonging to the public, they are cried first as the goods of Porsena, to eternize the memory of his generosity. A brazen statue, of rude and antique workmanship, was also erected to his honour, near the senate-house†.

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us in express terms, that in his time, that is, in the reign of Augustus, there were no remains of that statue, it having been destroyed by fire.

† The senate likewise sent an embassy to him, with a present of a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe.

After this, the Sabines invading the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, and Posthumius Tubertus, were elected consuls. As every important action was still conducted by the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus gained two great battles; in the second of which he killed thirteen thousand of the enemy, without the loss of one Roman: for this he was not only rewarded with a triumph, but a house was built for him at the public expence, on Mount Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inwards, the street-door of that house was made to open outwards, to show, by such an honourable distinction, that he was always ready to receive any proposal for the public service*. All the doors in Greece, they tell us, were formerly made to open so, which they prove from those passages in the comedies, where it is mentioned, that those that went out, knocked loud on the inside of the doors first, to give warning to such as passed by, or stood before them, lest the doors in opening should dash against them.

The year following, Publicola was appointed consul the fourth time, because a confederacy between the Sabines and Latins threatened a war; and, at the same time, the city was oppressed with superstitious terrors, on account of the imperfect births and general abortions among the women. Publicola, having consulted the Sibyl's books upon it†, offered sacrifices to Pluto, and renewed certain games that had formerly been instituted by the direction of the Delphic oracle. When he had revived the city with the pleasing hope that the gods were appeased, he prepared to arm against the menaces of men; for there appeared to be a formidable league and strong armament against him. Among the Sabines, Appius Clausus was a man of an opulent fortune, and of remarkable personal strength; famed, moreover, for his virtues, and the force of his eloquence. What is

* Posthumius had his share in the triumph, as well as in the achievements.

† An unknown woman is said to have come to Tarquin with nine volumes of oracles, written by the *Sibyl* of Cuma, for which she demanded a very considerable price. Tarquin refusing to purchase them at her rate, she burnt three of them, and then asked the same price for the remaining six. Her proposal being rejected with scorn, she burnt three more, and, notwithstanding, still insisted on her first price. Tarquin, surprised at the novelty of the thing, put the books in the hands of the augurs to be examined, who advised him to purchase them at any rate: accordingly he did, and appointed two persons of distinction, styled *Duumviri*, to be guardians of them, who locked them up in a vault under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there they were kept till they were burnt with the temple itself. These officers, whose number was afterwards increased, consulted the Sibylline books by direction of the senate, when some dangerous sedition was likely to break out, when the Roman armies has been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared which were thought fatal. They also presided over the sacrifices and shows, which they appointed to appease the wrath of heaven.

the fate of all great men, to be persecuted by envy, was likewise his: and his opposing the war, gave a handle to malignity, to insinuate that he wanted to strengthen the Roman power, in order the more easily to enslave his own country. Perceiving that the populace gave a willing ear to these calumnies, and that he was become obnoxious to the abetters of the war, he was apprehensive of an impeachment; but being powerfully supported by his friends and relations, he bade his enemies defiance. This delayed the war: Publicola making it his business not only to get intelligence of this sedition, but also to encourage and inflame it, sent proper persons to Appius, to tell him, "That he was sensible he was a man of too much goodness and integrity to avenge himself of his countrymen, though greatly injured by them; but if he chose, for his security, to come over to the Romans, and to get out of the way of his enemies, he should find such a reception, both in public and private, as was suitable to his virtue, and the dignity of Rome." Appius considered this proposal with great attention, and the necessity of his affairs prevailed with him to accept of it. He therefore persuaded his friends, and they influenced many others, so that five thousand men of the most peaceable disposition of any among the Sabines, with their families, removed with him to Rome. Publicola, who was prepared for it, received them in the most friendly and hospitable manner, admitted them to the freedom of the city, and gave them two acres of land a-piece, by the river Anio. To Appius he gave twenty-five acres, and a seat in the senate. This laid the foundation of his greatness in the republic, and he used the advantage with so much prudence, as to rise to the first rank in power and authority. The Claudian family*, descended from him, is as illustrious as any in Rome.

Though the disputes among the Sabines were decided by this migration, the demagogues would not suffer them to rest; representing it as a matter of great disgrace, if Appius, now a deserter and an enemy, should be able to obstruct their taking vengeance of the Romans, when he could not prevent it by his presence. They advanced, therefore, with a great army, and encamped near Fidenæ. Having ordered two thousand men to lie in ambush in the shrubby and hollow places before Rome, they appointed a few horse at day-break to ravage the country up to the very gates, and then to retreat till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade. But Publicola getting infor-

* There were two families of the *Claudii* in Rome; one patrician, and the other plebeian. The first had the surname of *Pulcher*, and the other of *Marcellus*. In course of time, the patrician family produced twenty-three consuls, five dictators, and seven censors, and obtained two triumphs, and two ovations. The emperor Tiberius was descended of this family.

mation that very day of these particulars from deserters, prepared himself accordingly, and made a disposition of his forces. Posthumius Balbus, his son-in-law, went out with three thousand men as it began to grow dark, and having taken possession of the summits of the hills under which the Sabines had concealed themselves, watched his opportunity. His colleague, Lucretius, with the lightest and most active of the Romans, was appointed to attack the Sabine cavalry, as they were driving off the cattle, while himself, with the rest of the forces, took a large compass, and enclosed the enemy's rear. The morning happened to be very foggy, when Posthumius at dawn, with loud shouts, fell upon the ambuscade from the heights, Lucretius charged the horse in their retreat, and Publicola attacked the enemy's camp. The Sabines were every where worsted, and put to the rout. As the Romans met not with the least resistance, the slaughter was prodigious. It is clear that the vain confidence of the Sabines was the principal cause of their ruin. While one part thought the other was safe, they did not stand upon their defence; those in the camp ran towards the corps that was placed in ambuscade, while they, in their turn, endeavoured to regain the camp. Thus they fell in with each other in great disorder, and in mutual want of that assistance which neither was able to give. The Sabines would have been entirely cut off, had not the city of Fidenæ been so near, which proved an asylum to some, particularly to those that fled when the camp was taken. Such as did not take refuge there were either destroyed or taken prisoners.

The Romans, though accustomed to ascribe every great event to the interposition of the gods, gave the credit of this victory solely to the general; and the first thing the soldiers were heard to say was, that Publicola had put the enemy in their hands lame, blind, and almost bound for the slaughter. The people were enriched with the plunder, and the sale of prisoners. As for Publicola, he was honoured with a triumph; and having surrendered the administration to the succeeding consuls, he died soon after; thus finishing his life in circumstances esteemed the happiest and most glorious that man can attain to*. The people, as if they had done nothing to requite his merit in his life-time, decreed that his funeral should be solemnized

* He was the most virtuous citizen, one of the greatest generals, and the most popular consul Rome ever had. As he had taken more care to transmit his virtues to his posterity than to enrich them, and as, notwithstanding the frugality of his life, and the great offices he had borne, there was not found money enough in his house to defray the charges of his funeral, he was buried at the expence of the public. His poverty is a circumstance which Plutarch should have mentioned, because a funeral at the public charge was an honour sometimes paid to the rich.

at the public charge; and, to make it the more honourable, every one contributed a piece of money called *Quadrans*. Besides, the women, out of particular regard to his memory, continued the mourning for a whole year. By an order of the citizens, his body was likewise interred within the city, near the place called *Velia*, and all his family were to have a burying-place there. At present, indeed, none of his descendants are interred in that ground: they only carry the corpse, and set it down there, when one of the attendants puts a lighted torch under it, which he immediately takes back again. Thus they claim by that act the right, but wave the privilege; for the body is taken away, and interred without the walls.

SOLON AND PUBLICOLA COMPARED.

THERE is something singular in this parallel, and what has not occurred to us in any other of the lives we have written, that Publicola should exemplify the maxims of Solon, and that Solon should proclaim beforehand the happiness of Publicola: for the definition of happiness which Solon gave Crœsus is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. It is true, he pronounces Tellus happy on account of his virtue, his valuable children, and glorious death; yet he mentions him not in his poems as eminently distinguished by his virtue, his children, or his employments. For Publicola, in his lifetime, attained the highest reputation and authority among the Romans by means of his virtues, and, after his death, his family was reckoned among the most honourable; the houses of the Publicolæ, the Messalæ, and Valerii*, illustrious for the space of six hundred years†, still acknowledging him as the fountain of their honour. Tellus, like a brave man, keeping his post, and fighting to the last, fell by the enemy's hand; whereas Publicola, after having slain his enemies, (a much happier circumstance than to be slain by them); after seeing his country victorious, through his conduct as consul and as general; after triumphs, and all other marks of honour, died that death which Solon had so passionately wished for, and declared so happy. Solon, again, in his answer to Mimnermus concerning the period of human life, thus exclaims:

> Let friendship's faithful heart attend my bier,
> Heave the sad sigh, and drop the pitying tear.

* That is, *the other* Valerii, viz. the *Maximi*, the *Corvini*, the *Potiti*, the *Lævini*, and the *Flacci*.

† It appears from this passage, that Plutarch wrote this life about the beginning of Trajan's reign.

And Publicola had this felicity: for he was lamented not only by his friends and relations, but by the whole city; thousands attended his funeral with tears, with regret, with the deepest sorrow; and the Roman matrons mourned for him as for the loss of a son, a brother, or a common parent.

Another wish of Solon's is thus expressed:

> The flow of riches, though desir'd,
> Life's real goods, if well acquired,
> Unjustly let me never gain,
> Lest vengeance follow in their train.

And Publicola not only acquired but employed his riches honourably, for he was a generous benefactor to the poor; so that, if Solon was the wisest, Publicola was the happiest of human kind. What the former had wished for as the greatest and most desirable of blessings, the latter actually possessed, and continued to enjoy.

Thus Solon did honour to Publicola, and he to Solon in his turn: for he considered him as the most excellent pattern that could be proposed, in regulating a democracy: and, like him, laying aside the pride of power, he rendered it gentle and acceptable to all. He also made use of several of Solon's laws; for he empowered the people to elect their own magistrates, and left an appeal to them from the sentence of other courts, as the Athenian lawgiver had done. He did not, indeed, with Solon, create a new senate, but he almost doubled the number of that which he found in being.

His reason for appointing *quæstors* or *treasurers* was, that if the consul was a worthy man, he might have leisure to attend to greater affairs; if unworthy, that he might not have greater opportunities of injustice, when both the government and the treasury were under his direction.

Publicola's aversion to tyrants was stronger than that of Solon: for the latter made every attempt to set up arbitrary power punishable by law; but the former made it death without the formality of trial. Solon, indeed, justly and reasonably plumes himself upon refusing absolute power, when both the state of affairs, and inclinations of the people would have readily admitted it; and yet it was no less glorious for Publicola, when, finding the consular authority too despotic, he rendered it milder and more popular, and did not stretch it so far as he might. That this was the best method of governing, Solon seems to have been sensible before him, when he says of a republic—

> The reins not strictly nor too loosely hold,
> And safe the car of slippery power you guide.

But the annulling of debts was peculiar to Solon, and was indeed the most effectual way to support the liberty of the people: For laws

intended to establish an equality would be of no avail, while the poor were deprived of the benefit of that equality by their debts. Where they seemed most to exercise their liberty in offices, in debates, and in deciding causes, there they were most enslaved to the rich, and entirely under their control. What is more considerable in this case is, that though the cancelling of debts generally produces seditions, Solon seasonably applied it, as a strong though hazardous medicine, to remove the sedition then existing. The measure, too, lost its infamous and obnoxious nature, when made use of by a man of Solon's probity and character.

If we consider the whole administration of each, Solon's was more illustrious at first. He was an original, and followed no example; besides, by himself, without a colleague, he effected many great things for the public advantage. But Publicola's fortune was more to be admired at last; for Solon lived to see his own establishment overturned, whereas that of Publicola preserved the state in good order to the time of the civil wars. And no wonder; since the former, as soon as he had enacted his laws, left them inscribed on tables of wood, without any one to support their authority, and departed from Athens; whilst the latter, remaining at Rome, and continuing in the magistracy, thoroughly established and secured the commonwealth.

Solon was sensible of the ambitious designs of Pisistratus, and desirous to prevent their being put in execution; but he miscarried in the attempt, and saw a tyrant set up. On the other hand, Publicola demolished kingly power, when it had been established for some ages, and was at a formidable height. He was equalled by Solon in virtue and patroitism, but he had power and good fortune to second his virtue, which the other wanted.

As to warlike exploits, there is a considerable difference; for Daïmachus *Platæensis* does not even attribute that enterprise against the Megarensians to Solon, as we have done; whereas Publicola, in many great battles, performed the duty both of a general and a private soldier.

Again, if we compare their conduct in civil affairs, we shall find that Solon, only acting a part, as it were, and under the form of a maniac, went out to speak concerning the recovery of Salamis. But Publicola, in the face of the greatest danger, rose up against Tarquin, detected the plot, prevented the escape of the vile conspirators, had them punished, and not only excluded the tyrants from the city, but cut up their hopes by the roots. If he was thus vigorous in prosecuting affairs that required spirit, resolution, and open force, he was still more successful in negotiation, and the gentle arts of per-

suasion; for, by his address, he gained Porsena, whose power was so formidable, that he could not be quelled by dint of arms, and made him a friend to Rome.

But here, perhaps, some will object that Solon recovered Salamis, when the Athenians had given it up; whereas Publicola surrendered lands that the Romans were in possession of. Our judgment of actions, however, should be formed according to the respective times and posture of affairs. An able politician, to manage all for the best, varies his conduct as the present occasion requires; often quits a part to save the whole; and, by yielding in small matters, secures considerable advantages. Thus Publicola, by giving up what the Romans had lately usurped, saved all that was really their own; and, at a time when they found it difficult to defend their city; gained for them the possession of the besieger's camp. In effect, by referring his cause to the arbitration of the enemy, he gained his point, and, with that, all the advantages he could have proposed to himself by a victory; for Porsena put an end to the war, and left the Romans all the provision he had made for carrying it on, induced by that impression of their virtue and honour which he had received from Publicola.

THEMISTOCLES.

THE family of Themistocles was too obscure to raise him to distinction. He was the son of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear, and the tribe of Leontis. By his mother's side, he is said to have been illegitimate*, according to the following verses:

> Though born in Thrace, Abrotonon my name,
> My son enrols me in the lists of fame;
> The great Themistocles.

Yet Phanias writes, that the mother of Themistocles was of Caria, not of Thrace, and that her name was not Abrotonon, bur Euterpe. Neanthes mentions Halicarnassus as the city to which she belonged. But be that as it may, when all the illegitimate youth assembled at Cynosarges, in the wrestling-ring dedicated to Hercules,

* It was a law at Athens, that every citizen who had a foreigner to his mother should be deemed a bastard, though born in wedlock, and should consequently be incapable of inheriting his father's estate.

without the gates, which was appointed for that purpose, because Hercules himself was not altogether of divine extraction, but had a mortal for his mother, Themistocles found means to persuade some of the young noblemen to go to Cynosarges, and take their exercise with him. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the distinction between the illegitimate, or aliens, and the legitimate, whose parents were both Athenians. It is plain, however, that he was related to the house of the Lycomedæ*; for Simonides informs us, that when a chapel of that family in the ward of Phyle, where the mysteries of Ceres used to be celebrated, was burnt down by the barbarians, Themistocles rebuilt it, and adorned it with pictures.

It appears, that when a boy, he was full of spirit and fire, quick of apprehension, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great statesman. His hours of leisure and vacation he spent not, like other boys, in idleness and play; but he was always inventing and composing declamations; the subjects of which were either the impeachment or defence of some of his school-fellows; so that his master would often say, "Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent: You will either be a blessing or a curse to the community." As for moral philosophy and the polite arts, he learned them but slowly, and with little satisfaction; but instructions in political knowledge, and the administration of public affairs, he received with an attention above his years, because they suited his genius. When, therefore, he was laughed at, long after, in company where free scope was given to raillery, by persons who passed as more accomplished in what was called genteel breeding, he was obliged to answer them with some asperity: "'Tis true, I never learned how to tune a harp, or play upon a lute, but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."

Stesimbrotus indeed informs us, that Themistocles studied natural philosophy, both under Anaxagoras and Melissus. But in this he errs against chronology†: for when Pericles, who was much younger than Themistocles, besieged Samos, Melissus defended it,

* The Lycomedæ were a family in Athens who (according to Pausanias) had the care of the sacrifices offered to Ceres; and in that chapel which Theseus rebuilt, initiations and other mysteries were celebrated.

† Anaxagoras was born in the first year of the 70th Olympiad; Themistocles won the battle of Salamis the first year of the 75th Olympiad; and Melissus defended Samos against Pericles the last year of the 84th Olympiad. Themistocles, therefore, could neither study under Anaxagoras, who was only twenty years old when that general gained the battle of Salamis, nor yet under Melissus, who did not begin to flourish till 36 years after that battle.

and Anaxagoras lived with Pericles. Those seem to deserve more attention who say that Themistocles was a follower of Mnesiphilus the Phrearian, who was neither orator nor natural philosopher, but a professor of what was then called wisdom*, which consisted in a knowledge of the arts of governments, and the practical part of political prudence. This was a sect formed upon the principles of Solon†, and descending in succession from him; but when the science of government came to be mixed with forensic arts, and passed from action to mere words, its professors, instead of sages, were called Sophists‡. Themistocles, however, was conversant in public business, when he attended the lectures of Mnesiphilus.

In the first sallies of youth, he was irregular and unsteady, as he followed his own disposition without any moral restraints. He lived in extremes, and those extremes were often of the worst kind§. But he seemed to apoligize for this afterwards, when he observed, that *the wildest colts make the best horses, when they come to be properly broke and managed.* The stories, however, which some tell us, of his father's disinheriting him, and his mother's laying violent hands upon herself, because she could not bear the thoughts of her son's infamy, seem to be quite fictitious. Others, on the contrary, say, that his father, to dissuade him from accepting any public employment, showed him some old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the sea-shore, just as the populace neglect their leaders, when they have no farther service for them.

Themistocles had an early and violent inclination for public business, and was so strongly smitten with the love of glory, with an ambition of the highest station, that he involved himself in troublesome quarrels with persons of the first rank and influence in the state,

* The first sages were in reality great politicians, who gave rules and precepts for the government of communities. Thales was the first who carried his speculations into physics.

† During the space of about a hundred or a hundred and twenty years.

‡ The Sophists were rather rhetoricians than philosophers, skilled in words, but superficial in knowledge, as Diogenes Laërtius informs us. Protagoras, who flourished about the 84th Olympiad, a little before the birth of Plato, was the first who had the appellation of *Sophist.* But Socrates, who was more conversant in morality than in politics, physics, or rhetoric, and who was desirous to improve the world rather in practice than in theory, modestly took the name of *Philosophos,* i. e. *a lover of wisdom,* and not that of *Sophos,* i. e. a *sage or wise man.*

§ Idomenius says, that one morning Themistocles harnessed four naked courtesans in a chariot, and made them draw him across the Ceramicus in the sight of all the people, who were there assembled; and that at a time when the Athenians were perfect strangers to debauchery, either in wine or women. But if that vice was then so little known in Athens, how could there be found four prostitutes impudent enough to be exposed in that manner?

particularly with Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who always opposed him. Their enmity began early, but the cause, as Ariston the philosopher relates, was nothing more than their regard for Ptesileus of Teos. After this, their disputes continued about public affairs; and the dissimilarity of their lives and manners naturally added to it. Aristides was of a mild temper, and of great probity. He managed the concerns of government with inflexible justice, not with a view to ingratiate himself with the people, or to promote his own glory, but solely for the advantage and safety of the state. He was therefore necessarily obliged to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent his promotion, because he frequently put the people upon unwarrantable enterprises, and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Indeed, Themistocles was so carried away with the love of glory, so immoderately desirous of distinguishing himself by some great action, that though he was very young when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalship of Miltiades was every where extolled, yet even then he was observed to keep much alone, to be very pensive, to watch whole nights, and not to attend the usual entertainments:—When he was asked the reason by his friends, who wondered at the change, he said, *The trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep.* While others imagined the defeat of the Persians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he considered it as the beginning of greater conflicts; and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himself and the Athenians against those conflicts, because he foresaw them at a distance.

And in the first place, therefore, as the Athenians had used to share the revenue of the silver mines of Laurium among themselves, he alone had the courage to make a motion to the people, that they should divide them in that manner no longer, but build with them a number of galleys to be employed in the war against the Æginetæ, who then made a considerable figure in Greece, and, by means of their numerous navy, were masters of the sea. By seasonably stirring up the resentment and emulation of his countrymen against these islanders, he the more easily prevailed with them to provide themselves with ships, than if he had displayed the terrors of Darius and the Persians, who were at a greater distance, and of whose coming they had no great apprehensions. With this money a hundred galleys with three banks of oars were built, which afterwards fought against Xerxes. From this step he proceeded to others, in order to draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs, and to convince them, that though by land they were not able to cope with their neighbours, yet with a naval force they might not only repel

the barbarians, but hold all Greece in subjection. Thus, of good land-forces, as Plato says, he made them mariners and seamen, and brought upon himself the aspersion of taking from his countrymen the spear and the shield, and sending them to the bench and the oar. Stesimbrotus writes, that Themistocles effected this in spite of the opposition of Miltiades. Whether, by this proceeding, he corrupted the simplicity of the Athenian constitution, is a speculation not proper to be indulged here: but that the Greeks owed their safety to these naval applications, and that those ships re-established the city of Athens after it had been destroyed, (to omit other proofs), Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness; for, after his defeat at sea, he was no longer able to make head against the Athenians, though his land-forces remained entire; and it seems to me, that he left Mardonius rather to prevent a pursuit, than with any hope of his bringing Greece into subjection.

Some authors write that Themistocles was intent upon the acquisition of money, with a view to spend it profusely; and indeed, for his frequent sacrifices, and the splendid manner in which he entertained strangers, he had need of a large supply. Yet others, on the contrary, accuse him of meanness and attention to trifles, and say he even sold presents that were made him for his table. Nay, when he begged a colt of Philides, who was a breeder of horses, and was refused, he threatened *he would soon make a Trojan horse of his house;* enigmatically hinting, that he would raise up troubles and impeachments against him from some of his own family.

In ambition, however, he had no equal; for when he was yet young, and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a performer upon the lyre, much valued by the Athenians, to practise at his house, hoping by this means to draw a great number of people thither. And, when he went to the Olympic games, he endeavoured to equal or exceed Cimon in the elegance of his table, the splendour of his pavilions, and other expenses of his train. These things, however, were not agreeable to the Greeks: they looked upon them as suitable to a young man of a noble family; but when an obscure person set himself up so much above his fortune, he gained nothing by it but the imputation of vanity. He exhibited a tragedy, too, at is own expense, and gained the prize with his tragedians, at a time when those entertainments were pursued with great avidity and emulation. In memory of his success, he put up this inscription, *Themistocles the Phrearian exhibited the tragedy, Phrynichus composed it, Adimantus persided.* This gained him popularity; and what added to it was his charging his memory with the names of the citizens; so that he readily called

each by his own. He was an impartial judge, too, in the causes that were brought before him; and Simonides of Ceos making an unreasonable request to him when *archon*, he answered, *Neither would you be a good poet, if you transgressed the rules of harmony; nor I a good magistrate, if I granted your petition contrary to law.* Another time he rallied Simonides for *his absurdity in abusing the Corinthians, who inhabited so elegant a city; and having his own picture drawn, when he had so ill-favoured an aspect.*

At length, having attained to a great height of power and popularity, his faction prevailed, and he procured the banishment of Aristides by what is called the *Ostracism.*

The Medes now preparing to invade Greece again, the Athenians considered who should be their general; and many, (we are told), thinking the commission dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, solicited it, and was likely to be chosen. Themistocles, fearing the consequence would be fatal to the public, if the choice fell upon Epicydes, prevailed upon him, by pecuniary considerations, to drop his pretensions.

His behaviour is also commended with respect to the interpreter who came with the king of Persia's ambassadors that were sent to demand earth and water. By a decree of the people he put him to death for presuming to make use of the Greek language to express the demands of the barbarians. To this we may add his proceedings in the affair of Arthmius the Zelite, who, at his motion, was declared infamous, with his children and all his posterity, for bringing Persian gold into Greece. But that which redounded most of all to his honour, was his putting an end to the Grecian wars, reconciling the several states to each other, and persuading them to lay aside their animosities during the war with Persia. In this he is said to have been much assisted by Chilcus the Arcadian.

As soon as he had taken the command upon him, he endeavoured to persuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ships, and to meet the barbarians at as great a distance from Greece as possible. But many opposing it, he marched at the head of a great army, together with the Lacedæmonians, to Tempe, intending to cover Thessaly, which had not as yet declared for the Persians. When he returned without effecting any thing, the Thessalians having embraced the king's party, and all the country, as far as Bœotia, following their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his proposal to fight the enemy at sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium.

When the fleets of the several states were joined, and the majo-

rity were of opinion that Eurybiades should have the chief command, and, with his Lacedæmonians, begin the engagement, the Athenians, who had a greater number of ships than all the rest united, thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themistocles, perceiving the danger of any disagreement at that time, gave up the command to Eurybiades, and satisfied the Athenians, by representing to them, that if they behaved like men in that war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield them the superiority for the future. To him, therefore, Greece seems to owe her preservation, and the Athenians, in particular, the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphetæ, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships, particularly when he was informed that there were two hundred more sailing round Sciathus. He therefore was desirous, without loss of time, to draw nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet; for he considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this the Eubœans, apprehensive that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negotiate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a large sum of money. He took the money, and gave it (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades. Finding himself most opposed in his designs by Architeles, captain of the *sacred galley**, who had not money to pay his men, and therefore intended immediately to withdraw, he so incensed his countrymen against him, that they went in a tumultuous manner on board his ship, and took from him what he had provided for his supper. Architeles being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him, in a chest, a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, and desired him to refresh himself that evening, and to satisfy his crew in the morning, otherwise he would accuse him to the Athenians of having received a bribe from the enemy. This particular is mentioned by Phanias the Lesbian.

Though the several engagements with the Persian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive, yet they were of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience, that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendour of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians, have any thing dreadful in them to men that know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly.

These things they were taught to despise when they came to close

* The *sacred galley* was that which the Athenians sent every year to Delos with sacrifices for Apollo; and they pretend it was the same in which Theseus carried the tribute to Crete.

action, and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiment appear just, when he says of the fight at Artemisium—

'Twas then that Athens the foundations laid
Of Liberty's fair structure.

Indeed, intrepid courage is the commencement of victory.

Artemisium is a maritime place of Eubœa, to the north of Hestiæa. Over against it lies Olizon, in the territory that formerly was subject to Philocletes, where there is a small temple of Diana of the *East*, in the midst of a grove. The temple is encircled with pillars of white stone, which, when rubbed with the hand, has both the colour and smell of saffron. Inscribed on one of them are the following verses:

When on these seas the sons of Athens conquer'd
The various powers of Asia, grateful here
They rear'd this temple to Diana.

There is a place still to be seen upon this shore, where there is a large heap of sand, which, if dug into, shows towards the bottom a black dust like ashes, as if some fire had been there; and this is supposed to have been that in which the wrecks of the ships and the bodies of the dead were burnt.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium, when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the passes by land, they sailed back to Greece; and the Athenians, elated with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters, and addressed to the Ionians: "Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and put them in disorder in time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succours. And, notwithstanding all the entreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates to repair with them into Bœotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as *they* had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the *Isthmus*, and to

build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and, at the same time, dejected and discouraged at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient at present; and this the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of safety, when they had left the temples of their gods, and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles perceiving that he could not, by the force of human reason, prevail with the multitude, set his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himself of was the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place; and the priests finding the daily offerings set before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and that she offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received*, he told them that, by *wooden walls*, there could not possibly be any thing meant but ships; and that Apollo, now calling Salamis *divine*, not *wretched* and *unfortunate*, as formerly, signified, by such an epithet, that it would be productive of some great advantage to Greece. His counsels prevailed, and he proposed a decree, that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships; and that every one should provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trœzene, where they were received with a generous hospitality. The Trœzenians came to a resolution to maintain them at the public expense, for which purpose they allowed each of them two *oboli* a-day; they permitted the children to gather fruit

* This was the second oracle which the Athenian deputies received from Aristonice, priestess of Apollo. Many were of opinion, that, by the walls of wood which she advised them to have recourse to, was meant the citadel, because it was pallisaded; but others thought it could intend nothing but ships. The maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the last line but one of the oracle, *O theie Salamis, apoleis de su tekna gunaikon*, was directly against him, and that, without question, it portended the destruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themistocles alleged in answer, that if the oracle had intended to foretel the destruction of the Athenians, it would not have called it the divine Salamis, but the unhappy; and that, whereas the unfortunate in the oracle were styled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the Persians, who were scandalously effeminate. *Herodot. lib.* vii. *cap.* 143, 144.

wherever they pleased, and provided for their education by paying their tutors. This order was procured by Nicagoras.

As the treasury of Athens was then but low, Aristotle informs us, that the court of *Areopagus* distributed to every man who took part in the expedition eight *drachmas;* which was the principal means of manning the fleet. But Clidemus ascribes this to a stratagem of Themistocles; for he tells us, that when the Athenians went down to the harbour of Piræus, the *Ægis* was lost from the statue of Minerva; and Themistocles, as he ransacked every thing under pretence of searching for it, found large sums of money hid among the baggage, which he applied to the public use; and out of it all necessaries were provided for the fleet.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity! what admiration of the firmness of those men, who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress, was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, because of their extreme old age. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leapt into the sea, and to have swam by the side of the ship till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately. And they show us to this day a place called *Synos Sema*, where, they tell us, that dog was buried.

To these great actions of Themistocles may be added the following: he perceived that Aristides was much regretted by the people, who were apprehensive that out of revenge he might join the Persians, and do great prejudice to the cause of Greece; he therefore caused a decree to be made, that all who had been banished only for a time should have leave to return, and by their counsel and valour assist their fellow-citizens in the preservation of their country.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger, he proposed to set sail for the *Isthmus*, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocless however, opposed it; and the account we have of the conference on that occasion deserves to be mentioned. When Eurybiades said, "Do not you know, Themistocles, that, in the public games, such as rise up before their turn are chastised for it?" "Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet such as are left behind never gain the crown." Eurybiades, upon this, lifting up his staff, as if

he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, "Strike, if you please, but hear me." The Lacedæmonian, admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say; and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him, "It ill becomes you, who have no city, to advise us to quit our habitations, and abandon our country." Themistocles retorted upon him thus: "Wretch that thou art, we have indeed left our walls and houses, not choosing, for the sake of those inanimate things, to become slaves; yet we have still the most respectable city of Greece in these two hundred ships, which are here ready to defend you, if you will give them leave. But if you forsake and betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find the Athenians possessed of as free a city, and as valuable a country as that which they have quitted." These words struck Eurybiades with the apprehension that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told also, that as a certain Eretrian was attempting to speak, Themistocles said, "What! have you too something to say about war, who are like the fish that has a sword, but no heart?"

While Themistocles was thus maintaining his argument upon deck, some tell us an owl was seen flying to the right of the fleet, which came and perched upon the shrowds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea-fight. But no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing towards the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land-forces to the shore, than the Greeks, struck with the sight of such prodigious armaments, began to forget the counsel of Themistocles; and the Peloponnesians once more looked towards the *Isthmus*. Nay, they resolved to set sail that very night, and such orders were given to all the pilots. Themistocles, greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their station in the straits, and to retire to their respective countries, contrived that stratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction, and a captive, but much attached to Themistocles, and the tutor of his children. On this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the king of Persia, with orders to tell him, that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape, but, while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land-forces, to attack and destroy their whole navy.

Xerxes took this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with two hun-

dred ships, to surround all the passages, and to enclose the islands, that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was the first that perceived this motion of the enemy; and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but had been banished by his means (as has been related), he went to him, and told him they were surrounded by the enemy. Themistocles, knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and entreated him to lend his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station, and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to persuade them to come to an engagement in the straits. Aristides approved the proceedings of Themistocles, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they hardly gave credit to his report, a Tenian galley, commanded by Parætius, came over from the enemy to bring the same account; so that indignation, added to necessity, excited the Greeks to their combat*.

As soon as it was day, Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet, and its order of battle. He placed himself, as Phanodemus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the isle of Salamis is separated from Attica by a narrow frith; but, according to Acestodorus, on the confines of Megara, upon a spot called *Kerata*, "the horns." He was seated on a throne of gold†, and had many secretaries about him, whose business it was to write down the particulars of the action.

In the mean time, as Themistocles was sacrificing on the deck of the admiral-galley, three captives were brought to him of uncommon beauty, elegantly attired, and set of with golden ornaments. They were said to be the sons of Autarctus and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. Euphrantide, the soothsayer, casting his eye upon them, and at the same time observing that a bright flame blazed out from the victims, while a sneezing was heard from the right, took Themistocles by the

* The different conduct of the Spartans and the Athenians on this occasion seems to show how much superior the accommodating laws of Solon were to the austere discipline of Lycurgus. Indeed, while the institutions of the latter remained in force, the Lacedæmonians were the greatest of all people, but that was impossible. The severity of Lycurgus's legislation naturally tended to destroy it. Nor was this all.—From the extremes of abstemious hardships, the next step was not to a moderate enjoyment of life, but to all the licentiousness of the most effeminate luxury. The laws of Lycurgus made men of the Spartan women; when they were broken, they made women of the men.

† This throne or seat, whether of gold or silver, or both, was taken and carried to Athens, where it was consecrated in the temple of Minerva, with the golden sabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterwards in the battle of Platæa. Demosthenes calls it *Diphon urguropoda*, "a chair with silver feet."

hand, and ordered that the three youths should be consecrated and sacrificed to Bacchus *Omestes**; for by this means the Greeks might be assured not only of safety, but victory.

Themistocles was astonished at the strangeness and cruelty of the order; but the multitude, who, in great and pressing difficulties, trust rather to absurd than rational methods, invoked the god with one voice, and leading the captives to the altar, insisted upon their being offered up, as the soothsayer had directed. This particular we have from Phanias the Lesbian, a man not unversed in letters and philosophy.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Eschylus speaks of it, in his tragedy entitled *Persæ*, as a matter he was well assured of:

> A thousand ships (for well I know the number)
> The Persian flag obeyed; two hundred more
> And seven o'erspread the seas.

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys; each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy-armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it; for he would not engage the enemy till that time of the day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low built and well compacted; but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy; for it caused them to veer in such a manner, that their sides were exposed to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute, great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed. Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly against him. His ship was very tall, and from thence he threw darts, and shot forth arrows, as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the *Decelean*, and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brazen beaks; when Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Atemisia† knew the body

* In the same manner Chios, Tenedos, and Lesbos, offered human sacrifices to Bacchus surnamed Omodius. But this is the sole instance we know of among the Athenians.

† Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, distinguished herself above all the rest of the

amongst others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

While the fight was thus raging, we are told, a great light appeared as from Eleusis; and loud sounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of a great number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchus in procession. A cloud, too, seemed to rise from among the crowd that made this noise, and to ascend by degrees, till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms also, and apparitions of armed men, they thought they saw stretching out their hands from Ægina before the Grecian fleet. These they conjectured to be the *Æacidæ*, to whom, before the battle, they had addressed their prayers for succour.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the *laurelled* Apollo. As the Persians could come up in the straits but few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks, equalling them in the line, fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which (as Simonides says) no other naval achievement, either of the Greeks or barbarians, ever was more glorious. This success was owing to the valour, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles.

After the battle, Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent by a mole so well secured, that his land-forces might pass over it into the island, and that he might shut up the pass entirely against the Greeks. At the same time, Themistocles, to sound Aristides, pretended it was his own opinion, that they should sail to the Hellespont, and break down the bridge of ships: "For so," says he, "we may take Asia without stirring out of Europe." Aristides did not in the least relish his proposal, but answered him to this purpose: "Till now we have had to do with an enemy immersed in luxury; but if we shut him up in Greece, and drive him to necessity, he, who is master of such prodigious forces, will no longer sit under a golden canopy, and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war, but, awaked by danger, attempting every thing, and present every where, he will correct his past errors, and follow counsels better calculated for success. Instead, therefore, of breaking that bridge, we should, if possible, pro-

Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled; which Xerxes observing, cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should take her alive. This princess must not be confounded with that Artemisia, who was the wife of Mausolus, king of Caria.

vide another, that he may retire the sooner out of Europe."—"If that be the case," said Themistocles, "we must all consider and contrive how to put him upon the most speedy retreat out of Greece."

This being resolved upon, he sent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found among the prisoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, since their victory at sea, were determined to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, in care for the king's safety, advised him to hasten towards his own seas, and pass over into Asia, while his friend endeavoured to find out pretences of delay, to prevent the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation. How prudent the management of Themistocles and Aristides was, Mardonius afforded a proof, when, with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in extreme danger of losing all in the battle of Platæa.

Herodotus tells us, that, among the cities, Ægina bore away the palm; but, among the commanders, Themistocles, in spite of envy, was universally allowed to have distinguished himself most; for when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar*, to inscribe upon it the names of those that had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second. The Lacedæmonians, having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged Eurybiades the prize of valour, and Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive. They likewise presented the latter with the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered three hundred of their youth to attend him to the borders. At the next Olympic games, too, we are told, that as soon as Themistocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who kept their eyes upon him all the day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him; and he acknowledged to his friends that he then reaped the fruit of his labours for Greece.

Indeed, he was naturally very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings. For, when elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not dispatch any business, whether public or private, singly, but put off all affairs to the day he was to embark, that, having a great deal to do, he might appear with the greater dignity and importance.

One day, as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend, said, *Take these things for yourself, for you are not Themistocles.*

* The altar of Neptune. This solemnity was designed to make them give their judgment impartially, as in the presence of the gods.

To Antiphates, who had formerly treated him with disdain, but in his glory made his court to him, he said, *Young man, we are both come to our senses at the same time, though a little too late.*

He used to say, "The Athenians paid him no honour or sincere respect; but when a storm arose, or danger appeared, they sheltered themselves under him, as under a plane-tree, which, when the weather was fair again, they would rob of its leaves and branches."

When one of Seriphus told him, "He was not so much honoured for his own sake, but for his country's;"—"True," answered Themistocles; "for neither should I have been greatly distinguished if I had been of Seriphus, nor you if you had been an Athenian."

Another officer, who thought he had done the state some service, setting himself up against Themistocles, and venturing to compare his own exploits with his, he answered him with this fable: "There once happened a dispute between the *feast-day* and the *day after the feast:* Says the *day after the feast,* I am full of bustle and trouble, whereas, with you, folks enjoy at their ease every thing ready provided. You say right, says the *feast-day,* but, if I had not been before you, you would not have been at all. *So, had it not been for me, then, where would you have been now?*"

His son being master of his mother, and by her means of him, he said, laughing, "This child is greater than any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother."

As he loved to be particular in every thing, when he happened to sell a farm, he ordered the crier to add, *that it had a good neighbour.*

Two citizens courting his daughter, he preferred the worthy man to the rich one, and assigned this reason, *He had rather she should have a man without money, than money without a man.* Such was the pointed manner in which he often expressed himself*.

After the greatest actions we have related, his next enterprise was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens.—Theopompus tells, he bribed the Lacedæmonian *Ephori,* that they might not oppose it; but most historians say he overreached them. He was sent, it seems, on pretence of an embassy to Sparta. The Spartans complained that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpose, supported the accusation. But Themistocles absolutely denied it, and challenged them to send proper persons to Athens to inspect the walls; at once gaining time for finishing them, and contriving to have hostages at

* Cicero has preserved another of his sayings. When Simonides offered to teach Themistocles the art of memory, he answered, *Ah! rather teach me the art of forgetting; for I often remember what I would not, and cannot forget what I would.*

Athens for his return. The event answered his expectation; for the Lacedæmonians, when assured how the fact stood, dissembled their resentment, and let him go with impunity.

After this, he built and fortified the Piræus, (having observed the conveniency of that harbour); by which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation. In this respect his politics were very different from those of the ancient kings of Athens. They, we are told, used their endeavours to draw the attention of their subjects from the business of navigation, that they might turn it entirely to the culture of the ground; and, to this purpose, they published the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune, for the patronage of Attica, when the former, by producing an olive-tree before the judges, gained her cause. Themistocles did not bring the Piræus into the city, as Aristophanes the comic poet would have it; but he joined the city by a line of communication to the Piræus, and the land to the sea. This measure strengthened the people against the nobility, and made them bolder and more untractable, as power came with wealth into the hands of masters of ships, mariners, and pilots. Hence it was that the oratory in *Pnyx*, which was built to front the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants towards the land; for they believed a maritime power inclinable to a democracy, whereas persons employed in agriculture would be less uneasy under an oligarchy.

Themistocles had something still greater in view for strengthening the Athenians by sea. After the retreat of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was gone into the harbour of Pagasæ to winter, he acquainted the citizens in full assembly, "That he had hit upon a design which might greatly contribute to their advantage, but it was not fit to be communicated to their whole body." The Athenians ordered him to communicate it to Aristides only, and, if he approved of it, to put it in execution. Themistocles then informed him, "That he had thoughts of burning the confederate fleet at Pagasæ." Upon which, Aristides went and declared to the people, "That the enterprise which Themistocles proposed was indeed the most advantageous in the world, but, at the same time, the most unjust." The Athenians, therefore, commanded him to lay aside all thoughts of it.

About this time the Lacedæmonians made a motion in the assembly of the *Amphictyons* to exclude from that council all those states that had not joined in the confederacy against the king of Persia. But Themistocles was apprehensive, that if the Thessalians, the Argives, and Thebans were expelled from the council, the Lacedæmonians would have a great majority of voices, and consequently procure what decrees they pleased. He spoke, therefore, in defence

of those states, and brought the deputies off from that design, by representing that thirty-one cities only had their share of the burden of that war, and that the greatest part of these were but of small consideration; that consequently it would be both unreasonable and dangerous to exclude the rest of Greece from the league, and leave the council to be dictated to by two or three great cities. By this he became very obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, who, for this reason, set up Cimon against him as a rival in all affairs of state, and used all their interest for his advancement.

He disobliged the allies also by sailing round the islands, and extorting money from them; as we may conclude from the answer which Herodotus tells us the Andrians gave him to a demand of that sort. He told them, "He brought two gods along with him, *Persuasion* and *Force*." They replied, "They had also two great gods on their side, *Poverty* and *Despair*, who forbade them to satisfy him." Timocreon, the Rhodian poet, writes with great bitterness against Themistocles, and charges him with betraying him, though his friend and host, for money, while, for the like paltry consideration, he procured the return of other exiles. So in these verses:

Pausanias you may praise, and you Xanthippus,
And you Leutychidas: But sure the hero,
Who bears th'Athenian palm, is Aristides;
What is the false, the vain Themistocles?
The very light is grudg'd him by Latona,
Who, for vile pelf, betrayed Timocreon,
His friend and host; nor gave him to behold
His dear Jalysus. For three talents more
He sail'd, and left him on a foreign coast.
What fatal end awaits the man that kills,
That banishes, that sets the villain up,
To fill his glitt'ring stores? while ostentation,
With vain airs, fain would boast the gen'rous hand,
And, at the Isthmus, spreads a public board
For crowds that eat, and curse him at the banquet.

But Timocreon gave a still looser rein to his abuse of Themistocles, after the condemnation and banishment of that great man, in a poem which begins thus:

Muse, crown'd with glory, bear this faithful strain,
Far as the Grecian name extends.——

Timocreon is said to have been banished by Themistocles for favouring the Persians. When, therefore, Themistocles was accused of the same traiterous inclinations, he wrote against him as follows:

Timocreon's honour to the Medes is sold,
But yet not his alone: Another fox
Finds the same fields to prey in.

As the Athenians, through envy, readily gave ear to calumnies against him, he was often forced to recount his own services, which rendered him still more insupportable; and, when they expressed their displeasure, he said, *Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the same hand?*

Another offence he gave the people was, his building a temple to Diana, under the name of *Aristobule*, or, Diana *of the best counsel;* intimating that he had given the best counsel not only to Athens, but to all Greece. He built this temple near his own house, in the quarter of Melita, where now the executioners cast out the bodies of those that have suffered death, and where they throw the halters and clothes of such as have been strangled, or otherwise put to death. There was, even in our times, a statue of Themistocles in the temple of Diana *Aristobule*, from which it appeared that his aspect was as heroic as his soul.

At last the Athenians, unable any longer to bear that high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the *ostracism;* and this was nothing more than they had done to others whose power was become a burden to them, and who had risen above the equality which a commonwealth requires; for the *ostracism*, or *ten years banishment*, was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to pacify and mitigate the fury of envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of her rancour by their fall.

In the time of his exile, while he took up his abode at Argos*, the affair of Pausanias gave great advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. The person that accused him of treason was Leobotes the son of Alcmæon, of Agraule, and the Spartans joined in the impeachment. Pausanias at first concealed his plot from Themistocles, though he was his friend; but, when he saw him an exile, and full of indignation against the Athenians, he ventured to communicate his designs to him, showing him the king of Persia's letters, and exciting him to vengeance against the Greeks, as an unjust and ungrateful people. Themistocles rejected the solicitations of Pau-

* The great Pausanias, who had beaten the Persians in the battle of Platæa, and who, on many occasions, had behaved with great generosity as well as moderation, at last degenerated, and fell into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, in hopes, through their interest, to make himself sovereign of Greece. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions, he fell into the manners of the Persians, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond. The *Ephori* waited some time for clear proof of his treacherous designs, and, when they had obtained it, determined to imprison him. But he fled into the temple of Minerva Chalcioicos, and they besieged him there. They walled up all the gates, and his own mother laid the first stone. When they had almost starved him to death, they laid hands on him, and, by the time they had got him out of the temple, he expired.

sanias, and refused to have the least share in his designs; but he gave no information of what had passed between them, nor let the secret transpire; whether he thought he would desist of himself, or that he would be discovered some other way, as he had embarked in an absurd and extravagant enterprise, without any rational hopes of success.

However, when Pausanias was put to death, there were found letters and other writings relative to the business, which caused no small suspicion against Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians raised a clamour against him, and those of his fellow-citizens that envied him, insisted on the charge. He could not defend himself in person, but he answered by letter the principal parts of the accusation. For, to obviate the calumnies of his enemies, he observed to the Athenians, "That he who was born to command, and incapable of servitude, could never sell himself, and Greece along with him, to enemies and barbarians." The people, however, listened to his accusers, and sent persons with orders to bring him to answer before the states of Greece. Of this he had timely notice, and passed over to the isle of Corcyra, the inhabitants of which had great obligations to him; for a difference between them and the people of Corinth had been referred to his arbitration, and he had decided it by awarding the Corinthians to pay down twenty talents, and the isle of Leucas to be in common between the two parties, as a colony from both. From thence he fled to Epirus; and, finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain resource, in imploring the protection of Admetus, king of the Molossians. Admetus had made a request to the Athenians, which being rejected with scorn by Themistocles, in the time of his prosperity and influence in the state, the king entertained a deep resentment against him, and made no secret of his intention to revenge himself, if ever the Athenian should fall into his power. However, while he was thus flying from place to place, he was more afraid of the recent envy of his countrymen, than of the consequences of an old quarrel with the king; and therefore he went and put himself in his hands, appearing before him as a suppliant, in a particular and extraordinary manner. He took the king's son, who was yet a child, in his arms, and kneeled down before the household gods. This manner of offering a petition the Molossians look upon as the most effectual, and the only one that can hardly be rejected. Some say, the queen, whose name was Phthia, suggested to him this method of supplication. Others, that Admetus himself taught him to act the part, that he might have a sacred obligation to allege against giving him up to those that might demand him.

At that time Epicrates the Acarnanian found means to convey the

wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him; for which Cimon afterwards condemned him, and put him to death. This account is given by Stesimbrotus; yet, I know not how, forgetting what he had asserted, or making Themistocles forget it, he tells us he sailed from thence to Sicily, and demanded king Hiero's daughter in marriage, promising to bring the Greeks under his subjection; and that, upon Hiero's refusal, he passed over into Asia.—But this is not probable; for Theophrastus, in his treatise on monarchy, relates, that when Hiero sent his race-horses to the Olympic games, and set up a superb pavilion there, Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull it down, and not to suffer the tyrant's horses to run. Thucydides writes, that he went by land to the Ægean sea, and embarked at Pydna; that none in the ship knew him, till he was driven by a storm to Naxos, which was at that time besieged by the Athenians; that, through fear of being taken, he then informed the master of the ship and the pilot who he was; and that, partly by entreaties, partly by threatening, he would declare to the Athenians, however falsely, that they knew him from the first, and were bribed to take him into their vessel, he obliged them to weigh anchor, and sail for Asia.

The greatest part of his treasures were privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered and seized for the public use, Theopompus says, amounted to a hundred talents; Theophrastus fourscore; though he was not worth three talents before his employment in the government.

When he was landed at Cuma, he understood that a number of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was, indeed, a rich booty to those that were determined to get money by any means whatever; for the king of Persia had offered, by proclamation, two hundred talents for apprehending him. He therefore retired to Ægæ, a little town of the Æolians, where he was known to nobody but Nicogenes, his host, who was a man of great wealth, and had some influence at the Persian court. In his house he was concealed a few days; and, one evening after supper, when the sacrifice was offered, Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes's children, cried out, as in a rapture of inspiration,

Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine.

After this, Themistocles went to bed, and dreamed he saw a dragon coiled round his body, and creeping up to his neck; which, as soon as it touched his face, was turned into an eagle, and, covering him with its wings, took him up, and carried him to a distant place, where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested securely, and was delivered from all his fear and trouble.

In consequence of this warning, he was sent away by Nicogenes, who contrived this method for it. The barbarians in general, es-

pecially the Persians, are jealous of the women, even to madness; not only of their wives, but their slaves and concubines; for, beside the care they take that they shall be seen by none but their own family, they keep them like prisoners in their houses; and, when when they take a journey, they are put in a carriage, close covered on all sides. In such a carriage as this Themistocles was conveyed, the attendants being instructed to tell those they met, if they happened to be questioned, that they were carrying a Grecian lady from Iona to a nobleman at court.

Thucydides, and Charon of Lampsacus, relate, that Xerxes was then dead, and that it was to his son Artaxerxes that Themistocles addressed himself. But Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and several others, write, that Xerxes himself was then upon the throne. The opinion of Thucydides seems most agreeable to chronology, though it is not perfectly well settled. Themistocles, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied first to Artabanus, a military officer, and told him, "He was a Greek, who desired to have audience of the king about matters of great importance, which the king himself had much at heart." Artabanus answered, "The laws of men are different; some esteem one thing honourable, and some another; but it becomes all men to honour and observe the customs of their own country. With you, the thing most admired is said to be liberty and equality. We have many excellent laws; and we regard it as one of the most indispensable, to honour the king, and to adore him as the image of that deity who preserves and supports the universe. If, therefore, you are willing to conform to our customs, and to prostrate yourself before the king, you may be permitted to see him and speak to him. But, if you cannot bring yourself to this, you must acquaint him with your business by a third person. It would be an infringement of the custom of his country for the king to admit any one to audience that does not worship him." To this Themistocles replied: "My business, Artabanus, is to add to the king's honour and power; therefore I will comply with your customs, since the god that has exalted the Persians will have it so, and by my means the number of the king's worshippers shall be increased. So let this be no hinderance to my communicating to the king what I have to say." "But who," said Artabanus, shall we say you are? for, by your discourse, you appear to be no ordinary person." Themistocles answered, "Nobody must know that before the king himself." So Phanias writes; and Eratosthenes, in his treatise on riches, adds, that Themistocles was brought acquainted with Artabanus, and recommended to him by an Eretrian woman, who belonged to that officer.

When he was introduced to the king, and, after his prostration, stood silent, the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he

was. The interpreter accordingly put the question, and he answered, "The man that is now come to address himself to you, O king, is Themistocles the Athenian, an exile persecuted by the Greeks. The Persians have suffered much by me, but it has been more than compensated by my preventing your being pursued; when, after I had delivered Greece, and saved my own country, I had it in my power to do you also a service. My sentiments are suitable to my present misfortunes, and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or, if you retain any resentment, to disarm it by my submission. Reject not the testimony my enemies have given to the services I have done the Persians, and make use of the opportunity my misfortunes afford you, rather to show your generosity, than to satisfy your revenge. If you save me, you save your suppliant; if you destroy me, you destroy the enemy of Greece." In hopes of influencing the king by an argument drawn from religion, Themistocles added to this speech an account of the vision he had in Nicogenes's house, and an oracle of Jupiter of Dodona, which ordered him *to go to one who bore the same name with the god;* from which he concluded he was sent to him, since both were called, and really were *great kings.*

The king gave him no answer, though he admired his courage and magnanimity; but, with his friends, he felicitated himself upon this, as the most fortunate event imaginable. We are told also, that he prayed to *Arimanius* that his enemies might ever be so infatuated, as to drive from amongst them their ablest men; that he offered sacrifice to the gods, and immediately after made a great entertainment; nay, that he was so effected with joy, that when he retired to rest, in the midst of his sleep, he called out three times, *I have Themistocles the Athenian.*

As soon as it was day, he called together his friends, and ordered Themistocles to be brought before him.—The exile expected no favour, when he found that the guards, at the first hearing of his name, treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his seat, and a respectful silence ensued, Roxanes, one of his officers, as Themistocles passed him, whispered him with a sigh, *Ah! thou subtle serpent of Greece, the king's good genius has brought thee hither.* However, when he had prostrated himself twice in the presence, the king saluted him, and spoke to him graciously, telling him, "He owed him two hundred talents; for, as he had delivered himself up, it was but just that he should receive the reward offered to any one that should bring him." He promised him much more, assured him of his protection, and ordered him to declare freely whatever he had to propose concerning Greece.

Themistocles replied, "That a man's discourse was like a piece of tapestry, which, when spread open, displays its figures; but, when it is folded up, they are hidden and lost; therefore he begged time." The king, delighted with the comparison, bade him take what time he pleased, and he desired a year; in which space he learned the Persian language, so as to be able to converse with the king without an interpreter.

Such as did not belong to the court believed that he entertained their prince on the subject of the Grecian affairs; but, as there were then many changes in the ministry, he incurred the envy of the nobility, who suspected that he had presumed to speak too freely of them to the king. The honours that were paid him were far superior to those that other strangers had experienced: the king took him with him a-hunting, conversed familiarly with him in his palace, and introduced him to the queen-mother, who honoured him with her confidence. He likewise gave orders for his being instructed in the learning of the *Magi*.

Demaratus, the Lacedæmonian, who was then at court, being ordered to ask a favour, desired that he might be carried through Sardis in royal state, with a diadem upon his head. But Mithropaustes, the king's cousin-german, took him by the hand, and said, *Demaratus, this diadem does not carry brains along with it to cover; nor would you be* Jupiter, *though you should take hold of his thunder.* The king was highly displeased at Demaratus for making this request, and seemed determined never to forgive him; yet, at the desire of Themistocles, he was persuaded to be reconciled to him. And, in the following reigns, when the affairs of Persia and Greece were more closely connected, as oft as the kings requested a favour of any Grecian captain, they are said to have promised him, in express terms, *That he should be a greater man at their court than Themistocles had been.* Nay, we are told, that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his greatness, and the extraordinary respect that was paid him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children and said, *Children, we should have been undone, had it not been for our undoing.* Most authors agree, that he had three cities given him for bread, wine, and meat, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus. Neanthes of Cyzicus, and Phanias, add two more, Percote and Palæscepsis, for his chamber and his wardrobe.

Some business relative to Greece having brought him to the sea-coast, a Persian named Epixyes, governor of Upper Phrygia, who had a design upon his life, and had long prepared certain Pisidians to kill him, when he should lodge in a city called Leontocephalus, or *Lion's Head*, now determined to put it in execution.—But, as he lay

sleeping one day at noon, the mother of the gods is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and thus to have addressed him: "Beware, Themistocles, of the Lion's Head, lest the Lion crush you. For this warning I require of you Mnesiptolema for my servant." Themistocles awoke in great disorder, and, when he had devoutly returned thanks to the goddess, left the high road, and took another way, to avoid the place of danger. At night he took up his lodging beyond it; but as one of the horses that carried his tent had fallen into a river, and his servants were busied in spreading the wet hangings to dry, the Pisidians, who were advancing with their swords drawn, saw these hangings indistinctly by moon-light, and taking them for the tent of Themistocles, expected to find him reposing himself within. They approached, therefore, and lifted up the hangings; but the servants that had the care of them, fell upon them, and took them. The danger thus avoided, Themistocles, admiring the goodness of the goddess that appeared to him, built a temple in Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele *Dindymene*, and appointed his daughter Mnesiptolema priestess of it.

When the king was come to Sardis, he diverted himself with looking upon the ornaments of the temples; and, among the great number of offerings, he found in the temple of Cybele a female figure of brass, two cubits high, called *Hydrophorus*, or the *water-bearer*, which he himself, when surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated out of the fines of such as had stolen the water, or diverted the stream. Whether it was that he was moved at seeing this statue in a strange country, or that he was desirous to show the Athenians how much he was honoured, and what power he had all over the king's dominions, he addressed himself to the governor of Lydia, and begged leave to send back the statue to Athens. The barbarian immediately took fire, and said, he would certainly acquaint the king what sort of a request he had made him. Themistocles, alarmed at this menace, applied to the governor's women, and, by money, prevailed upon them to pacify him. After this, he behaved with more prudence, sensible how much he had to fear from the envy of the Persians. Hence, he did not travel about Asia, as Theopompus says, but took up his abode at Magnesia, where, loaded with valuable presents, and equally honoured with the Persian nobles, he long lived in great security; for the king, who was engaged in the affairs of the upper provinces, gave but little attention to the concerns of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was supported in that revolt by the Athenians, when the Grecian fleet sailed as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon rode triumphant master of the seas, then the king of

Persia applied himself to oppose the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, sent out his generals, and dispatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to command him to perform his promises, and exert himself against Greece. Did he not obey the summons then?—No; neither resentment against the Athenians, nor the honours and authority in which he now flourished, could prevail upon him to take the direction of the expedition. Possibly he might doubt the event of the war, as Greece had then several great generals; and Cimon, in particular, was distinguished with extraordinary success. Above all, regard for his own achievements, and the trophies he had gained, whose glory he was unwilling to tarnish, determined him (as the best method he could take) to put such an end to his life as became his dignity. Having, therefore, sacrificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bull's blood, as is generally reported; or, as some relate it, he took a quick poison, and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations*.

Themistocles had by Archippe, the daughter of Lysander of Alopece, five sons, Neocles, Diocles, Archeptolis, Polyeuctes, and Cleophantus. The three last survived him. Plato takes notice of Cleophantus as an excellent horseman, but a man of no merit in other respects. Neocles, his eldest son, died when a child, by the bite of a horse; and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters; namely, Mnesiptolema, by a second wife, who was married to Archeptolis, her half-brother; Italia, whose husband was Panthides of Chios; Sibaris, married to Nicomedes the Athenian; and Nicomache, at Magnesia, to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who, after her father's death, took a voyage for that purpose, received her at the hands of her brothers, and brought up her sister Asia, the youngest of the children.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him, which still remains in the market-place. No credit is to be given to Andocides, who writes to his friends, that the Athenians stole his ashes out of the tomb, and scattered them in the air; for it is an artifice of his to exasperate the nobility against the people.—Phylarchus, too, more like a writer of tragedy, than an historian, availing

* There is, in our opinion, more true heroism in the death of Themistocles than in the death of Cato. It is something enthusiastically great, when a man determines not to survive his liberty; but, it is something still greater, when he refuses to survive his honour.

himself of what may be called a piece of machinery, introduces Neocles and Demopolis as the sons of Themistocles, to make his story more interesting and pathetic. But a very moderate degree of sagacity may discover it to be a fiction. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes, in his treatise of sepulchres, but rather by conjecture than certain knowledge, that near the harbour of Piræus, from the promontory of Alcimus*, the land makes an elbow, and when you have doubled it inwards, by the still water, there is a vast foundation, upon which stands the tomb of Themistocles, in the form of an altar. With him, Plato, the comic writer, agrees, thus:

> Oft as the merchant speeds the passing sail,
> Thy tomb, Themistocles, he stops to hail:
> When hostile ships in martial combat meet,
> Thy shade attending hovers o'er the fleet.

Various honours and privileges were granted by the Magnesians to the descendants of Themistocles, which continued down to our times; for they were enjoyed by one of his name, an Athenian, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

CAMILLUS.

AMONG the many remarkable things related of Furius Camillus, the most extraordinary seems to be this, that though he was often in the highest commands, and performed the greatest actions, though he was five times chosen dictator, though he triumphed four times, and was styled the *second founder of Rome*, yet he was never once consul. Perhaps we may discover the reason in the state of the commonwealth at that time: the people, then at variance with the senate, refused to elect consuls, and, instead of them, put the government in the hands of *military tribunes*. Though these acted, indeed, with consular power and authority, yet their administration was less grievous to the people, because they were more in number. To have the direction of affairs intrusted to six persons instead of two, was some ease and satisfaction to a people that could not bear to be dictated to by the nobility. Camillus, then distinguished by his achievements, and at the height of glory, did not choose to be consul against the inclinations of the people, though the *comitia* or assemblies, in which they might have elected con-

* Meursius rightly corrects it *Alimus*. We find no place in Attica called *Alcimus*, but a borough named Alimus there was, on the east of the Piræus.

suls, were several times held in that period. In all his other commissions, which were many and various, he so conducted himself, that if he was intrusted with the sole power, he shared it with others, and, if he had a colleague, the glory was his own. The authority seemed to be shared by reason of his great modesty in command, which gave no occasion to envy; and the glory was secured to him by his genius and capacity, in which he was universally allowed to have no equal.

The family of the Furii was not very illustrious before his time; he was the first that raised it to distinction, when he served under Posthumius Tabertus in the great battle with the Equi and Volsci. In that action, spurring his horse before the ranks, he received a wound in the thigh, when, instead of retiring, he plucked the javelin out of the wound, engaged with the bravest of the enemy, and put them to flight. For this, among other honours, he was appointed censor, an office, at that time, of great dignity. There is upon record a very laudable act of his that took place during his office. As the wars had made many widows, he obliged such of the men as lived single, partly by persuasion, and partly by threatening them with fines, to marry those widows. Another act of his, which indeed was absolutely necessary, was the causing orphans, who before were exempt from taxes, to contribute to the supplies; for these were very large, by reason of the continual wars. What was then most urgent was the siege of Veii, whose inhabitants some call Venetani. This city was the barrier of Tuscany, and in the quantity of her arms, and number of her military, not inferior to Rome. Proud of her wealth, her elegance, and luxury, she had maintained with the Romans many long and gallant disputes for glory and for power. But, humbled by many signal defeats, the Veientes had then bid adieu to that ambition; they satisfied themselves with building strong and high walls, and filling the city with provisions, arms, and all kinds of warlike stores; and so they waited for the enemy without fear. The siege was long, but no less laborious and troublesome to the besiegers than to *them*. For the Romans had long been accustomed to summer campaigns only, and to winter at home; and then, for the first time, their officers ordered them to construct forts, to raise strong works about their camp, and to pass the winter as well as summer in the enemy's country.

The seventh year of the war was now almost past, when the generals began to be blamed; and as it was thought they showed not sufficient vigour in the siege, they were superseded, and others put in their room; among whom was Camillus, then appointed *tribune* the second time. He was not, however, at present concerned in the siege, for it fell to his lot to head the expedition against

the Falisci and Capenates, who, while the Romans were otherwise employed, committed great depredations in their country, and harassed them during the whole Tuscan war. But Camillus, falling upon them, killed great numbers, and shut up the rest within their walls.

During the heat of the war, a phenomenon appeared in the Alban lake, which might be reckoned amongst the strangest prodigies; and, as no common or natural cause could be assigned for it, it occasioned great consternation. The summer was now declining, and the season by no means rainy, nor remarkable for south winds. Of the many springs, brooks, and lakes, which Italy abounds with, some were dried up, and others but feebly resisted the drought; the rivers, always low in the summer, then ran with a very slender stream. But the Alban lake, which has its source within itself, and discharges no part of its water, being quite surrounded with mountains, without any cause, unless it was a supernatural one, began to rise and swell in a most remarkable manner, increasing till it reached the sides, and at last the very tops of the hills; all which happened without any agitation of its waters. For a while it was the wonder of the shepherds and herdsmen: but when the earth, which, like a mole, kept it from overflowing the country below, was broken down with the quantity and weight of water, then descending like a torrent through the ploughed fields, and other cultivated grounds to the sea, it not only astonished the Romans, but was thought by all Italy to portend some extraordinary event. It was the great subject of conversation in the camp before Veii, so that it came at last to be known to the besieged.

As, in the course of long sieges, there is usually some conversation with the enemy, it happened that a Roman soldier formed an acquaintance with one of the townsmen, a man versed in ancient traditions, and supposed to be more than ordinarily skilled in divination. The Roman, perceiving that he expressed great satisfaction at the story of the lake, and thereupon laughed at the siege, told him, "This was not the only wonder the times had produced, but other prodigies, still stranger than this, had happened to the Romans, which he should be glad to communicate to him, if, by that means, he could provide for his own safety in the midst of the public ruin." The man, readily hearkening to the proposal, came out to him, expecting to hear some secret, and the Roman continued the discourse, drawing him forward by degrees, till they were at some distance from the gates. Then he snatched him up in his arms, and by his superior strength held him, till, with the assistance of several soldiers from the camp, he was secured and carried before the generals. The man, reduced to this necessity, and knowing that destiny cannot be avoided, declared the secret oracles con-

cerning his own country, "That the city could never be taken till the waters of the Alban lake, which had now forsook their bed, and found new passages, were turned back, and so diverted as to prevent their mixing with the sea*."

The senate, informed of this prediction, and deliberating about it, were of opinion it would be best to send to Delphi to consult the oracle. They chose for this purpose three persons of honour and distinction, Licinius Cossus, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus; who, having had a prosperous voyage, and consulted Apollo, returned with this among other answers, "That they had neglected some ceremonies in the Latin feasts." As to the water of the Alban lake, they were ordered, if possible, to shut it up in its ancient bed; or, if that could not be effected, to dig canals and trenches for it, till it lost itself on the land. Agreeably to this direction, the priests were employed in offering sacrifices, and the people in labour, to turn the course of the water.

In the tenth year of the siege, the senate removed the other magistrates, and appointed Camillus dictator, who made choice of Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse. In the first place he made vows to the gods, if they favoured him with putting a glorious period to the war, to celebrate the great Circensian games to their honour, and to consecrate the temple of the goddess, whom the Romans call the *Mother matuta*. By her secret rites we may suppose this last to be the goddess Leucothea: for they take a female slave into the inner part of the temple, where they beat her, and then drive her out; they carry their brother's children in their arms instead of their own; and they represent in the ceremonies of the sacrifice all that happened to the nurses of Bacchus, and what Ino suffered for having saved the son of Juno's rival.

After these vows, Camillus penetrated into the country of the Falisci, and in a great battle overthrew them and their auxiliaries the Capenates. Then he turned to the siege of Veii; and perceiving it would be both difficult and dangerous to endeavour to take it by assault, he ordered mines to be dug, the soil about the city being easy to work, and admitting of depth enough for the works to be carried on unseen by the enemy. As this succeeded to his wish, he made an assault without, to call the enemy to the walls; and, in the mean time, others of his soldiers made their way through the mines, and secretly penetrated to Juno's temple in the citadel. This was the most considerable temple in the city; and we are told, that at that instant the Tuscan general happened to be sacrificing, when the soothsayer, upon inspection of the entrails,

* The prophecy, according to Livy (l. v. c. 15), was this, *Veii shall never be taken till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba.*

cried out, "The gods promise victory to him that shall finish this sacrifice*;" the Romans, who were under ground, hearing what he said, immediately removed the pavement, and came out with loud shouts, and clashing their arms, which struck the enemy with such terror that they fled, and left the entrails, which were carried to Camillus. But perhaps this has more of the air of fable than of history.

The city thus taken by the Romans, sword in hand, while they were busy in plundering it, and carrying off its immense riches, Camillus, beholding from the citadel what was done, at first burst into tears; and when those about him began to magnify his happiness, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and uttered this prayer: "Great Jupiter, and ye gods, that have the inspection of our good and evil actions, ye know that the Romans, not without just cause, but in their own defence, and constrained by necessity, have made war against this city, and their enemies, its unjust inhabitants. If we must have some misfortune in lieu of this success, I entreat that it may fall, not upon Rome, or the Roman army, but upon myself: yet lay not, ye gods, a heavy hand upon me†." Having pronounced these words, he turned to the right, as the manner of the Romans is, after prayer and supplication, but fell in turning. His friends that were by expressed great uneasiness at the accident, but he soon recovered himself from the fall, and told them, "It was only a small inconvenience after great success, agreeable to his prayer."

After the city was pillaged, he determined, pursuant to his vow, to remove the statue of Juno to Rome. The workmen were assembled for the purpose, and he offered sacrifice to the goddess, "Beseeching her to accept of their homage, and graciously to take up her abode among the gods of Rome." To which, it is said, the statue softly answered, "She was willing and ready to do it." But Livy says, Camillus, in offering up his petition, touched the image of the goddess, and entreated her to go with them, and that some of the standers-by answered, "She consented, and would willingly follow

* Words spoken by persons unconcerned in their affairs, and upon a quite different subject, were interpreted by the heathens as good or bad omens, if they happened to be any way applicable to their case. And they took great pains to fulfil the omen, if they thought it fortunate; as well as to evade it, if it appeared unlucky.

† Livy, who has given us this prayer, has not qualified it with that modification so unworthy of Camillus, *eis emauton elachisto kako tcleutesai, may it be with as little detriment as possible to myself!* On the contrary, he says, *ut eam invidiam levire suo privato incommodo quam minimo publico populi Romani licerit.* Camillus prayed, that *if this success must have an equivalent in some ensuing misfortune, that misfortune might fall upon himself, and the Roman people escape with as little detriment as possible.* This was great and heroic. Plutarch, having but an imperfect knowledge of the Roman language, probably mistook the sense.

them." Those that support and defend the miracle have the fortune of Rome on their side, which could never have risen from such small and contemptible beginnings to that height of glory and empire, without the constant assistance of some god, who favoured them with many considerable tokens of his presence. Several miracles of a similar nature are also alleged; as, that images have often sweated; that they have been heard to groan; and that sometimes they have turned from their votaries, and shut their eyes. Many such accounts we have from our ancients; and not a few persons of our own times have given us wonderful relations, not unworthy of notice. But to give entire credit to them, or altogether to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous, on account of human weakness. We keep not always within the bounds of reason, nor are masters of our minds! Sometimes we fall into vain superstition, and sometimes into a neglect of all religion. It is best to be cautious, and avoid extremes.

Whether it was that Camillus was elated with his great exploit, in taking a city that was the rival of Rome, after it had been besieged ten years, or that he was misled by his flatterers, he took upon him too much state for a magistrate subject to the laws and usages of his country: for his triumph was conducted with excessive pomp, and he rode through Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which no general ever did before or after him. Indeed, this sort of carriage is esteemed sacred, and is appropriated to the king and father of the gods. The citizens, therefore, considered this unusual appearance of grandeur as an insult upon them. Besides, they were offended at his opposing the law by which the city was to be divided; for their tribunes had proposed that the senate and people should be divided into two equal parts; one part to remain at Rome, and the other, as the lot happened to fall, to remove to the conquered city, by which means they would not only have more room, but, by being in possession of two considerable cities, be better able to defend their territories, and to watch over their prosperity. The people, who were very numerous, and enriched by the late plunder, constantly assembled in the *forum*, and in a tumultuous manner demanded to have it put to the vote.—But the senate and other principal citizens considered this proposal of the tribunes not so much the dividing as the destroying of Rome, and in their uneasiness applied to Camillus. Camillus was afraid to put it to the trial, and therefore invented demurs and pretences of delay, to prevent the bills being offered to the people; by which he incurred their displeasure.

But the greatest and most manifest cause of their hatred was his behaviour with respect to the tenths of the spoils: and if the resentment of the people was not in this case altogether just, yet it had

some show of reason. It seems he had made a vow, as he marched to Veii, that, if he took the city, he would consecrate the tenths to Apollo. But when the city was taken, and came to be pillaged, he was either unwilling to interrupt his men, or in the hurry he had forgot his vow, and so gave up the whole plunder to them. After he had resigned his dictatorship, he laid the case before the senate: and the soothsayers declared that the sacrifices announced the anger of the gods, which ought to be appeased by offerings expressive of their gratitude for the favours they had received. The senate then made a decree, that the plunder should remain with the soldiers (for they knew not how to manage it otherwise); but that each should produce, upon oath, the tenth of the value of what he had got. This was a great hardship upon the soldiers; and those poor fellows could not without force be brought to refund so large a portion of the fruit of their labours, and to make good not only what they had hardly earned, but now actually spent. Camillus, distressed with their complaints, for want of a better excuse, made use of a very absurd apology, by acknowledging he had forgotten his vow. This they greatly resented, that having then vowed the tenths of the enemy's goods, he should now exact the tenths of the citizens. However, they all produced their proportion; and it was resolved that a vase of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But as there was a scarcity of gold in the city, while the magistrates were considering how to procure it, the Roman matrons met, and, having consulted among themselves, gave up their golden ornaments, which weighed eight talents, as an offering to the god. And the senate, in honour of their piety, decreed that they should have funeral orations as well as the men, which had not been the custom before. They then sent three of the chief of the nobility, ambassadors, in a large ship well manned, and fitted out in a manner becoming so solemn an occasion.

In this voyage they were equally endangered by a storm and a calm, but escaped beyond all expectation, when on the brink of destruction. For the wind slackening near the Æolian islands, the galleys of the Lipareans gave them chace as pirates. Upon their stretching out their hands for mercy, the Lipareans used no violence to their persons, but towed the ship into harbour, and there exposed both them and their goods to sale, having first adjudged them to be lawful prizes. With much difficulty, however, they were prevailed upon to release them, out of regard to the merit and authority of Timesitheus, the chief magistrate of the place, who, moreover, conveyed them with his own vessels, and assisted in dedicating the gift. For this suitable honours were paid him at Rome.

And now the *tribunes of the people* attempted to bring the law

for removing part of the citizens to Veii once more upon the carpet; but the war with the Falisci very seasonably intervening, put the management of the elections in the hands of the patricians, and they nominated Camillus a *military tribune*, together with five others, as affairs then required a general of considerable dignity, reputation, and experience. When the people had confirmed this nomination, Camillus marched his forces into the country of the Falisci, and laid siege to Falerii, a city well fortified, and provided in all respects for the war. He was sensible it was like to be no easy affair, nor soon to be dispatched, and this was one reason for his engaging in it; for he was desirous to keep the citizens employed abroad, that they might not have leisure to sit down at home, and raise tumults and seditions. This was indeed a remedy which the Romans had always recourse to, like good physicians, to expel dangerous humours from the body politic.

The Falerians, trusting to the fortifications with which they were surrounded, made so little account of the siege, that the inhabitants, except those who guarded the walls, walked the streets in their common habits. The boys too went to school, and the master took them out to walk and exercise about the walls; for the Falerians, like the Greeks, chose to have their children bred at one public school, that they might betimes be accustomed to the same discipline, and form themselves to friendship and society.

This schoolmaster, then, designing to betray the Falerians by means of their children, took them every day out of the city to exercise, keeping pretty close to the walls at first, and, when their exercise was over, led them in again. By degrees he took them out farther, accustoming them to divert themselves freely, as if they had nothing to fear. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Roman advanced guard, and delivered them up to be carried to Camillus. When he came into his presence, he said, "He was the schoolmaster of Falerii, but preferring his favour to the obligations of duty, he came to deliver up those children to him, and in them the whole city." This action appeared very shocking to Camillus, and he said to those that were by, "War, at best, is a savage thing, and wades through a sea of violence and injustice; yet even war itself has its laws, which men of honour will not depart from; nor do they so pursue victory as to avail themselves of acts of villany and baseness; for a great general should rely only on his own virtue, and not upon the treachery of others." Then he ordered the *lictors* to tear off the wretch's clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and to furnish the boys with rods and scourges to punish the traitor, and whip him into the city. By this means the Falerians had dis-

covered the schoolmaster's treason, the city, as might be expected, was full of lamentations for so great a loss, and the principal inhabitants, both men and women, crowded about the walls and the gate, like persons distracted. In the midst of this disorder, they espied the boys whipping on their master naked and bound, and calling Camillus "their god, their deliverer, their father." Not only the parents of those children, but all the citizens in general, were struck with admiration at the spectacle, and conceived such an affection for the justice of Camillus, that they immediately assembled, and sent deputies to surrender to him both themselves and their city.

Camillus sent them to Rome; and when they were introduced to the senate, they said, "The Romans, in preferring justice to conquest, have taught us to be satisfied with submission instead of liberty. At the same time we declare we do not think ourselves so much beneath you in strength, as inferior in virtue." The senate referred the disquisition and settling of the articles of peace to Camillus, who contented himself with taking a sum of money of the Falerians; and, having entered into alliance with the whole nation of the Falisci, returned to Rome.

But the soldiers, who expected to have had the plundering of Falerii, when they came back empty-handed, accused Camillus to their fellow citizens as an enemy to the *commons*, and one that maliciously opposed the interest of the poor. And when the tribunes again proposed the law for transplanting part of the citizens to Veii, and summoned the people to give their votes, Camillus spoke very freely, or rather with much asperity against it, appearing remarkably violent in his opposition to the people, who, therefore, lost their bill, but harboured a strong resentment against Camillus. Even the misfortune he had in his family, of losing one of his sons, did not in the least mitigate their rage, though, as a man of great goodness and tenderness of heart, he was inconsolable for his loss, and shut himself up at home, a close mourner with the women, at the same time that they were lodging an impeachment against him.

His accuser was Lucius Apuleius, who brought against him a charge of fraud with respect to the Tuscan spoils; and it was alleged that certain brass gates, a part of those spoils, were found with him. The people were so much exasperated, that it was plain they would lay hold on any pretext to condemn him. He therefore assembled his friends, his colleagues, and fellow-soldiers, a great number in all, and begged of them not to suffer him to be crushed by false and unjust accusations, and exposed to the scorn of his enemies. When they had consulted together, and fully considered the affair, the answer they gave was, that they did not believe it in their

power to prevent the sentence, but they would willingly assist him to pay the fine that might be laid upon him. He could not, however, bear the thoughts of so great an indignity, and, giving way to his resentment, determined to quit the city as a voluntary exile. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went in silence from his house to the gate of the city. There he made a stand, and turning about, stretched out his hands towards the capitol, and prayed to the gods, "That if he was driven out without any fault of his own, and merely by the violence or envy of the people, the Romans might quickly repent it, and express to all the world their want of Camillus, and their regret for his absence."

When he had thus, like Achilles, uttered his imprecations against his countrymen, he departed; and, leaving his cause undefended, he was condemned to pay a fine of fifteen thousand *ases*, which, reduced to Grecian money, is one thousand five hundred *drachmæ;* for the *as* is a small coin that is the tenth part of a piece of silver, which for that reason is called *denarius*, and answers to our *drachma*. There is not a man in Rome who does not believe that these imprecations of Camillus had their effect; though the punishment of his countrymen for their injustice proved no ways agreeable to him, but, on the contrary, matter of grief. Yet how great, how memorable was that punishment! How remarkably did vengeance pursue the Romans! What danger, destruction, and disgrace, did those times bring upon the city! whether it was the work of fortune, or whether it is the office of some deity to see that virtue shall not be oppressed by the ungrateful with impunity*.

The first token of the approaching calamities was the death of Julius the *Censor*. For the Romans have a particular veneration for the censor, and look upon his office as sacred. A second token happened a little before the exile of Camillus. Marcus Ceditius, a man of no illustrious family indeed, nor of senatorial rank, but a person of great probity and virtue, informed the military tribunes of a matter which deserved great attention. As he was going the night before along what is called the New Road, he said he was addressed in a loud voice. Upon turning about, he saw nobody, but heard these words in an accent more than human: "Go, Marcus Ceditius, and early in the morning acquaint the magistrates that they may shortly expect the Gauls." But the tribunes made a jest of the information; and soon after followed the disgrace of Camillus.

The Gauls are of Celtic origin, and are said to have left their country, which was too small to maintain their vast numbers, to go

* It was the goddess Nemesis whom the Heathens believed to have the office of punishing evil actions in this world, particularly pride and ingratitude.

in search of another. These emigrants consisted of many thousan
of young and able warriors, with a still greater number of wome
children. Part of them took their route towards the northern
crossed the Rhiphæan mountains, and settled in the extreme
Europe; and part established themselves for a long time
the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and Celtoria
happening to taste of wine, which was then for the first time
out of Italy, they so much admired the liquor, and were so enc
with this new pleasure, that they snatched up their arms, and,
ing their parents along with them, marched to the Alps, to seek
country which produced such excellent fruit, and in comparis
which, they considered all others as barren and ungenial.

The man that first carried wine amongst them, and excited t
to invade Italy, is said to have been Aruns, a Tuscan, a man of so
distinction, and not naturally disposed to mischief, but led to it by
his misfortunes. He was guardian to an orphan named Lucumo*,
of the greatest fortune in the country, and most celebrated for beauty. Aruns brought him up from a boy, and, when grown up he still continued at his house, upon a pretence of enjoying his conversation. Meanwhile he had corrupted his guardian's wife, or she had corrupted him, and for a long time the criminal commerce was carried on undiscovered. At length their passion becoming so violent that they could neither restrain nor conceal it, the young man carried her off, and attempted to keep her openly. The husband endeavoured to find his redress at law, but was disappointed by the superior interest and wealth of Lucumo. He therefore quitted his own country, and having heard of the enterprising spirit of the Gauls, went to them, and conducted their armies into Italy.

In the first expedition they soon possessed themselves of that country which stretches out from the Alps to both seas. That this of old belonged to the Tuscans, the names themselves are a proof; for the sea which lies to the north is called the Adriatic, from a Tuscan city named Adria, and that on the other side to the south is called the Tuscan sea. All that country is well planted with trees, has excellent pastures, and is well watered with rivers. It contained eighteen considerable cities, whose manufactures and trade procured them the gratifications of luxury. The Gauls expelled the Tuscans, and made themselves masters of these cities; but this was done long before.

The Gauls were now besieging Clusium, a city of Tuscany. The Clusians applied to the Romans, entreating them to send ambassadors and letters to the barbarians. Accordingly they sent three illus-

* *Lucumo* was not the name but the title of the young man. He was lord of a *Lucumony*. Hetruria was divided into principalities called *Lucumonies*.

ous persons of the *Fabian* family, who had borne the highest em-
nents in the state. The Gauls received them courteously on
t of the name of Rome, and, putting a stop to their operations
the town, came to a conference. But when they were asked
ury they had received from the Clusians, that they came
heir city, Brennus, king of the Gauls, smiled and said,
njury the Clusians do us is their keeping to themselves a large
f ground, when they can only cultivate a small one, and re-
; to give up a part of it to us, who are strangers, numerous and
In the same manner you Romans were injured formerly by
Albans, the Fidenates, and the Ardeates, and lately by the peo-
of Veii and Capenæ, and the greatest part of the Falisci and the
sci. Upon these you make war; if they refuse to share with you
ir goods, you enslave their persons, lay waste their country, and
emolish their cities. Nor are your proceedings dishonourable or
njust; for you follow the most ancient of laws, which directs the
veak to obey the strong, from the Creator even to the irrational part
f the creation, that are taught by nature to make use of the advan-
age their strength affords them against the feeble. Cease then to
xpress your compassion for the Clusians, lest you teach us in our
urn to commisserate those that have been oppressed by the Romans."

By this answer the Romans clearly perceived that Brennus would
ome to no terms; and, therefore, they went into Clusium, where
hey encouraged and animated the inhabitants to the sally against the
arbarians, either to make trial of the strength of the Clusians, or
o show their own. The Clusians made a sally, and a sharp conflict
nsued near the walls, when Quintius Ambustus, one of the Fabii,
purred his horse against a Gaul of extraordinary size and figure, who
ad advanced a great way before the ranks. At first he was not
nown, because the encounter was hot, and his armour dazzled the
yes of the beholders: but when he had overcome and killed the
Gaul, and came to despoil him of his arms, Brennus knew him, and
alled the gods to witness, "That against all the laws and usages
f mankind which were esteemed the most sacred and inviolable,
Ambustus came as an ambassador, but acted as an enemy." He drew
ff his men directly, and bidding the Clusians farewell, led his army
owards Rome. But, that he might not seem to rejoice that such
n affront was offered, or to have wanted a pretext for hostilities, he
ent to demand the offender, in order to punish him, and, in the
nean time, advanced but slowly.

The herald being arrived, the senate was assembled, and many
poke against the Fabii; particularly the priests called *feciales* re-
resented the action as an offence against religion, and adjured the

senate to lay the whole guilt, and the expiation of it, upon the person who alone was to blame, and so to avert the wrath of heaven from the rest of the Romans. These *feciales* were appointed by Numa, the mildest and justest of kings, conservators of peace, as well as judges to give sanction to the just causes of war. The senate referred the matter to the people, and the priests accused Fabius with some ardour before them; but such was the disregard they expressed for their persons, and such their contempt of religion, that they constituted that very Fabius and his brethren *military tribunes*.

As soon as the Gauls were informed of this, they were greatly enraged, and would no longer delay their march, but hastened forward with the utmost celerity. Their prodigious numbers, their glittering arms, their fury and impetuosity, struck terror wherever they came; people gave up their lands for lost, not doubting but the cities would soon follow: however, what was beyond all expectation, they injured no man's property; they neither pillaged the fields, nor insulted the cities; and, as they passed by, they cried out, "They were going to Rome, they were at war with the Romans only, and considered all others as their friends."

While the barbarians were going forward in this impetuous manner, the tribunes led out their forces to battle, in number not inferior (for they consisted of forty thousand foot), but the greatest part undisciplined, and such as had never handled a weapon before. Besides, they paid no attention to religion, having neither propitiated the gods by sacrifice, nor consulted the soothsayers, as was their duty in time of danger, and before an engagement. Another thing which occasioned no small confusion was the number of persons joined in the command; whereas, before, they had often appointed, for wars of less consideration, a single leader, whom they call *dictator*, sensible of how great consequence it is to good order and success, at a dangerous crisis, to be actuated as it were with one soul, and to have the absolute command invested in one person. Their ungrateful treatment of Camillus, too, was not the least unhappy circumstance; as it now appeared dangerous for the generals to use their authority without some flattering indulgence to the people.

In this condition they marched out of the city, and encamped about eleven miles from it, on the banks of the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the barbarians came upon them, and as the Romans engaged in a disorderly manner, they were shamefully beaten, and put to flight. Their left wing was soon pushed into the river, and there destroyed. Their right wing, which quitted the field to avoid the charge, and gained the hills, did not

suffer so much, many of them escaping to Rome. The rest that survived the carnage, when the enemy were satiated with blood, stole by night to Veii, concluding that Rome was lost, and its inhabitants put to the sword.

This battle was fought when the moon was at full, about the summer solstice, the very same day that the slaughter of the Fabii happened long before*, when three hundred of them were cut off by the Tuscans.—The second misfortune, however, so much effaced the memory of the first, that the day is still called the *day of* Allia, from the river of that name.

As to the point, whether there be any lucky or unlucky days, and whether Heraclitus was right in blaming Hesiod for distinguishing them into fortunate and unfortunate, as not knowing that the nature of all days is the same, we have considered it in another place. But, on this occasion, perhaps it may not be amiss to mention a few examples. The Bœotians, on the fifth of the month which they call *Hippodromius*, and the Athenians *Hecatombæon* (July), gained two signal victories, both of which restored liberty to Greece; the one at Leuctra, the other at Geræstus, above two hundred years before, when they defeated Latamyas and the Thessalians. On the other hand, the Persians were beaten by the Greeks on the sixth of *Boëdromion* (September) at Marathon, on the third at Platæa, as also Mycale, and on the twenty-sixth at Arbeli. About the full moon of the same month, the Athenians, under the conduct of Chabrias, were victorious in the sea-fight near Naxos, and on the twentieth they gained the victory of Salamis, as we have mentioned in the treatise concerning days. The month *Thargelion* (May) was also remarkably unfortunate to the barbarians: for, in that month, Alexander defeated the king of Persia's generals near the Granicus; and the Carthaginians were beaten by Timoleon in Sicily on the twenty-fourth of the same; a day still more remarkable (according to Ephorus, Callisthenes, Demaster, and Phylarchus) for the taking of Troy. On the contrary, the month *Matagitnion* (August), which the Bœotians called *Panemus*, was very unlucky to the Greeks; for, on the seventh, they were beaten by Antipater in the battle of Cranon, and utterly ruined, and, before that, they were defeated by Philip at Chæronea. And on that same day, and month, and year, the troops which under Archidamus made a descent upon Italy, were cut to pieces by the barbarians. The Carthaginians have set a mark upon the twenty-second of that month, as a day that has always brought upon them the greatest of calamities.—At the same time, I am not ignorant, that, about the time of the cele-

* The sixteenth of July.

bration of the *mysteries*, Thebes was demolished by Alexander; and after that, on the same twentieth of *Boëdromion* (September), a day sacred to the solemnities of Bacchus, the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison. On one and the same day, the Romans, under the command of Cæpio, were stripped of their camp by the Cimbri, and, afterwards, under Lucullus, conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. King Attalus and Pompey the Great both died on their birth-days. And I could give an account of many others who, on the same day, at different periods, have experienced both good and bad fortune. Be that as it may, the Romans marked the day of their defeat at Allia as unfortunate; and as superstitious fears generally increase upon a misfortune, they not only distinguish that as such, but the two next that follow in every month throughout the year.

If, after so decisive a battle, the Gauls had immediately pursued the fugitives, there would have been nothing to hinder the entire destruction of Rome, and all that remained in it; with such terror was the city struck at the return of those that escaped from the battle, and so filled with confusion and distraction! But the Gauls, not imagining the victory to be so great as it was, in the excess of their joy indulged themselves in good cheer, and shared the plunder of the camp; by which means, numbers that were for leaving the city had leisure to escape, and those that remained had time to recollect themselves, and prepare for their defence; for, quitting the rest of the city, they retired to the capitol, which they fortified with strong ramparts, and provided well with arms. But their first care was of their holy things, most of which they conveyed into the capitol. As for the sacred fire, the *vestal virgins* took it up, together with other holy relics, and fled away with it: though some will have it, that they have not the charge of any thing but that *living* fire which Numa appointed to be worshipped as the principle of all things. It is, indeed, the most active thing in nature; and all generation either is motion, or, at least, with motion. Other parts of matter, when the heat fails, lie sluggish and dead, and crave the force of fire as an informing soul; and, when that comes, they acquire some active or passive quality. Hence it was that Numa, a man curious in his researches into nature, and, on account of his wisdom, supposed to the have conversed with the muses, consecrated this fire, and ordered it to be perpetually kept up, as an image of that eternal power which preserves and actuates the universe.—Others say, that, according to the usage of the Greeks, the fire is kept ever burning before the holy places, as an emblem of purity; but that there are other things in the most secret part of the temple kept from the sight of all

but those virgins whom they call *vestals;* and the most current opinion is, that the *palladium* of Troy, which Æneas brought into Italy, is laid up there.

Others say, that Samothracian gods are there concealed, whom Dardanus, after he had built Troy, brought to that city, and caused to be worshipped; and that, after the taking of Troy, Æneas privately carried them off, and kept them till he settled in Italy. But, those that pretend to know most about these matters say, there are placed there two casks of a moderate size, the one open and empty, the other full and sealed up, but neither of them to be seen by any but those holy virgins. Others, again, think this is all a mistake, which arose from their putting most of their sacred utensils in two casks, and hiding them under ground in the temple of Quirinus, and that the place, from those casks, is still called *Doliolo.*

They took, however, with them the choicest and most sacred things they had, and fled with them along the side of the river, where Lucius Albinus, a plebeian, among others who were making their escape, was carrying his wife and children, and some of his most necessary moveables, in a waggon. But when he saw the vestals in a helpless and weary condition, carrying in their arms the sacred symbols of the gods, he immediately took out his family and goods, and put the virgins in the waggon, that they might make their escape to some of the Grecian cities. This piety of Albinus, and the veneration he expressed for the gods at so dangerous a juncture, deserves to be recorded.

As for the other priests, and the most ancient of the senators that were of consular dignity, or had been honoured with triumphs, they could not bear to think of quitting the city. They, therefore, put on their holy vestments and robes of state, and, in a form dictated by Fabius the *pontifex maximus,* making their vows to the gods, devoted themselves for their country. Thus, attired, they sat down in their ivory chairs in the *forum,* prepared for the worst extremity.

The third day after the battle, Brennus arrived with his army; and finding the gates of the city opened, and the walls destitute of guards, at first he had some apprehensions of a stratagem or ambuscade, for he could not think the Romans had so entirely given themselves up to despair. But, when he found it to be so in reality, he entered by the *Colline* gate, and took Rome, a little more than three hundred and sixty years after its foundation; if it is likely that any exact account has been kept of those times, the confusion of which has occasioned so much obscurity in things of a later date.

Some uncertain rumours, however, of Rome's being taken appear to have soon passed into Greece; for Heraclides of Pontus, who

lived not long after these times, in his treatise *concerning the soul*, relates, that an account was brought from the west, that an army from the country of the Hyperboreans*, had taken a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere near the Great Sea. But I do not wonder that such a fabulous writer as Heraclides should embellish his account of the taking of Rome with the pompous terms of Hyperboreans and Great Sea. It is very clear that Aristotle the philosopher had heard that Rome was taken by the Gauls; but he calls its deliverer Lucius; whereas Camillus was not called Lucius, but Marcus. These authors had no better authority than common report.

Brennus, thus in possession of Rome, set a strong guard about the capitol, and himself went down into the *forum*, where he was struck with amazement at the sight of so many men seated in great state and silence, who neither rose up at the approach of their enemies, nor changed countenance or colour, but leaned upon their staves, and sat looking upon each other without fear or concern. The Gauls, astonished at so surprising a spectacle, and regarding them as superior beings, for a long time were afraid to approach or touch them. At last one of them ventured to go near Manlius Papirius, and, advancing his hand, gently stroked his beard, which was very long: upon which Papirius struck him on the head with his staff, and wounded him. The barbarian then drew his sword and killed him. After this, the Gauls fell upon the rest and slew them, and, continuing their rage, dispatched all that came in their way. Then, for many days together, they pillaged the houses, and carried off the spoil; at last they set fire to the city, and demolished what escaped the flames, to express their indignation against those in the capitol who obeyed not their summons, but made a vigorous defence, and greatly annoyed the besiegers from the walls. This it was that provoked them to destroy the whole city, and to dispatch all that fell into their hands, without sparing either sex or age.

As, by the length of the siege, provisions began to fail the Gauls, they divided their forces, and part staid with the king before that fortress, while part foraged the country, and laid waste the towns and villages. Their success had inspired them with such confidence, that they did not keep in a body, but carelessly rambled about in different troops and parties. It happened that the largest and best disciplined corps went against Ardea, where Camillus, since his exile, lived in absolute retirement. This great event, however, awakened him into action, and his mind was employed in contriving not how to keep himself concealed, and to avoid the Gauls,

* The ancients called all the inhabitants of the north *Hyperboreans*, and the Mediterranean the *Great Sea*, to distinguish it from the Euxine.

but, if an opportunity should offer, to attack and conquer them. Perceiving that the Ardeans were not deficient in numbers, but courage and discipline, which was owing to the inexperience and inactivity of their officers, he applied first to the young men, and told them, "They ought not to ascribe the defeat of the Romans to the valour of the Gauls, or to consider the calamities they had suffered in the midst of their infatuation as brought upon them by men who, in fact, could not claim the merit of the victory, but as the work of fortune: that it would be glorious, though they risked something by it, to repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whose end in conquering was, like fire, to destroy what they subdued; but that, if they would aasume a proper spirit, he would give them an opportunity to conquer without any hazard at all." When he found the young men were pleased with his discourse, he went next to the magistrates and senate of Ardea, and having persuaded them also to adopt his scheme, he armed all that were of a proper age for it, and drew them up within the walls, that the enemy, who were but at a small distance, might not know what he was about.

The Gauls having scoured the country, and loaded themselves with plunder, encamped upon the plains in a careless and disorderly manner. Night found them intoxicated with wine, and silence reigned in the camp. As soon as Camillus was informed of this by his spies, he led the Ardeans out, and, having passed the intermediate space without noise, he reached their camp about midnight. Then he ordered a loud shout to be set up, and the trumpets to sound on all sides, to cause the greater confusion; but it was with difficulty they recovered themselves from their sleep and intoxication. A few, whom fear had made sober, snatched up their arms to oppose Camillus, and fell with their weapons in their hands; but the greatest part of them, buried in sleep and wine, were surprised unarmed, and easily dispatched. A small number that in the night escaped out of the camp, and wandered in the fields, were picked up next day by the cavalry, and put to the sword.

The fame of this action soon reaching the neighbouring cities, drew out many of their ablest warriors. Particularly, such of the Romans as had escaped from the battle of Allia to Veii lamented within themselves in some such manner as this: "What a general has heaven taken from Rome in Camillus to adorn the Ardeans with his exploits! while the city which produced and brought up so great a man is absolutely ruined; and we, for want of a leader, sit idle within the walls of a strange city, and betray the liberties of Italy.—Come, then, let us send to the Ardeans to demand our general, or else take our weapons and go to him; for he is no

longer an exile, nor we citizens, having no country but what is in possession of an enemy."

This motion was agreed to, and they sent to Camillus to intreat him to accept of the command. But he answered, he could not do it, before he was legally appointed to it by the Romans in the capitol*; for he looked upon them, while they were in being, as the commonwealth, and would readily obey their orders, but, without them, would not be so officious as to interpose.

They admired the modesty and honour of Camillus, but knew not how to send the proposal to the capitol. It seemed indeed impossible for a messenger to pass into the citadel, while the enemy were in possession of the city. However, a young man, named Pontius Cominius, not distinguished by his birth, but fond of glory, readily took upon him the commission. He carried no letters to the citizens in the capitol, lest, if he should happen to be taken, the enemy should discover by them the intentions of Camillus. Having dressed himself in mean attire, under which he concealed some pieces of cork, he travelled all day without fear, and approached the city as it grew dark. He could not pass the river by the bridge, because it was guarded by the Gauls; and therefore took his clothes, which were neither many nor heavy, and bound them about his head, and, having laid himself upon the pieces of cork, easily swam over and reached the city. Then, avoiding those quarters where, by the lights and noise he concluded they kept watch, he went to the *Carmental* gate, where there was the greatest silence, and where the hill of the capitol is the steepest and most craggy. Up this he got unperceived, by a way the most difficult and dreadful, and approached the guards upon the walls. After he had hailed them, and told them his name, they received him with joy, and conducted him to the magistrates.

The senate was presently assembled, and he acquainted them with the victory of Camillus, which they had not heard of before, as well as with the proceedings of the soldiers at Veii, and exhorted them to confirm Camillus in the command, as the citizens of Rome would obey none but him. Having heard his report, and consulted together, they declared Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back the same way he came, who was equally fortunate in his return; for he passed the enemy undiscovered, and delivered to the Romans at Veii the decree of the senate, which they received with pleasure.

Camillus, at his arrival, found twenty thousand of them in arms,

* Livy says, the Roman soldiers at Veii applied to the remains of the senate in the capitol for leave, before they offered the command to Camillus. So much regard had those brave men for the constitution of their country, though Rome then lay in ashes. Every private man was indeed a patriot.

to whom he added a greater number of allies, and prepared to attack the enemy. Thus was he appointed dictator the second time, and, having put himself at the head of the Romans and confederates, he marched out against the Gauls.

Meantime, some of the barbarians employed in the siege, happening to pass by the place where Pontius had made his way by night up to the capitol, observed many traces of his feet and hands, as he had worked himself up the rock, torn off what grew there, and tumbled down the mould. Of this they informed the king, who coming and viewing it, for the present said nothing; but, in the evening, he assembled the lightest and most active of his men, who were the likeliest to climb any difficult height, and thus addressed them:—"The enemy have themselves shown us a way to reach them, which we were ignorant of, and have proved that this rock is neither inaccessable, nor untrod by human feet. What a shame would it be then, after having made a beginning, not to finish; and to quit the place as impregnable, when the Romans themselves have taught us how to take it? Where it was easy for one man to ascend, it cannot be difficult for many, one by one; nay, should many attempt it together, they will find great advantage in assisting each other. In the mean time, I intend great rewards and honours for such as shall distinguish themselves on this occasion."

The Gauls readily embraced the king's proposal, and about midnight a number of them together began to climb the rock in silence, which, though steep and craggy, proved more practicable than they expected. The foremost having gained the top, put themselves in order, and were ready to take possession of the wall, and to fall upon the guards, who were fast asleep, for neither man nor dog perceived their coming. However, there were certain sacred geese kept near Juno's temple*, and, at other times, plentifully fed; but, at this time, as corn and other provisions that remained were scarcely sufficient for the men, they were neglected, and in poor condition. This animal is naturally quick of hearing, and soon alarmed at any noise; and, as hunger kept them waking and uneasy, they immediately perceived the coming of the Gauls, and, running at them with all the noise they could make, they awoke all the guards. The barbarians now perceiving they were discovered, advanced with loud shouts and great fury. The Romans in haste snatched up such weapons as

* Geese were ever after had in honour at Rome, and a flock of them always kept at the expense of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned; while dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them upon a branch of elder.—*Plin. et Plut. de Fortuna Rom.*

came to hand, and acquitted themselves like men on this sudden emergency. First of all, Manlius, a man of consular dignity, remarkable for his strength and extraordinary courage, engaged two Gauls at once, and as one of them was lifting up his battle-axe, with his sword cut off his right hand; at the same time he thrust the boss of his shield in the face of the other, and dashed him down the precipice. Thus, standing on the rampart, with those that had come to his assistance and fought by his side, he drove back the rest of the Gauls that had got up, who were no great number, and who performed nothing worthy of such an attempt. The Romans having thus escaped the danger that threatened them, as soon as it was light, threw the officer that commanded the watch down the rock amongst the enemy, and decreed Manlius a reward for his victory, which had more of honour in it than profit; for every man gave him what he had for one day's allowance, which was half a pound of bread, and a quartern of the Greek *cotyle*.

After this the Gauls began to lose courage; for provisions were scarce, and they could not forage for fear of Camillus*. Sickness, too, prevailed among them, which took its rise from the heaps of dead bodies, and from their encamping amidst the rubbish of the houses they had burnt; where there was such a quantity of ashes, as, when raised by the winds, or heated by the sun, by their dry and acrid quality so corrupted the air, that every breath of it was pernicious. But what affected them most was the change of climate; for they had lived in countries that abounded with shades and agreeable shelters from the heat, and were now got into grounds that were low, and unhealthy in autumn. All this, together with the length and tediousness of the siege, which had now lasted more than six months, caused such desolation among them, and carried off such numbers, that the carcases lay unburied.

The besieged, however, were not in a much better condition. Famine, which now pressed them hard, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing, caused no small dejection: for the barbarians guarded the city with so much care, that it was impossible to send any messenger to him. Both sides being thus equally discouraged, the advanced guards, who were near enough to converse, first began to talk of treating. As the motion was approved by those that had the chief direction of affairs, Sulpitius, one of the military tribunes, went and conferred with Brennus, when it was agreed that the Romans should pay a thousand pounds weight of gold, and that the Gauls, upon receipt of it, should immediately quit the city and its ter-

* Camillus, being master of the country, posted strong guards on all the roads, and in effect besieged the besiegers.

ritories. When the conditions were sworn to, and the gold was brought, the Gauls, endeavouring to avail themselves of false weights, privately at first, and afterwards openly, drew down their own side of the balance. The Romans expressing their resentment, Brennus, in a contemptuous and insulting manner, took off his sword, and threw it, belt and all, into the scale: and, when Sulpitius asked what that meant, he answered, "What should it mean but woe to the conquered?" which became a proverbial saying. Some of the Romans were highly incensed at this, and talked of returning with their gold, and enduring the utmost extremities of the siege; but others were of opinion that it was better to pass by a small injury, since the indignity lay not in paying more than was due, but in paying any thing at all; a disgrace only consequent upon the necessity of the times.

While they were thus disputing with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates, and, being informed of what had passed, ordered the main body of his army to advance slowly and in good order, while he, with a select band, marched hastily up to the Romans, who all gave place, and received the dictator with respect and silence. Then he took the gold out of the scales, and gave it to the *lictors*, and ordered the Gauls to take away the balance and the weights, and to be gone, telling them, *it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country with steel, not with gold.* And when Brennus expressed his indignation, and complained he had great injustice done him by this infraction of the treaty, Camillus answered, "That it was never lawfully made; nor could it be valid without his consent, who was dictator and sole magistrate; they had, therefore, acted without proper authority: but they might make their proposals now he was come, whom the laws had invested with power either to pardon the suppliant, or to punish the guilty, if proper satisfaction was not made."

At this Brennus was still more highly incensed, and a skirmish ensued; swords were drawn on both sides, and thrusts exchanged in a confused manner, which, it is easy to conceive, must be the case, amidst the ruins of houses, and in narrow streets, where there was not room to draw up regularly. Brennus, however, soon recollected himself, and drew off his forces into the camp, with the loss of a small number. In the night he ordered them to march, and quit the city; and having retreated about eight miles from it, he encamped upon the Gabinian road. Early in the morning Camillus came up with them, his arms dazzling the sight, and his men full of spirits and fire. A sharp engagement ensued, which lasted a long time; at length the Gauls were routed with great slaughter, and their camp

taken. Some of those that fled were killed in the pursuit; but the greater part were cut in pieces by the people in the neighbouring towns and villages, who fell upon them as they were dispersed.

Thus was Rome strangely taken, and more strangely recovered, after it had been seven months in the possession of the barbarians; for they entered it a little after the *Ides*, the fifteenth of July, and were driven out about the *Ides*, the thirteenth of February following. Camillus returned in triumph, as became the deliverer of his lost country, and the restorer of Rome. Those that had quitted the place before the siege, with their wives and children, now followed his chariot; and they that had been besieged in the capitol, and were almost perished with hunger, met the other, and embraced them, weeping for joy at this unexpected pleasure, which they almost considered as a dream. The priests and ministers of the gods, bringing back with them what holy things they had hid or conveyed away when they fled, afforded a most desirable spectacle to the people; and they gave them the kindest welcome, as if the gods themselves had returned with them to Rome. Next, Camillus sacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, in a form dictated by the pontiffs. He rebuilt the former temples, and erected a new one to *Aius Loquutius*, the *speaker* or *warner*, upon the very spot where the voice from heaven announced in the night to Marcus Ceditius the coming of the barbarians. There was, indeed, no small difficulty in discovering the places where the temples had stood, but it was effected by the zeal of Camillus, and the industry of the priests.

As it was necessary to rebuild the city, which was entirely demolished, a heartless despondency seized the multitude, and they invented pretexts of delay. They were in want of all necessary materials, and had more occasion for repose and refreshment after their sufferings, than to labour and wear themselves out, when their bodies were weak, and their substance was gone. They had, therefore, a secret attachment to Veii, a city which remained entire, and was provided with every thing. This gave a handle to their demagogues to harangue them, as usual, in a way agreeable to their inclinations, and made them listen to seditious speeches against Camillus, "As if, to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory, he would deprive them of a city fit to receive them, force them to pitch their tents among rubbish, and rebuild a ruin that was like one great funeral pile, in order that he might not only be called the general and dictator of Rome, but the founder too, instead of Romulus, whose right he invaded."—On this account, the senate, afraid of an insurrection, would not let Camillus lay down the dictatorship within the year, as he desired, though no other person had ever borne that high office more

than six months. In the mean time they went about to console the people, to gain them by caresses and kind persuasions. One while they showed them the monuments and tombs of their ancestors; then they put them in mind of their temples and holy places, which Romulus and Numa, and the other kings, had consecrated and left in charge with them. Above all, amidst the sacred and awful symbols, they took care to make them recollect the fresh human head, which was found when the foundations of the capitol were dug, and which presignified that the same place was destined to be the head of Italy. They urged the disgrace it would be to extinguish again the sacred fire, which the vestals had lighted since the war, and to quit the city; whether they were to see it inhabited by strangers, or a desolate wild for flocks to feed in. In this moving manner the *patricians* remonstrated to the people, both in public and private; and were in their turn much affected by the distress of the multitude, who lamented their present indigence, and begged of them, now they were collected like the remains of a shipwreck, not to oblige them to patch up the ruins of a desolated city, when there was one entire, and ready to receive them.

Camillus, therefore, thought proper to take the judgment of the senate in a body; and when he had exerted his eloquence in favour of his native country, and others had done the same, he put it to the vote, beginning with Lucius Lucretius, whose right it was to vote first, and who was to be followed by the rest in their order. Silence was made, and as Lucretius was about to declare himself, it happened that a centurion, who then commanded the day-guard, as he passed the house, called with a loud voice to the ensign, *to stop and set up his standard there, for that was the best place to stay in.* These words being so seasonably uttered, at a time when they were doubtful and anxious about the event, Lucretius gave thanks to the gods, and embraced the omen, while the rest gladly assented. A wonderful change, at the same time, took place in the minds of the people, who exhorted and encouraged each other to the work, and they began to build immediately, not in any order, or upon a regular plan, but as inclination or convenience directed. By reason of this hurry the streets were narrow and intricate, and the houses badly laid out; for they tell us both the walls of the city and the streets were built within the compass of a year.

The persons appointed by Camillus to search for and mark out the holy places, found all in confusion. As they were looking round the *Palatium*, they came to the court of *Mars*, where the buildings, like the rest, were burnt and demolished by the barbarians; but, in removing the rubbish, and cleaning the place, they discovered, under

a great heap of ashes, the augural staff of Romulus. This staff is crooked at one end, and called *lituus*. It is used in marking out the several quarters of the heavens, in any process of divination by the flight of birds, which Romulus was much skilled in, and made great use of. When he was taken out of the world, the priests carefully preserved the staff from defilement, like other holy relics; and this having escaped the fire, when the rest were consumed, they indulged a pleasing hope, and considered it as a presage, that Rome would last for ever.

Before they had finished the laborious task of building, a new war broke out. The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Latins, all at once invaded their territories, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city in alliance with Rome. The military tribunes too, who commanded the army, being surrounded by the Latins near Mount Marcius, and their camp in great danger, sent to Rome to desire succours; on which occasion Camillus was appointed dictator the third time.

Of this war there are two different accounts: I begin with the fabulous one. It is said, the Latins, either seeking a pretence for war, or really inclined to renew their ancient affinity with the Romans, sent to demand of them a number of free-born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in no small perplexity as to the course they should take: for, on the one hand, they were afraid of war, as they were not yet re-established, nor had recovered their losses; and, on the other, they suspected that the Latins only wanted their daughters for hostages, though they coloured their design with the specious name of marriage. While they were thus embarrassed, a female slave named Tutula*, or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates to send with her some of the handsomest and most genteel of the maid-servants, dressed like virgins of good families, and leave the rest to her. The magistrates approving the expedient, chose a number of female slaves proper for her purpose, and sent them, richly attired, to the Latin camp, which was not far from the city. At night, while the other slaves conveyed away the enemies' swords, Tutula, or Philotis, got up into a wild fig-tree of considerable height, and having spread a thick garment behind, to conceal her design from the Latins, held up a torch towards Rome, which was the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, who alone were in the secret. For this reason the soldiers sallied out in a tumultuous manner, calling upon each other, and hastened by their officers, who found it difficult to bring them into any order. They made themselves masters, however, of the intrenchments, and as the enemy, expecting no such attempt, were asleep, they took the camp, and put

* In the life of Romulus she is called *Tutela*. Macrobius calls her *Tutela*.

the greatest part of them to the sword. This happened on the *Nones*, the seventh of July, then called *Quintilis:* and on that day they celebrated a feast in memory of this action. In the first place, they sally in a crowding and disorderly manner out of the city, pronouncing aloud the most familiar and common names, as Caius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like; by which they imitate the soldiers then calling upon each other in their hurry. Next, the maid-servants walk about, elegantly dressed, and jesting on all they meet. They have also a kind of fight among themselves, to express the assistance they gave in the engagement with the Latins. They then sit down to an entertainment, shaded with branches of the fig-tree. And that day is called *Nonæ Capratinae*, as some suppose, on account of the wild fig-tree, from which the maid-servant held out the torch; for the Romans call that tree *caprificus*. Others refer the greatest part of what is said and done on that occasion to that part of the story of Romulus when he disappeared, and the darkness and tempest, or, as some imagine, an eclipse happened. It was on the same day, at least, and the day might be called *Nonæ Capratinae;* for the Romans call a goat *capra;* and Romulus vanished out of sight while he was holding an assembly of the people at the *Goat's Marsh*, as we have related in his life.

The other account that is given of this war, and approved by most historians, is as follows: Camillus, being appointed dictator the third time, and knowing that the army under the military tribunes was surrounded by the Latins and Volscians, was constrained to make levies among such as age had exempted from service.—With these, he fetched a large compass about Mount Marcius, and, unperceived by the enemy, posted his army behind them; and by lighting many fires, signified his arrival. The Romans that were besieged in their camp, being encouraged by this, resolved to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians kept close within their works, drawing a line of circumvallation with pallisades, because they had the enemy on both sides, and resolving to wait for reinforcements from home, as well as for the Tuscan succours.

Camillus perceiving this, and fearing that the enemy might surround him, as he had surrounded them, hastened to make use of the present opportunity. As the works of the confederates consisted of wood, and the wind used to blow hard from the mountains at sun-rising, he provided a great quantity of combustible matter, and drew out his forces at day-break. Part of them he ordered with loud shouts and missive weapons to begin the attack on the opposite side; while he himself, at the head of those that were charged with the fire, watched the proper minute, on that side of the works where the

wind used to blow directly. When the sun was risen, the wind blew violently; and the attack being begun on the other side, he gave the signal to his own party, who poured a vast quantity of fiery darts and other burning matter into the enemy's fortifications. As the flame soon caught hold, and was fed by the pallisades and other timber, it spread itself into all quarters; and the Latins not being provided with any means of extinguishing it, the camp was almost full of fire, and they were reduced to a small spot of ground. At last they were forced to bear down upon that body who were posted before the camp, and ready to receive them sword in hand. Consequently very few of them escaped; and those that remained in the camp were destroyed by the flames, till the Romans extinguished them for the sake of the plunder.

After this exploit, he left his son Lucius in the camp to guard the prisoners and the booty, while he himself penetrated into the enemy's country. There he took the city of the Æqui, and reduced the Volsci, and then led his army to Sutrium, whose fate he was not yet apprised of, and which he hoped to relieve by fighting the Tuscans who had sat down before it. But the Sutrians had already surrendered their town, with the loss of every thing but the clothes they had on; and in this condition he met them by the way, with their wives and children, bewailing their misfortunes. Camillus was extremely moved at so sad a spectacle; and perceiving that the Romans wept with pity at the affecting entreaties of the Sutrians, he determined not to defer his revenge, but to march to Sutrium that very day; concluding that men who had just taken an opulent city, where they had not left one enemy, and who expected none from any other quarter, would be found in disorder, and off their guard. Nor was he mistaken in his judgment. He not only passed through the country undiscovered, but approached the gates, and got possession of the walls before they were aware. Indeed, there was none to guard them; for all were engaged in festivity and dissipation. Nay, even when they perceived that the enemy were masters of the town, they were so overcome by their indulgences, that few endeavoured to escape; they were either slain in their houses, or surrendered themselves to the conquerors. Thus the city of Sutrium being twice taken in one day, the new possessors were expelled, and the old ones restored, by Camillus.

By the triumph decreed him on this occasion, he gained no less credit and honour than by the two former. For those of the citizens that envied him, and were desirous to attribute his successes rather to fortune than to his valour and conduct, were compelled, by these last actions, to allow his great abilities and application. Among those

that opposed him, and detracted from his merit, the most considerable was Marcus Manlius, who was the first that repulsed the Gauls, when they attempted the capitol by night, and on that account was surnamed *Capitolinus*. He was ambitious to be the greatest man in Rome, and as he could not by fair means outstrip Camillus in the race of honour, he took the common road to absolute power, by courting the populace, particularly those that were in debt. Some of the latter he defended, by pleading their causes against their creditors, and others he rescued, forcibly preventing their being dealt with according to law; so that he soon got a number of indigent persons about him, who became formidable to the patricians by their insolent and riotous behaviour in the *forum*.

In this exigency they appointed Cornelius Cossus dictator, who named Titus Quintius Capitolinus his general of horse; and by this supreme magistrate Manlius was committed to prison: on which occasion the people went into mourning; a thing never used but in time of great and public calamities. The senate, therefore, afraid of an insurrection, ordered him to be released. But when set at liberty, instead of altering his conduct, he grew more insolent and troublesome, and filled the whole city with faction and sedition. At that time Camillus was again created a military tribune, and Manlius taken and brought to his trial. But the sight of the capitol was a great disadvantage to those that carried on the impeachment. The place where Manlius by night maintained the fight against the Gauls was seen from the *forum;* and all that attended were moved with compassion at his stretching out his hands towards that place, and begging them with tears to remember his achievements. The judges of course were greatly embarrassed, and often adjourned the court, not choosing to acquit him after such clear proofs of his crime, nor yet able to carry the laws into execution in a place which continually reminded the people of his services. Camillus, sensible of this, removed the tribunal without the gate into the Peteline Grove, where there was no prospect of the capitol. There the prosecutor brought his charge, and the remembrance of his former bravery gave way to the sense which his judges had of his present crimes. Manlius, therefore, was condemned, carried to the capitol, and thrown headlong from the rock. Thus the same place was the monument both of his glory and his unfortunate end. The Romans, moreover, razed his house, and built there a temple to the goddess *Moneta*. They decreed, likewise, that for the future no patrician should ever dwell in the capitol.

Camillus, who was now nominated military tribune the sixth time, declined that honour: for, besides that he was of an advanced age,

he was apprehensive of the effects of envy and of some change of fortune, after so much glory and success. But the excuse he most insisted on in public was the state of his health, which at that time was infirm. The people, however, refusing to accept of that excuse, cried out, "They did not desire him to fight either on horseback or on foot; they only wanted his counsel and his orders." Thus they forced him to take that office upon him, and, together with Lucius Furius Medullinus, one of his colleagues, to march immediately against the enemy.

These were the people of Præneste and the Volsci, who with a considerable army were laying waste the country in alliance with Rome. Camillus, therefore, went and encamped over against them, intending to prolong the war, that, if there should be any necessity for a battle, he might be sufficiently recovered to do his part. But as his colleague Lucius, too ambitious of glory, was violently and indiscreetly bent upon fighting, and inspired the other officers with the same ardour, he was afraid it might be thought that through envy he withheld from the young officers the opportunity to distinguish themselves. For this reason he agreed, though with great reluctance, that Lucius should draw out the forces, whilst he, on account of his sickness, remained with a handful of men in the camp. But when he perceived that Lucius, who engaged in a rash and precipitate manner, was defeated, and the Romans put to flight, he could not contain himself, but leaped from his bed, and went with his retinue to the gates of the camp. There he forced his way through the fugitives up to the pursuers, and made so good a stand, that those who had fled to the camp soon returned to the charge, and others that were retreating rallied and placed themselves about him, exhorting each other not to forsake their general. Thus the enemy was stopped in the pursuit. Next day he marched out at the head of his army, entirely routed the confederates in a pitched battle, and, entering their camp along with them, cut most of them to pieces.

After this, being informed that Satricum, a Roman colony, was taken by the Tuscans, and the inhabitants put to the sword, he sent home the main body of his forces, which consisted of the heavy-armed, and with a select band of light and spirited young men fell upon the Tuscans that were in possession of the city, some of whom he put to the sword, and the rest were driven out.

Returning to Rome with great spoils, he gave a signal evidence of the good sense of the Roman people, who entertained no fears on account of the ill health or age of a general that was not deficient in courage or experience, but made choice of him, infirm and reluctant as he was, rather than of those young men who wanted and solicited

the command. Hence it was, that upon the news of the revolt of the Tusculans, Camillus was ordered to march against them, and to take with him only one of his five colleagues. Though they all desired and made interest for the commission, yet, passing the rest by, he pitched upon Lucius Furius, contrary to the general expectation: for this was the man who but just before, against the opinion of Camillus, was so eager to engage, and lost the battle. Yet willing, it seems, to draw a veil over his misfortune, and to wipe off his disgrace, he was generous enough to give him the preference.

When the Tusculans perceived that Camillus was coming against them, they attempted to correct their error by artful management. They filled the fields with husbandmen and shepherds, as in time of profound peace; they left their gates open, and sent their children to school as before. The tradesmen were found in their shops employed in their respective callings, and the better sort of citizens walking in the public places in their usual dress. Meanwhile, the magistrates were busily passing to and fro to order quarters for the Romans, as if they expected no danger, and were conscious of no fault. Though these arts could not altar the opinion Camillus had of their revolt, yet their repentance disposed him to compassion. He ordered them, therefore, to go to the senate of Rome, and beg pardon; and, when they appeared there as supplicants, he used his interest to procure their forgiveness; and a grant of the privileges of Roman citizens besides. These were the principal actions of his sixth tribuneship.

After this, Licinius Stolo raised a great sedition in the state, putting himself at the head of the people, who insisted, that of the two consuls one should be a plebeian. Tribunes of the people were appointed, but the multitude would suffer no election of consuls to be held. As this want of chief magistrates was likely to bring on still greater troubles, the senate created Camillus dictator the fourth time, against the consent of the people, and not even agreeable to his own inclination; for he was unwilling to set himself against those persons, who, having been often led on by him to conquest, could with great truth affirm, that he had more concern with them in the military way, than with the patricians in the civil; and at the same time was sensible that the envy of those very patricians induced them now to promote him to that high station, that he might oppress the people, if he succeeded, or be ruined by them, if he failed in his attempt. He attempted, however, to obviate the present danger, and as he knew the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he published a general muster, and summoned the people from the *forum* into the field, threatening to set heavy

fines upon those that should not obey. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people opposed him with menaces, solemnly protesting that they would fine him fifty thousand *drachmas*, if he did not permit the people to put their bill to the vote. Whether it was that he was afraid of a second condemnation and banishment, which would but ill suit him now he was grown old and covered with glory, or whether he thought he could not get the better of the people, whose violence was equal to their power, for the present he retired to his own house, and soon after, under pretence of sickness, resigned the dictatorship. The senate appointed another dictator, who, having named for his general of horse that very Stolo who was leader of the sedition, suffered a law to be made that was obnoxious to the patricians. It provided that no one should possess more than five hundred acres of land. Stolo having carried his point with the people, flourished greatly for a time; but not long after, being convicted of possessing more than the limited number of acres, he suffered the penalties of his own law.

The most difficult part of the dispute, and that which they began with, namely, concerning the election of consuls, remained still unsettled, and continued to give the senate great uneasiness, when certain information was brought that the Gauls were marching again from the coasts of the Adriatic with an immense army towards Rome. With this news came an account of the usual effects of war, the country laid waste, and such of the inhabitants as could not take refuge in Rome dispersed about the mountains. The terror of this put a stop to the sedition; and the most popular of the senators, uniting with the people, with one voice created Camillus dictator the fifth time. He was now very old, wanting little of four-score; yet, seeing the necessity and danger of the times, he was willing to risk all inconveniences, and, without alleging any excuse, immediately took upon him the command, and made the levies. As he knew the chief force of the barbarians lay in their swords, which they managed without art or skill, furiously rushing in, and aiming chiefly at the head and shoulders, he furnished most of his men with helmets of well-polished iron, that their swords might either break or glance aside; and round the borders of their shields he drew a plate of brass, because the wood of itself could not resist the strokes. Besides this, he taught them to avail themselves of long pikes, by pushing with which they might prevent the effect of the enemy's swords.

When the Gauls were arrived at the river Anio with their army, incumbered with the vast booty they had made, Camillus drew out his forces, and posted them upon a hill of easy ascent, in which were many hollows, sufficient to conceal the greatest part of his men, while those that were in sight should seem through fear to have ta-

ken advantage of the higher grounds. And the more to fix this opinion in the Gauls, he opposed not the depredations committed in his sight, but remained quietly in the camp he had fortified, while he had beheld part of them dispersed in order to plunder, and part indulging themselves, day and night, in drinking and revelling. At last he sent out the light-armed infantry before day to prevent the enemy's drawing up in a regular manner, and to harass them by sudden skirmishing, as they issued out of their trenches; and, as soon as it was light, he led down the heavy-armed, and put them in battle-array upon the plain, neither few in number nor disheartened, as the Gauls expected, but numerous and full of spirits.

This was the first thing that shook their resolution, for they considered it as a disgrace to have the Romans the aggressors. Then the light-armed falling upon them before they could get into order, and rank themselves by companies, pressed them so warmly, that they were obliged to come in great confusion to the engagement. Last of all, Camillus leading on the heavy-armed, the Gauls, with brandished swords, hastened to fight hand to hand; but the Romans meeting the strokes with their pikes, and receiving them on that part that was guarded with iron, so turned their swords, which were thin and soft tempered, that they were soon bent almost double; and their shields were pierced and weighed down with the pikes that stuck in them. They therefore quitted their own arms, and endeavoured to seize those of the enemy, and to wrest their pikes from them. The Romans, seeing them naked, now began to make use of their swords, and made great carnage among the foremost ranks. Meantime the rest took to flight, and were scattered along the plain; for Camillus had beforehand secured the heights; and as, in confidence of victory, they had left their camp unfortified, they knew it would be taken with ease.

This battle is said to have been fought thirteen years after the taking of Rome; and, in consequence of this success, the Romans laid aside, for the future, the dismal apprehensions they had entertained of the barbarians. They had imagined, it seems, that the former victory they had gained over the Gauls was owing to the sickness that prevailed in their army, and to other unforeseen accidents, rather than to their own valour; and so great had their terror been formerly, that they had made a law, *that the priests should be exempted from military service, except in case of an invasion from the Gauls.*

This was the last of Camillus's martial exploits: for the taking of Velitræ was a direct consequence of this victory, and it surrendered without the least resistance. But the greatest conflict he ever ex-

perienced in the state still remained: for the people were harder to deal with since they returned victorious, and they insisted that one of the consuls should be chosen out of their body, contrary to the present constitution. The senate opposed them, and would not suffer Camillus to resign the dictatorship, thinking they could better defend the rights of the nobility under the sanction of his supreme authority. But one day, as Camillus was sitting in the *forum*, and employed in the distribution of justice, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow him, and laid his hands upon him, as if he would seize and carry him away. Upon this, such a noise and tumult was raised in the assembly as never had been known; those that were about Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the populace calling out to drag the dictator from his seat. In this case Camillus was much embarrassed; he did not, however, resign the dictatorship, but led off the patricians to the senate-house. Before he entered it, he turned towards the capitol, and prayed to the gods to put a happy end to the present disturbances, solemnly vowing to build a temple to *Concord*, when the tumult should be over.

In the senate there was a diversity of opinions and great debates. Mild and popular counsels, however, prevailed, which allowed one of the consuls to be a plebeian*. When the dictator announced this decree to the people, they received it with great satisfaction, as it was natural they should; they were immediately reconciled to the senate, and conducted Camillus home with great applause. Next day the people assembled, and voted that the temple which Camillus had vowed to *Concord*, should, on account of this great event, be built on a spot that fronted the *forum* and place of assembly. To those feasts which are called *Latin* they added one day more, so that the whole was to consist of four days; and for the present they ordained that the whole people of Rome should sacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an assembly for the election of consuls, when Marcus Æmilius was chosen out of the nobility, and Lucius Sextius from the commonalty, the first plebeian that ever attained that honour.

* The people having gained this point, the consulate was revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever; but at the same time the patricians procured the great privilege, that a new officer, called *prætor*, should be appointed, who was to be always one of their body. The consuls had been generals of the Roman armies, and at the same time judges of civil affairs; but as they were often in the field, it was thought proper to separate the latter branch from their office, and appropriate it to a judge, with the title of *Prætor*, who was to be next in dignity to the consuls. About the year of Rome 501, another *prætor* was appointed to decide the differences among foreigners. Upon the taking of Sicily and Sardinia two more *prætors* were created, and as many more upon the conquest of Spain.

This was the last of Camillus's transactions. The year following a pestilence visited Rome, which carried off a prodigious number of the people, most of the magistrates, and Camillus himself. His death could not be deemed premature, on account of his great age and the offices he had borne, yet he was more lamented than all the rest of the citizens who died of that distemper.

PERICLES.

WHEN Cæsar happened to see some strangers at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly caressing them, he asked, "Whether the women in their country never bore any children;" thus reproving with a proper severity those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness which is due only to mankind. In the same manner we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge, which nature has implanted in the human soul, upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful. Our senses, indeed, by an effect almost mechanical, are passive to the impression of outward objects, whether agreeable or offensive; but the mind, possessed of a self-directing power, may turn its attention to whatever it thinks proper. It should, therefore, be employed in the most useful pursuits, not barely in contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish its faculties. For, as that colour is best suited to the eye, which by its beauty and agreeableness, at the same time both refreshes and strengthens the sight, so the application of the mind should be directed to those subjects which, through the channel of pleasure, may lead us to our proper happiness. Such are the works of virtue. The very description of these inspires us with emulation, and a strong desire to imitate them; whereas, in other things, admiration does not always lead us to imitate what we admire, but, on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workman. Thus we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.

Antisthenes*, therefore, when he was told that Ismenias played excellently upon the flute, answered properly enough, "Then he is good for nothing else, otherwise he would not have played so well." Such also was Philip's saying to his son, when at a certain entertainment he sang in a very agreeable and skilful manner, "Are you not

* Antisthenes was a disciple of Socrates, and founder of the sect of the Cynics.

ashamed to sing so well?" It is enough for a prince to bestow a vacant hour upon hearing others sing, and he does the muses sufficient honour, if he attends the performances of those who excel in their arts.

If a man applies himself to servile or mechanic employments, his industry in those things is a proof of his inattention to nobler studies. No young man of noble birth or liberal sentiments, from seeing the Jupiter at Pisa, would desire to be Phidias, or, from the sight of the Juno at Argos, to be Polycletus; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilocus, though delighted with their poems: for though a work may be agreeable, yet esteem of the author is not the necessary consequence. We may therefore conclude, that things of this kind, which excite not a spirit of emulation, nor produce any strong impulse or desire to imitate them, are of little use to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property, that, at the same time that we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practise; the former we are glad to receive from others, the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. The beauty of goodness has an attractive power; it kindles in us at once an attractive principle; it forms our manners, and influences our desires, not only when represented in a living example, but even in a historical description.

For this reason we chose to proceed in writing the lives of great men, and have composed this tenth book, which contains the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who carried on the war against Hannibal; men who resembled each other in many virtues, particularly in justice and moderation, and who effectually served their respective commonwealths, by patiently enduring the injurious and capricious treatment they received from their colleagues and their countrymen. Whether we are right in our judgment or not, will be easy to see in the work itself.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens, both by the father's and mother's side. His father Xanthippus, who defeated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, abolished the tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government, tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among the people, and the safety of the state. She dreamed that she was delivered of a lion, and a few days after brought forth Pericles. His person in other respects was well turned, but his head was disproportionably long: for this reason almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet, the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect.

But the Athenian poets called him Schinocephalus, or *onion-head*, for the word *schinos* is sometimes used instead of *scilla*, a *sea-onion*. Cratinus, in his play called *Chirones*, has this passage:

> *Faction* received old *Time* to her embraces;
> Hence came a tyrant-spawn, on earth called Pericles,
> In heaven, the *head-compeller*.

And again, in his *Nemesis*, he thus addresses him:

> Come, blessed Jove, the high and mighty *head*,
> The friend of hospitality!

And Teleclides says,

> Now, in a maze of thought, he ruminates
> On strange expedients, while his *head*, depressed
> With its own weight, sinks on his knees: and now
> From the vast caverns of his brain burst forth
> Storms and fierce thunders.

And Eupolis, in his *Demi*, asking news of all the whom he represented as acending from the shades below, when Pericles comes up last, cries out,

> *Head* of the tribes that haunt those spacious realms,
> Does he ascend?

Most writers agree, that the master who taught him music was called Damon, the first syllable of whose name, they tell us, is to be pronounced short; but Aristotle informs us, he learned that art of Pythoclides. As for Damon, he seems to have been a politician, who, under the pretence of teaching music, concealed his great abilities from the vulgar: and he attended Pericles as his tutor and assistant in politics, in the same manner as a master of the gymnastic art attends a young man to fit him for the ring. However, Damon's giving lessons upon the harp was discovered to be a mere pretext, and, as a busy politician and friend to tyranny, he was banished by the ostracism. Nor was he spared by the comic poets. One of them, named Plato, introduces a person addressing him thus:

> Inform me, Damon, first, does fame say true?
> And wast thou really *Pericles's Chiron?*

Pericles also attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea*, who, in natural philosophy, was a follower of Parmenides, and who, by much prac-

* This Zeno was of Elea, a town of Italy, and a Phocian colony, and must be carefully distinguished from Zeno the founder of the sect of the Stoics. The Zeno here spoken of was respectable for attempting to rid his country of a tyrant. The tyrant took him, and caused him to be pounded to death in a mortar. But his death accomplished what he could not effect in his life-time; for his fellow-citizens were so much incensed at the dreadful manner of it, that they fell upon the tyrant and stoned him. As to his arguments, and those of his master Parmenides, pretended to be so invincible, one of them was to prove there can be no such thing as motion, since a thing can neither

tice in the art of disputing, had learned to confound and silence all his opponents, as Timon the Phlasian declares in these verses:

> Have not you heard of Zeno's mighty powers,
> Who could change sides, yet changing, triumph'd still
> In the tongue's wars?

But the philosopher with whom he was most intimately acquainted; who gave him that force and sublimity of sentiment superior to all the demagogues; who, in short, formed him to that admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian. This was he whom the people of those times called *Nous*, or *intelligence*, either in admiration of his great understanding and knowledge of the works of nature, or because he was the first who clearly proved that the universe owed its formation neither to chance nor necessity, but to a pure and unmixed *mind*, who separated the homogeneous parts from the other, with which they were confounded.

Charmed with the company of this philosopher, and instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, Pericles acquired not only an elevation of sentiment, and a loftiness and purity of style, far removed from the low expression of the vulgar, but likewise a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an easy deportment, and a decency of dress, which no vehemence of speaking ever put into disorder. These things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that saw him.

Such was his conduct, when a vile and abandoned fellow loaded him a whole day with reproaches and abuse, he bore it with patience and silence, and continued in public for the dispatch of some urgent affairs. In the evening he walked softly home, this impudent wretch following, and insulting him all the way with the most scurrilous language; and, as it was dark when he came to his own door, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch, and light the man home. The poet Ion, however, says he was proud and supercilious in conversation, and that there was a great deal of vanity and contempt of others mixed with his dignity of manner: on the other hand, he highly extols the civility, complaisance, and politeness of Cimon. But, to take no further notice of Ion, who perhaps would not have any great excellence appear without a mixture of something satirical, as it was in the ancient tragedy*, Zeno desired those that called the

move in the place where it is, nor in the place where it is not. But this sophism is easily refuted; for motion is the passing of a thing or person *into* a new part of space.

* Tragedy at first was only a chorus in honour of Bacchus. Persons dressed like satyrs were the performers, and they often broke out into the most licentious raillery. Afterwards, when tragedy took a graver turn, something of the former drollery was still

gravity of Pericles pride and arrogance, to be proud the same way; telling them, the very acting of an excellent part might insensibly produce a love and real imitation of it.

These were not the only advantages which Pericles gained by conversing with Anaxagoras. From him he learned to overcome those terrors which the various phenomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, and who entertain a tormenting fear of the gods by reason of that ignorance. Nor is there any cure for it but the study of nature, which, instead of the frightful extravagences of superstition, implants in us a sober piety, supported by a rational hope.

We are told, there was brought to Pericles, from one of his farms, a ram's head, with only one horn; and Lampo the soothsayer observing, that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, declared that the two parties in the state, namely, those of Thucydides and Pericles, would unite, and invest the whole power in him with whom the prodigy was found; but Anaxagoras having dissected the head, showed that the brain did not fill the whole cavity, but had contracted itself into an oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the skull whence the horn took its rise. This procured Anaxagoras great honour with the spectators; and Lampo was no less honoured for his prediction, when, soon after, upon the fall of Thucydides, the administration was put entirely into the hands of Pericles.

But, in my opinion, the philosopher and the diviner may well enough be reconciled, and both be right; the one discovering the cause and the other the end. It was the business of the former to account for the appearance, and to consider how it came about; and of the latter to show why it was so formed, and what it portended. Those who say, that, when the cause is found out, the prodigy ceases, do not consider that if they reject such signs as are preternatural, they must also deny that artificial signs are of any use: the clattering of brass quoits*, the light of beacons, and the shadow of a sundial, have all of them their proper natural causes, and yet each has another signification. But, perhaps, this question might be more properly discussed in another place.

Pericles in his youth stood in great fear of the people: for, in his

retained, as in that which we call tragi-comedy. In time, serious characters and events became the subject of tragedy, without that mixture; but even then, after exhibiting three or four serious tragedies, the poets used to conclude their contention for the prize with a satirical one: of this sort is the Cyclops of Euripides, and the only one remaining.

* The clattering of brass quoits or plates was sometimes a military signal among the Grecians. Among the Romans it was a signal to call the wrestlers to the ring.

countenance, he was like Pisistratus the tyrant; and he perceived the old men were much struck with a farther resemblance in the sweetness of his voice, the volubility of his tongue, and the roundness of his periods. As he was, moreover, of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the most considerable men in the state, he dreaded the ban of ostracism, and therefore intermeddled not with state affairs, but behaved with great courage and intrepidity in the field. However, when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon much employed in expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the administration. He chose rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor than of the rich and the few, contrary to his natural disposition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

It seems he was apprehensive of falling under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and was sensible, besides, that Cimon was attached to the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence; and, therefore, in order to secure himself, and to find resources against the power of Cimon, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time he entirely changed his manner of living.—He appeared not in the streets, except when he went to the forum or the senate-house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations; insomuch, that in the whole time of his administration, which was a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends but once, which was at the marriage of his nephew Euryptolemus, and he staid there only until the ceremony of libation was ended. He considered that the freedom of entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and that dignity is but little consistent with familiarity. Real and solid virtue, indeed, the more it is seen, the more glorious it appears: and there is nothing in a good man's conduct, as a magistrate, so great in the eye of the public, as is the general course of his behaviour in private to his most intimate friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and appeared among them only at proper intervals: nor did he speak to all points that were debated before him, but reserved himself, like the Salaminian galley* (as Critolaus says), for greater occasions, dispatching business of less consequence by other orators with whom he had an intimacy. One of these, we are told, was Ephialtes, who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and in-

* The Salaminian galley was a consecrated vessel, which the Athenians never made use of but on extraordinary occasions. They sent it, for instance, for a general whom they wanted to call to account, or with sacrifices to Apollo, or some other deity.

temperate draught of liberty. On which account, the comic writers speak of the people of Athens as of a horse wild and unmanaged,

> ..... Which listens to the reins no more,
> But, in his madd'ning course, bears headlong down
> The very friends that feed him.

Pericles, desirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his sublime sentiments, and to speak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, availed himself greatly of what he had learned of Anaxagoras, adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy: for, adding (as the divine Plato expresses it) the loftiness of imagination, and all-commanding energy, with which philosophy supplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making use of whatever he found to his purpose, in the study of nature, to dignify the art of speaking, he far excelled all other orators. Hence he is said to have gained the surname of *Olympius;* though some will have it to have been from the edifices with which he adorned the city; and others, from his high authority both in peace and war. There appears, indeed, no absurdity in supposing that all these things might contribute to that glorious distinction. Yet the strokes of satire, both serious and ludicrous, in the comedies of those times, indicate that this title was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence: for they tell us, that in his harangues he thundered and lightened, and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the son of Milesius, is said to have given a pleasant account of the force of his eloquence. Thucydides was a great and respectable man, who, for a long time, opposed the measures of Pericles: and when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, asked him, "Which was the best wrestler, Pericles or he?" he answered, "When I throw him, he says he was never down, and he persuades the very spectators to believe so."

Yet such was the solicitude of Pericles, when he had to speak in public, that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods, "That not a word might unawares escape him unsuitable to the occasion." He left nothing in writing, but some public decrees; and only a few of his sayings are recorded. He used to say, (for instance) that, "the isle of Ægina should not be suffered to remain an eye-sore to the Piræus;" and that, "he saw a war approaching from Peloponnesus." And when Sophocles, who went in joint command with him upon an expedition at sea, happened to praise the beauty of a certain boy, he said, "A general, my friend, should not only have pure hands, but pure eyes." Stesimbrotus produces this passage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in memory of those Athenians who fell in the Samian war: "They are become immortal like the gods: for the gods themselves are not visible to us; but, from the honours they receive, and the happiness they enjoy,

we conclude they are immortal; and such should those brave men be who die for their country."

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy, and tells us, that though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engrossed the whole authority. Many other writers likewise inform us, that by him the people were first indulged with a division of lands, were treated at the public expense with theatrical diversions, and were paid for the most common services to the state. As this new indulgence from the government was an impolitic custom, which rendered the people expensive and luxurious, and destroyed that frugality and love of labour which supported them before, it is proper that we should trace the effect to its cause, by a retrospect into the circumstances of the republic.

At first, as we have observed, to raise himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And, as Cimon was his superior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and clothing the aged; and, besides this, levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit, Pericles had recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure; which scheme, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Jos*. Accordingly, by supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature, and by other pensions and gratuities, he so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the council of the Areopagus, of which he had no right to be a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen *Archon*, *Thesmothetes*, *King of the Sacred Rites*, or *Polemarch*. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot; and such as had discharged them well, and such only, were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity, raised a party against that council, and, by means of Ephialtes, took from them the cognizance of many causes that had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the *ostracism*, as an enemy to the people, and a friend to the Lacedæmonians; a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained very glorious victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other spoils, as we have related in his life. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

* Jos, or *Ios*, was one of the isles called Sporades in the Ægean Sea, and celebrated for the tomb of Homer. But some learned men are of opinion, that instead of *Iethen*, we should read *Oiethen*, and that Demonides was not of the island of Jos, but of Oia, which was a borough in Attica.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by *ostracism*, was limited by law to ten years. Meantime the Lacedæmonians, with a great army, entered the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians immediately marching out against them, Cimon returned, and placed himself in the ranks with those of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the aspersion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but, by a combination of the friends of Pericles, he was repulsed as an exile. This seems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had accused as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together: and the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders, and expected a still sharper conflict in the summer, grievously repented of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, sensible of the people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but himself proposed a decree for recalling Cimon; and, at his return, a peace was agreed upon through his mediation; for the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as aversion for Pericles and the other demagogues. But some authors write, that Pericles did not procure an order for Cimon's return till they had entered into a private compact, by means of Cimon's sister Elpinice, that Cimon should have the command abroad, and, with two hundred galleys, lay waste the king of Persia's dominions, and Pericles have the direction of affairs at home. A story goes, that Elpinice, before this, had softened the resentment of Pericles against Cimon, and procured her brother a milder sentence than that of death. Pericles was one of those appointed by the people to manage the impeachment; and, when Elpinice addressed him as a suppliant, he smiled and said, "You are old, Elpinice; much too old to solicit in so weighty an affair." However, he rose up but once to speak, barely to acquit himself of his trust, and did not bear so hard upon Cimon as the rest of his accusers*. Who then can give credit to Idomeneus, when he says, that Pericles caused the orator Ephialtes, his friend and assistant in the administration, to be assassinated, through jealousy and envy of his great character? I know not where he met with this calumny, which he vents with great bitterness against a man, not indeed in all respects irreproachable, but who certainly had such a greatness of mind, and high sense of honour, as was incompatible with an action so savage and inhuman. The truth of the matter, according to Aristotle, is, that Ephialtes being grown

* Yet Cimon was fined fifty talents, or 9687l. 10s. sterling, and narrowly escaped a capital sentence, having only a majority of three votes to prevent it.

formidable to the nobles, on account of his inflexible severity in prosecuting all that invaded the rights of the people, his enemies caused him to be taken off, in a private and treacherous manner, by Aristodicus of Tanagra.

About the same time died Cimon, in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing his making himself absolute. For this purpose they set up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talents for war, but was superior to him in forenfic and political abilities; and, by residing constantly in Athens, and opposing Pericles in the general assembly, he soon brought the government to an *equilibrium*. For he did not suffer persons of superior rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because, in that case, their dignity was obscured and lost, but collected them into a separate body, by which means their authority was enhanced, and sufficient weight thrown into their scale. There was indeed, from the beginning, a kind of doubtful separation, which, like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the aristocratical party, and that of the commonalty, were not perfectly one, though they were not actually divided: but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the contest between them, had so extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite broken in two, and one of the parts was called the *people*, and the other the *nobility*. For this reason, Pericles, more than ever, gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them, contriving to have always some show, or play, or procession in the city, and to amuse it with the politest pleasures.

As another means of employing their attention, he sent out six galleys every year, manned for eight months, with a considerable number of the citizens, who were both paid for their service, and improved themselves as mariners. He likewise sent a colony of a thousand men to the Chersonesus, five hundred to Naxos, two hundred and fifty to Andros, a thousand into the country of the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and others into Italy, who settled in Sybaris, and changed its name to Thurii.—These things he did to clear the city of a useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do; to make provision for the most necessitous; and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians, and the won-

der of strangers, and which alone serves for a proof that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the greatest disgrace upon the Athenians, by removing the public treasures of Greece from Delos, and taking them into his own custody: that he had not left himself even the specious apology of having caused the money to be brought to Athens for its greater security, and to keep it from being seized by the barbarians: that Greece must needs consider it as the highest insult, and an act of open tyranny, when she saw the money she had been obliged to contribute towards the war lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it with statues and temples that cost a thousand talents*, as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with jewels." Pericles answered this charge, by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is received: that as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as, when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse a universal plenty; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials, were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself." Indeed, such as were of a proper age and strength were wanted for the wars, and well rewarded for their services; and as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet had they it to support them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be considered out of the treasury (though they stirred not out of the city) with the mariners and soldiers, guards and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheelwrights, waggoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters, paviors,

* The Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, is said to have cost a thousand talents.

and iron-founders: and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it, like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus, by the exercise of these different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus, works were raised of an astonishing magnitude, and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design with the elegance of the execution; yet still the most wonderful circumstance was the expedition with which they were completed. Many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of one prosperous man.

It is said, that when Agatharcus, the painter, valued himself upon the celerity and ease with which he dispatched his pieces, Zeuxis replied, "If I boast, it shall be of the slowness with which I finish mine." For ease and speed in the execution seldom give a work any lasting importance, or exquisite beauty; while, on the other hand, the time which is expended in labour, is recovered and repaid in the duration of the performance. Hence we have the more reason to wonder that the structures raised by Pericles should be built in so short a time, and yet built for ages; for as each of them, as soon as finished, had the venerable air of antiquity, so, now they are old, they have the freshness of a modern building. A bloom is diffused over them, which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.

Phidias was appointed by Pericles superintendant of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The *Parthenon*, or temple of *Pallas*, whose dimensions had been a hundred feet square*, was rebuilt by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of initiation at Eleusis, but only lived to finish the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the rest of the entablature, and the upper row of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly:

> Stones upon stones the orator has pil'd
> With swelling words, but words will build no walls.

* It was called *Hecatompedon*, because it had been originally a hundred feet square; and having been burnt by the Persians, it was rebuilt by Pericles, and retained that name after it was greatly enlarged.

The *odeum*, or music-theatre, which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it many rows of seats and of pillars; the roof was of a conic figure, after the model (we are told) of the king of Persia's pavilion. Cratinus, therefore, rallies him again in his play called *Thrattæ*:

> As Jove, an onion on his head he wears;
> As Pericles, a whole orchestre bears:
> Afraid of broils and banishment no more,
> He tunes the shell he trembled at before!

Pericles at this time exerted all his interest to have a decree made, appointing a prize for the best performer in music during the *Panathenœa;* and he was himself appointed judge and distributor of the prizes. He gave the contending artists directions in what manner to proceed, whether their performance was vocal, or on the flute or lyre. From that time the prizes in music were always contended for in the *odeum*.

The vestibule of the citadel was finished in five years by Mnesicles the architect. A wonderful event, that happened while the work was in hand, showed that the goddess was not averse to the work, but rather took it into her protection, and encouraged them to complete it. One of the best and most active of the workmen missing his step, fell from the top to the bottom, and was bruised in such a manner that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was greatly concerned at this accident; but, in the midst of his affliction, the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of a remedy, which he applied, and thereby soon recovered the patient. In memory of this cure, he placed in the citadel, near the altar, (which is said to have been there before), a brazen statue of the *Minerva of health*. The golden statue of the same goddess* was the workmanship of Phidias, and his name is inscribed upon the pedestal (as we have already observed). Through the friendship of Pericles, he had the direction of every thing, and all the artists received his orders. For this the one was envied, and the other slandered: and it was intimated that Phidias received into his house ladies for Pericles, who came thither under pretence of seeing his works. The comic poets getting hold of this story, represented him as a perfect libertine. They accused him of an intrigue with the wife

* This statue was of gold and ivory. Pausanias has given us a description of it. The goddess was represented standing, clothed in a tunic that reached down to the foot. On her *Ægis*, or breastplate, was Medusa's head in ivory, and *Victory*. She held a spear in her hand, and at her feet lay a buckler, and a dragon, supposed to be Erichthonius. The sphynx was represented on the middle of her helmet, with a griffin on each side. This statue was thirty-nine feet high; the figure of *Victory* on the breastplate was about four cubits, and forty talents of gold were employed upon it.

of Menippus, his friend and lieutenant in the army; and because Pyrilampes, another intimate acquaintance of his, had a collection of curious birds, and particulary of peacocks, it was supposed that he kept them only as presents for those women who granted favours to Pericles. But what wonder is it if men of a satirical turn daily sacrifice the characters of the great to that malevolent demon, the envy of the multitude, when Stesimbrotus of Thasos, has dared to lodge against Pericles that horrid and groundless accusation of corrupting his son's wife? So difficult is it to come at truth in the walk of history, since, if the writers live after the events they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of facts, and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or by interest and friendship, to vitiate and pervert the truth.

The orators of Thucydides's party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting that he wasted the public treasure, and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles, in his defence, asked the people, in full assembly, "Whether they thought he had expended too much?" Upon their answering in the affirmative, "Then be it," said he, "charged to my account, not yours; only let the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not that of the people of Athens." Whether it was that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they cried out, "That he might spend as much as he pleased of the public treasure, without sparing it in the least."

At last the contest came on between him and Thucydides, which of them should be banished by the *ostracism:* Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party. The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place among all ranks of people, Pericles became sole master of Athens and its dependencies. The revenues, the army and navy, the islands and the sea, a most extensive territory, peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of subject nations, the friendship of kings, and alliances of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man; he was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted; the government in fact was not popular; its loose and luxuriant harmony was confined to stricter measures, and it assumed an aristocratical, or rather monarchical form. He kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour; for the most part gently leading them by argument to a sense of what was right, and sometimes forcing them to comply with what was for

their own advantage; in this respect imitating a good physician, who, in the various symptoms of a long disease, sometimes administers medicines tolerably agreeable, and at other times sharp and strong ones, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He was the man that had the heart of controlling those many disorderly passions which necessarily spring up amongst a people possessed of so extensive a dominion. The two engines he worked with were hope and fear: with these, repressing their violence when they were too impetuous, and supporting their spirits when inclined to languor, he made it appear that *rhetoric is* (as Plato defined it) *the art of ruling the minds of men*, and that its principal province consists in moving the passions and affections of the soul, which, like so many strings in a musical instrument, require the touch of a masterly and delicate hand. Nor were the powers of eloquence alone sufficient, but (as Thucydides observes) the orator was a man of probity and unblemished reputation. Money could not bribe him; he was so much above the desire of it, that though he added greatly to the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their posterity the sovereignty they had obtained, yet he added not one *drachma* to his paternal estate.

Thucydides, indeed, gives this candid account of the power and authority of Pericles; but the comic writers abuse him in a most malignant manner, giving his friends the name of the *new Pisistratidæ*, and calling upon him to swear that he would never attempt to make himself absolute, since his authority was already much too great and overbearing in a free state. Teleclides says, the Athenians had given up to him—

> The tribute of the states, the states themselves,
> To bind, to loose, to build, and to destroy;
> In peace, in war, to govern; nay, to rule
> Their very fate, like some superior being.

And this not only for a time, or during the prime and flower of a short administration, but for forty years together he held the preeminence amidst such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides, and continued it no less than fifteeen years after the fall and banishment of the latter. The power of the magistrates, which to them was but annual, all centered in him, yet still he kept himself untainted by avarice. Not that he was inattentive to his finances, but, on the contrary, neither negligent of his paternal estate, nor yet willing to have much trouble with it; as he had not much time to spare, he brought the management of it into such a method as was very easy, at the same time that it was exact;

for he used to turn a whole year's produce into money altogether, and with this he bought from day to day all manner of necessaries at the market. This way of living was not agreeable to his sons when grown up; and the allowance he made the women did not appear to them a generous one: they complained of a pittance daily measured out with scrupulous economy, which admitted of none of those superfluities so common in great houses and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expenses being so nicely adjusted to the income.

The person who managed these concerns with so much exactness was a servant of his, named Evangelus, either remarkably fitted for the purpose by nature, or formed to it by Pericles. Anaxagoras, indeed, considered these lower attentions as inconsistent with his wisdom; following the dictates of enthusiasm, and wrapt up in sublime inquiries, he quitted his house, and left his lands untilled and desolate. But, in my opinion, there is an essential difference between a speculative and a practical philosopher. The former advances his ideas into the regions of science without the assistance of any thing corporeal or external; the latter endeavours to apply his great qualities to the use of mankind, and riches afford him not only necessary but excellent assistance. Thus it was with Pericles, who, by his wealth, was enabled to relieve numbers of the poor citizens. Nay, for want of such prudential regards, this very Anaxagoras, we are told, lay neglected and unprovided for, insomuch that the poor old man had covered up his head, and was going to starve himself*. But on account of it being brought to Pericles, he was extremely moved at it, ran immediately to him, expostulated, entreated, bewailing not so much the fate of his friend as his own, if his administration should lose so valuable a counsellor. Anaxagoras, uncovering his face, replied, "Ah, Pericles! those that have need of a lamp take care to supply it with oil."

By this time the Lacedæmonians began to express some jealousy of the Athenian greatness, and Pericles, willing to advance it still higher, and make the people more sensible of their importance, and more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order, that all the Greeks, wheresoever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or great, should send deputies to Athens to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burnt, and about providing those sacrifices which had been vowed during the Persian war, for the preservation of Greece;

* It was customary among the ancients for a person who was determined to put an end to his life to cover up his head; whether he devoted himself to death for the service of his country, or, being weary of his being, bade the world adieu.

and likewise to enter into such measures as might secure navigation, and maintain the peace.

Accordingly twenty persons, each upwards of fifty years of age, were sent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five went to the Ionians and Dorians in Asia, and the islanders as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the cities about the Hellespont and in Thrace, as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Phocis, and Peloponnesus, and from thence, by Locri along the adjoining continent, to Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest were dispatched through Eubœa to the Greeks that dwelt upon Mount Oetra and near the Maliac Bay, to the Phthiotæ, the Achæans*, and Thessalians, inviting them to join in the council and new confederacy for the preservation of the peace of Greece. It took not effect, however, nor did the cities send their deputies; the reason of which is said to be the opposition of the Lacedæmonians†, for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I was willing to give account of it as a specimen of the greatness of the orator's spirit, and of his disposition to form magnificent designs.

His chief merit in war was the safety of his measures. He never willingly engaged in any uncertain or very dangerous expedition, nor had any ambition to imitate those generals who are admired as great men, because their rash enterprises have been attended with success; he always told the Athenians, "That, as far as their fate depended upon him, they should be immortal." Perceiving that Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, in confidence of his former success and military reputation, was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time, and that, over and above the regular troops, he had persuaded the bravest and most spirited of the Athenian youth, to the number of a thousand, to go volunteers in that expedition, he addressed him in public, and tried to divert him from it, making use, among the rest, of those well-known words: "If you regard not the opinion of Pericles, yet wait at least for the advice of time, who is the best of all counsellors." This saying, for the present, gained no great applause: but when, a few days after, news was brought, that Tolmides was defeated and killed at Coronea‡, together with many

* By *Achæans* we are sometimes to understand the Greeks in general, especially in the writings of the poets, and sometimes the inhabitants of a particular district in Peloponnesus; but neither of these can be the meaning in this place. We must here understand a people of Thessaly, called *Achæans*. Vide *Steph. Byz. in voce Phorbas.*

† It is no wonder that the Lacedæmonians opposed this undertaking, since the giving way to it would have been acknowledging the Athenians as masters of all Greece. Indeed, the Athenians should not have attempted it without an order or decree of the Amphictyons.

‡ This defeat happened in the second year of the eighty-third Olympiad, four hundred

of the bravest citizens, it procured Pericles great respect and love from the people, who considered it as a proof not only of his sagacity, but of his affection for his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonesus procured him most honour, because it proved very salutary to the Greeks who dwelt there: for he not only strengthened their cities with the addition of a thousand able-bodied Athenians, but raised fortifications across the Isthmus from sea to sea; thus garding against the incursions of of the Thracians, who were spread about the Chersonesus, and putting an end to those long and grievous wars under which that district had smarted by reason of the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infested by persons who lived upon the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. But the expedition most celebrated among strangers was that by sea around Peloponnesus. He set sail from Pegæ, in the territories of Megara, with an hundred ships of war, and not only ravaged the maratime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces, and penetrated a good way up the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their walled towns, all but the Sicyonians, who made head against him at Nimea, and were defeated in a pitched battle; in memory of which victory he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate state, he took a number of men into his galleys, and sailed to the opposite side of the continent; then passing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Oeneadæ within their walls; and, having laid waste the country, returned home. In the whole course of this affair, he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen an active and prudent commander; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

Having sailed to Pontus with a large and well equipped fleet, he procured the Grecian cities there all the advantages they desired, and treated them with great regard. To the barbarous nations that surrounded them, and to their kings and princes, he made the power of Athens very respectable, by showing with what security her fleets could sail, and that she was in effect mistress of the seas. He left the people of Sinope thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus, and a body of men to act against Timesileos their tyrant. And, when the tyrant and his party were driven out, he caused a decree to be made, that a colony of six hundred Athenian volunteers should be placed in Sinope, and put in possession of those houses and lands which had belonged to them.

and forty-five years before the Christian era, and more than twenty years before the death of Pericles.

He did not, however, give way to the wild desires of the citizens, nor would he indulge them, when, elated by their strength and good fortune, they talked of recovering Egypt*, and of attempting the coast of Persia. Many were likewise at this time possessed with the unfortunate passion for Sicily, which the orators of Alcibiades's party afterwards inflamed still more. Nay, some even dreamed of Hetruria† and Carthage, and not without some ground of hope, as they imagined, because of the great extent of their dominions, and the successful course of their affairs.

But Pericles restrained this impetuosity of the citizens, and curbed their extravagant desire of conquest; employing the greatest part of their forces in strengthening and securing their present acquisitions, and considering it a matter of consequence to keep the Lacedæmonians within bounds, whom he therefore opposed, as on other occasions, so particularly in the sacred war. For when the Lacedæmonians, by dint of arms, had restored the temple to the citizens of Delphi, which had been seized by the Phocians, Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither, and put it into the hands of the Phocians again. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved on the forehead of the brazen wolf the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of consulting the oracle first‡, Pericles caused the same privilege for the Athenians to be inscribed on the wolf's right side.

The event shewed that he was right in confining the Athenian forces to act within the bounds of Greece; for, in the first place, the Eubœans revolted, and he led an army against them. Soon after, news was brought that Megara had commenced hostilities, and that the Lacedæmonian forces, under the command of king Plistonax, were upon the borders of Attica. The enemy offered him battle; he did not chuse, however, to risk an engagement with so numerous and resolute an army. But as Plistonax was very young, and chiefly di-

* For the Athenians had been masters of Egypt, as we find in the second book of Thucydides. They were driven out of it by Megabyzus, Artaxerxes's lieutenant, in the first year of the eighteenth Olympiad, and it was only in the last year of the eighty-first Olympiad that Pericles made that successful expedition about Peloponnesus; therefore it is not strange that the Athenians, now in the height of prosperity, talked of recovering their footing in a country which they had so lately lost.

† Hetruria seems oddly joined with Carthage; but we may consider that Hetruria was on one side of Sicily, and Carthage on the other. The Athenians, therefore, after they had devoured Sicily in their thoughts, might think of extending their conquest to the countries on the right and left; in the same manner as king Pyrrhus indulged his wild ambition to subdue Sicily, Italy, and Africa.

‡ This wolf is said to have been consecrated and placed by the side of the great altar, on occasion of a wolf's killing a thief who had robbed the temple, and leading the Delphians to the place where the treasure lay

rected by Cleandrides, a counsellor whom the *Ephori* had appointed him on account of his tender age, he attempted to bribe that counsellor; and, succeeding in it to his wish, persuaded him to draw off the Peloponnesians from Attica. The soldiers dispersing and retiring to their respective homes, the Lacedæmonians were so highly incensed, that they laid a heavy fine upon the king; and, as he was not able to pay it, he withdrew from Lacedæmon. As for Cleandrides, who fled from justice, they condemned him to death. He was the father of Gylippus, who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and who seemed to have derived the vice of avarice from him as an hereditary distemper. He was led by it into bad practices, for which he was banished with ignominy from Sparta, as related in the life of Lysander.

In the accounts for this campaign, Pericles put down ten talents, laid out *for a necessary use*, and the people allowed it, without examining the matter closely, or prying into the secret. According to some writers, and, among the rest, Theophrastus the philosopher, Pericles sent ten talents every year to Sparta, with which he gained all the magistracy, and kept them from acts of hostility; not that he purchased peace with the money, but only gained time, that he might have leisure to make preparations to carry on the war afterwards with advantage.

Immediately after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, he turned his arms against the revolters, and passing over into Eubœa with fifty ships and five thousand men, he reduced the cities. He expelled the *Hippobotæ*, persons distinguished by their opulence and authority among the Chalcidians; and having exterminated all the Hestiæans, he gave their city to a colony of Athenians. The cause of this severity was their having taken an Athenian ship, and murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for thirty years, Pericles caused a decree to be made for an expedition against Samos. The pretence he made use of was, that the Samians, when commanded to put an end to the war with the Milesians, had refused it. But as he seems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aspasia, it may not be amiss to inquire by what art or power she captivated the greatest statesman, and brought even philosophers to speak of her so much to her advantage.

It is agreed that she was by birth a Milesian*, and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trod in the steps of Thargelia†, who was descended from the ancient Ionians, and to

* Miletum, a city in Ionia, was famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities.

† This Thargelia, by her beauty, obtained the sovereignty of Thessaly. However, she came to an untimely end, for she was murdered by one of her lovers.

have reserved her intimacies for the great. This Thargelia, who, to the charms of her person, added a peculiar politeness and poignant wit, had many lovers among the Greeks, and drew over to the king of Persia's interest all that approached her; by whose means, as they were persons of eminence, and authority, she sowed the seeds of the Median faction among the Grecian states.

Some indeed say, that Pericles made his court to Aspasia only on account of her wisdom and political abilities. Nay, even Socrates himself sometimes visited her, along with her friends; and her acquaintances took their wives with them to hear her discourse, though the business that supported her was neither honourable nor decent, for she kept a number of courtesans in her house. Æschines informs us, that Lysicles, who was a grazier, and of a mean and ungenerous disposition, by his intercourse with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became the most considerable man in Athens. And, though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning is rather humorous than serious, yet thus much of history we may gather from it, that many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking*.

I should not, however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of so very delicate a kind: for though his wife, who was his relation, and had been first married to Hipponicus, by whom she had Callias the rich, brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived so ill together, that they parted by consent. She was married to another, and he took Aspasia, for whom he had the tenderest regard; insomuch that he never went out upon business, or returned, without saluting her. In the comedies she is called the *New Omphale*, *Deianira*, and *Juno*. Cratinus plainly calls her a prostitute:

> ..... She bore this *Juno*, this *Aspasia*,
> Skilled in the shameless trade and every art
> Of wantonness.

He seems also to have had a natural son by her; for he is introduced by Eupolis inquiring after him thus:

> ..... Still lives the offspring of my dalliance?

Pyronides answers,

> He lives, and might have borne the name of husband,
> Did he not dream that every bosom fair
> Is not a chaste one.

Such was the fame of Aspasia, that Cyrus, who contended with Artaxerxes for the Persian crown, gave the name of Aspasia to his

* It is not to be imagined that Aspasia excelled in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses, on the contrary, were not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent Athenians, and amongst them by Socrates himself, that she composed

favourite concubine, who before was called *Milto*. This woman was born in *Phocis*, and was the daughter of Hermotimus. When Cyrus was slain in the battle, she was carried to the king, and had afterwards great influence over him. These particulars occuring to my memory as I wrote this life, I thought it would be a needless affectation of gravity, if not an offence against politeness, to pass them over in silence.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted, in favour of the Milesians, at the instigation of Aspasia. The Milesians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage, when the Athenians interposed, and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of the dispute to them; but the Samians refused to comply with this demand. Pericles, therefore, sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the same number of children, as hostages, and sent them to Lemnos. Each of these hostages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ransom; and those that were desirous to prevent the settling of a democracy among them would have given him much more. Pissuthnes the Persian, who had the interest of the Samians at heart, likewise sent him ten thousand pieces of gold, to prevail upon him to grant them more favourable terms. Pericles, however, would receive none of their presents, but treated the Samians in the manner he had resolved on; and, having established a popular government in the island, he returned to Athens.

But they soon revolted again, having recovered their hostages by some private measure of Pissuthnes, and made new preparations for war. Pericles coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragia, and Pericles gained a glorious victory, having, with forty-four ships, defeated seventy, twenty of which had soldiers on board.

Pursuing his victory, he possessed himself of the harbour of Samos, and laid siege to the city. They still retained courage enough to sally out and give him battle before the walls. Soon after, a great fleet came from Athens, and the Samians were entirely shut up: whereupon Pericles took sixty galleys, and steered for the Mediter-

the celebrated funeral oration pronounced by Pericles, in honour of those that were slain in the Samian war. It is probable enough that Pericles undertook that war to avenge the quarrel of the Milesians, at the suggestion of Aspasia, who was of Miletum, and is said to have accompanied him in that expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory.

ranean, with a design, as is generally supposed, to meet the Phœnician fleet that was coming to the relief of Samos, and to engage with it at a great distance from the island.

Stesimbrotus indeed says, he intended to sail for Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his design was, he seems to have committed an error: for, as soon as he was gone, Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a man distinguished as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising either the small number of ships that was left, or else the inexperience of their officers, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Athenians. Accordingly a battle was fought, and the Samians obtained the victory; for they made many prisoners, destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's fleet, cleared the seas, and imported whatever warlike stores and provisions they wanted. Aristotle writes, that Pericles himself had been beaten by the same Melissus in a former sea-fight.

The Samians returned upon the Athenian prisoners the insult they had received, marked their foreheads with the figure of an owl, as the Athenians had branded them with a *Samæna*, which is a kind of ship built low in the fore-part, and wide and hollow in the sides. This form makes it light and expeditious in sailing; and it was called *Samæna*, from its being invented in Samos by Polycrates the tyrant. Aristophanes is supposed to have hinted at these marks, when he says,

The Samians are a letter'd race.

As soon as Pericles was informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, he immediately returned with succours, gave Melissus battle, routed the enemy, and blocked up the town by building a wall about it; choosing to owe the conquest of it rather to time and expense, than to purchase it with the blood of his fellow-citizens. But when he found the Athenians murmured at the time spent in the blockade, and that it was difficult to restrain them from the assault, he divided the army into eight parts, and ordered them to draw lots. That division which drew a white bean were to enjoy themselves in ease and pleasure, while the others fought. Hence it is said, that those who spend the day in feasting and merriment call that a *white day*, from the *white bean*.

Ephorus adds, that Pericles in this siege made use of battering engins, the invention of which he much admired, it being then a new one; and that he had *Artemon* the engineer along with him, who, on account of his lameness, was carried about in a litter, when his presence was required to direct the machines, and thence had the surname of *Periphoretus*. But Heraclides of Pontus confutes this assertion by some verses of Anacreon, in which mention is made of Artemon Periphoretus several ages before the Samian war and these

transactions of Pericles. And he tells us, this Artemon was a person who gave himself up to luxury, and was withal of a timid and effeminate spirit; that he spent most of his time within doors, and had a shield of brass held over his head by a couple of slaves, lest something should fall upon him. Moreover, that if he happened to be necessarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter, which hung so low as almost to touch the ground, and therefore was called *Periphoretus*.

After nine months, the Samians surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, seized their ships, and laid a heavy fine upon them; part of which they paid down directly, the rest they promised at a set time, and gave hostages for the payment. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus, or Aristotle. What he relates concerning the Samian officers and seamen seems quite fictitious; he tells us, that Pericles caused them to be brought into the market-place at Miletus, and to be bound to posts there for ten days together, at the end of which he ordered them, by that time in the most wretched condition, to be dispatched with clubs; and refused their bodies the honour of burial. Duris, indeed, in his histories, often goes beyond the limits of truth, even when not misled by any interest or passion, and therefore is more likely to have exaggerated the sufferings of his country, to make the Athenians appear in an odious light.

Pericles, at his return to Athens, after the reduction of Samos, celebrated, in a splendid manner, the obsequies of his countrymen who fell in that war, and pronounced himself the funeral oration used on such occasions. This gained him great applause; and, when he came down from the rostrum, the women paid their respects to him, and presented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion just returned victorious from the lists. Only Elpinice addressed him in terms quite different: "Are these actions, then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and garlands, which have deprived us of many brave citizens; not in a war with the Phœnicians and Medes, such as my brother Cimon waged, but in destroying a city united to us both in blood and friendship?" Pericles only smiled, and answered softly with this line of Archilochus,

Why lavish ointments on a head that's gray?

Ion informs us, that he was highly elated with this conquest, and scrupled not to say, "That Agamemnon spent ten years in reducing one of the cities of the barbarians, whereas he had taken the richest and most powerful city among the Ionians in nine months."—And indeed he had reason to be proud of this achievement; for the war was really

a dangerous one, and the event uncertain, since, according to Thucydides, such was the power of the Samians, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this, when the Peloponnesian war was ready to break out, Pericles persuaded the people to send succours to the inhabitants of Corcyra, who were at war with the Corinthians *; which would be a means to fix in their interest an island whose naval forces were considerable, and might be of great service in case of a rupture with the Peloponnesians, which they had all the reason in the world to expect would be soon. The succours were decreed accordingly, and Pericles sent Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon with ten ships only, as if he designed nothing more than to disgrace him. A mutual regard and friendship subsisted between Cimon's family and the Spartans, and he now furnished his son with but a few ships, and gave him the charge of this affair against his inclination, in order that, if nothing great or striking were effected, Lacedæmonius might be still the more suspected of favouring the Spartans. Nay, by all imaginable methods, he endeavoured to hinder the advancement of that family, representing the sons of Cimon, as by their very names, not genuine Athenians, but strangers and aliens, one of them being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and a third Eleus. They seem to have been all the sons of an Arcadian woman. Pericles, however, finding himself greatly blamed about these ten galleys, an aid by no means sufficient to answer the purpose of those that requested it, but likely enough to afford his enemies a pretence to accuse him, sent another squadron to Corcyra †; which did not arrive till the action was over.

The Corinthians, offended at this treatment, complained of it at Lacedæmon, and the Megarensians at the same time alleged that the Athenians would not suffer them to come to any mart or port of theirs, but drove them out, thereby infringing the common privileges, and breaking the oath they had taken before the general assembly of Greece. The people of Ægina, too, privately acquainted the Lacedæmonians with many encroachments and injuries done them by the Athenians, whom they dared not to accuse openly.—And, at this very juncture, Potidæa, a Corinthian colony, but subject to the Athenians, being besieged in consequence of its revolt, hastened on the war.

However, as ambassadors were sent to Athens, and as Archida-

* This war was commenced about the little territory of Epidamnum, a city in Macedonia, founded by the Corcyrians.

† But this fleet, which consisted of twenty ships, prevented a second engagement, for which they were preparing.

nus, king of the Lacedæmonians, endeavoured to give a healing turn to most of the articles in question, and to pacify the allies, probably no other point would have involved the Athenians in war, if they could have been persuaded to rescind the decree against the Megarensians, and to be reconciled to them. Pericles, therefore, in exerting all his interest to oppose this measure, in retaining his enmity to the Megarensians, and working up the people to the same rancour, was the sole author of the war.

It is said, that when the ambassadors from Lacedæmon came upon this occasion to Athens, Pericles pretended there was a law which forbade the taking down any tablet on which a decree of the people was written. "Then," said Polyarces, one of the ambassadors, "do not take it down, but turn the other side outwards; there is no law against that." Notwithstanding the pleasantry of this answer, Pericles relented not in the least. He seems, indeed, to have had some private pique against the Megarensians, though the pretext he availed himself of in public was, that they had applied to profane uses certain parcels of sacred ground; and thereupon he procured a decree for a herald to be sent to Megara and Lacedæmon, to lay this charge against the Megarensians. This decree was drawn up in a candid and conciliating manner. But Anthemocritus, the herald sent with that commission, losing his life by the way, through some treachery (as was supposed) of the Megarensians, Charinus procured a decree, that an implacable and eternal enmity should subsist between the Athenians and them; that if any Megarensian should set foot on Attic ground, he should be put to death; that to the oath which their generals used to take, this particular should be added, that they would twice a-year make an inroad into the territories of Megara; and that Anthemocritus should be buried at the Thriasian gate, now called *Dipylus*.

The Megarensians, however, deny their being concerned in the murder of Anthemocritus, and lay the war entirely at the door of Aspasia and Pericles; alleging in proof those well known verses from the *Acharnensis* of Aristophanes,

> The god of wine had with his *Thyrsus* smote
> Some youths, who, in their madness, stole from Megara
> The prostitute *Simætha;* in revenge,
> Two females, liberal of their smiles, were stolen
> From our *Aspasia's* train.

It is not, indeed, easy to discover what was the real origin of the war; but at the same time all agree, it was the fault of Pericles that the decree against Megara was not annulled. Some say, his firmness in that case was the effect of his prudence and magnanimity,

as he considered that demand only as a trial, and thought the lea concession would be understood as an acknowledgment of weaknes but others will have it, that his treating the Lacedæmonians wi so little ceremony was owing to his obstinacy, and an ambition display his power.

But the worst cause of all, assigned for the war, and which, no withstanding, is confirmed by most historians, is as follows: Phidia the statuary, had undertaken (as we have said) the statue of M nerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles expos him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who, willing to mal an experiment upon him, what judgment the people might pass c Pericles himself, persuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, place himself as a suppliant in the *forum*, and to entreat the protecti of the republic, while he lodged an information against Phidias.

The people granting his request, and the affair coming to a publ trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought against him, w shown to be groundless: for Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, ha managed the matter from the first with so much art, that the gold with which the statue was overlaid, could easily be taken off and weighed; and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accusers. But the excellence of his work, and the envy arising thence, was the thing that ruined Phidias; and it was particularly insisted upon, that in his representation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own effigies as a bald old man taking up a stone with both hands, and a high finished picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. The last was contrived with so much art, that the hand, which, in lifting up the spear, partly covered the face, seemed to be intended to conceal the likeness, which yet was very striking on both sides. Phidias, therefore, was thrown into prison, where he died a natural death; though some say poison was given him by his enemies, who were desirous of causing Pericles to be suspected. As for the accuser Menon, he had an immunity from taxes granted him at the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his security.

About this time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety by Hermippus a comic poet, who likewise accused her of receiving into her house women above the condition of slaves, for the pleasure of Pericles. And Diopithes procured a decree, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. This charge was first levelled at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted it, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should give an account of the

public money before the *Prytanes,* and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar*, and try the cause in the city. But Agnon caused the last article to be dropt, and, instead thereof, it was voted that the action should be laid before the fifteen hundred judges, either for *peculation* and *taking of bribes,* or simply for *corrupt practices.*

Aspasia was acquitted, though much against the tenor of the law, by means of Pericles, who (according to Æschines) shed many tears in his application for mercy for her. He did not expect the same indulgence for Anaxagoras†, and therefore caused him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way. And as himself was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of being called in question for it, he urged on the war, which as yet was uncertain, and blew up that flame which till then was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to obviate the accusations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy, because such was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place its confidence in him alone. These are said to be the reasons which induced him to persuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians; but what was the real cause is quite uncertain.

The Lacedæmonians, persuaded that if they could remove Pericles out of the way, they should be better able to manage the Athenians, required them to banish all *execrable* persons from among them; and Pericles (as Thucydides informs us) was by his mother's side related to those that were pronounced *execrable* in the affair of Cylon. The success, however, of this application proved the reverse of what was expected by those that ordered it. Instead of rendering Pericles suspected, or involving him in trouble, it procured him the more confidence and respect from the people, when they perceived that their enemies both hated and dreaded him above all others. For the same reason he forwarned the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when

* In some extraordinary cases, where the judges were to proceed with the greatest exactness and solemnity, they were to take ballots or billets from the altar, and to inscribe their judgment upon them; or rather to take the black and the white bean *psephon.* What Plutarch means by *trying the cause in the city* is not easy to determine, unless by the *city* we are to understand *the full assembly of the people.* By the fifteen hundred judges mentioned in the next sentence, is probably meant the court of *Heliastæ,* so called because the judges sat in the open air exposed to the sun; for this court, on extraordinary occasions, consisted of that number.

† Anaxagoras held the unity of God; that it was one all-wise intelligence which raised the beautiful structure of the world out of the chaos. And if such was the opinion of the master, it was natural for the people to conclude that his scholar Pericles was against the polytheism of the times.

he entered Attica at the head of the Peloponnesians, and ravaged the rest of the country, should spare his estate, it must be owing either to he rights of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to a design to furnish his enemies with matter of slander, and therefore from that hour he gave his lands and houses to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica with a great army under the conduct of Archidamus; and, laying waste all before them, proceeded as far as Acharnæ*, where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not be able to endure them so near, but meet them in the field for the honour and safety of their country. But it appeared to Pericles too hazardous to give battle to an army of sixty thousand men (for such was the number of the Peloponnesians and Bœotians employed in the first expedition), and by that step to risk no less than the preservation of the city itself. As to those that were eager for an engagement, and uneasy at his slow proceedings, he endeavoured to bring them to reason, by observing, "That trees, when lopped, will soon grow again; but when men are cut off, the loss is not easily repaired."

In the mean time he took care to hold no assembly of the people, lest he should be forced to act against his own opinion: but as a good pilot, when a storm arises at sea, gives his directions, gets his tackle in order, and then uses his art, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the sick and fearful passengers; so Pericles, when he had secured the gates, and placed the guards in every quarter to the best advantage, followed the dictates of his own understanding, unmoved by the clamours and complaints that resounded in his ears. Thus firm he remained, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, and the threats and accusations of his enemies, notwithstanding the many scoffs and songs sung to vilify his character as a general, and to represent him as one who in the most dastardly manner betrayed his country to the enemy. Cleon, too, attacked him with great acrimony, making use of the general resentment against Pericles as a means to increase his own popularity, as Hermippus testifies in these verses:

> Sleeps then, thou king of satyrs, sleeps the spear,
> While thund'ring words make war? why boast thy prowess,
> Yet shudder at the sound of sharpen'd swords,
> Spite of the flaming Cleon?

Pericles, however, regarded nothing of this kind, but calmly and silently bore all this disgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out a hundred ships, and sent them against Peloponnesus, yet he did not sail with them, but chose to stay and watch over the

* The borough of Acharnæ was only fifteen hundred paces from the city.

city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands, until the Peloponnesians were gone. In order to satisfy the common people, who were very uneasy on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and lands: for, having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. Besides, the sufferings of the enemy afforded them some consolation. The fleet sent against Peloponnesus ravaged a large tract of country, and sacked the small towns and villages; and Pericles himself made a descent upon the territories of Megara*, which he laid waste. Whence it appears, that though the Peloponnesians greatly distressed the Athenians by land, yet, as they were equally distressed by sea, they could not have drawn out the war to so great a length, but must soon have given it up (as Pericles foretold from the beginning), had not some divine power prevented the effect of human counsels. A pestilence at that time broke out, which destroyed the flower of the youth and the strength of Athens. And not only their bodies, but their very minds were effected; for as persons delirious with a fever set themselves against a physician or a father, so they raved against Pericles, and attempted his ruin; being persuaded by his enemies that the sickness was occasioned by the multitude of outdwellers flocking into the city, and a number of people stuffed together in the height of summer, in small huts and close cabins, where they were forced to live a lazy inactive life, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. They would needs have it, that he was the cause of all this, who, when the war began, admitted within the walls such crowds of people from the country, and yet found no employment for them, but let them continue pent up like cattle, to infect and destroy each other, without affording them the least relief or refreshment.

Desirous to remedy this calamity, and withal, in some degree to annoy the enemy, he manned a hundred and fifty ships, in which he embarked great numbers of select horse and foot, and was preparing to set sail. The Athenians conceived good hopes of success, and the enemy no less dreaded so great an armament. The whole fleet was in readiness, and Pericles on board his own galley, when there happened an eclipse of the sun. This sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the greatest consternation. Pericles, observing that the pilot was much astonished and perplexed, took his cloke, and having covered his eyes

* He did not undertake this expedition until autumn, when the Lacedæmonians were retired. In the winter of this year, the Athenians solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first died in the war. Pericles pronounced the oration on that occasion, which Thucydides has preserved.

with it, asked him, "If he found any thing terrible in that, or considered it as a sad presage?" Upon his answering in the negative, he said, "Where is the difference then between this and the other, except that something bigger than my cloke causes the eclipse?" But this is a question which is discussed in the schools of philosophy.

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of so great an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus*, and at first with some rational hopes of succes: but the distemper which prevailed in his army broke all his measures; for it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourse with them. As this ill success set the Athenians against him, he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts. But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, nor could they be satisfied until they had showed themselves masters, by voting that he should be deprived of the command, and pay a fine, which, by the lowest account, was fifteen talents; some make it fifty. The person that carried on the prosecution against him was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; or, according to Theophrasus, Simmias; or, Lacratides, if we believe Heraclides of Pontus.

The public ferment indeed soon subsided, the people quitting their resentment with that blow, as a bee leaves its sting in the wound; but his private affairs were in a miserable condition, for he had lost a number of his relations in the plague, and a misunderstanding had prevailed for some time in his family Xanthippus, the eldest of his legitimate sons, was naturally profuse, and besides had married a young and expensive wife, daughter to Isander, and granddaughter to Epylicus. He knew not how to brook his father's frugality, who supplied him but sparingly, and with little at a time, and therefore sent to one of his friends, and took up money in the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was so highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuse his father. First, he exposed and ridiculed the company he kept in his house, and the conversations he held with the philosophers. He said, that Epitimius the Phaisalian having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protagoras, which might be properly deemed the cause of his death, the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the presidents of the games. Stesimbrotus adds, that it was Xanthippus who spread the vile report concerning his own wife and Pericles, and that the young man retained this implacable

* This Epidaurus was in Argeia. It was consecrated to Æsculapius: and Plutarch calls it *sacred*, to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Laconia.

hatred against his father to his latest breath. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles lost his sister, too, at that time, and the greatest part of his relations and friends, who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes he lost not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until the death of Paralus, his last surviving legitimate son. This at last subdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind; but, in putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him; he could not bear the sad spectacle; he broke out into loud lamentation, and shed a torrent of tears; a passion which he had never before given way to.

Athens made a trial, in the course of a year, of the rest of her generals and orators, and finding none of sufficient weight and authority for so important a charge, she once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to take upon him the direction of affairs both military and civil. He had for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow, when Alcibiades, and his other friends, persuaded him to make his appearance. The people making an apology for their ungenerous treatment of him, he reassumed the reins of government, and, being appointed general, his first step was to procure the repeal of the law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author; for he was afraid that his name and family would be extinct for want of a successor. The history of that law is as follows: many years before, Pericles, in the height of his power and having several legitimate sons, (as we have already related) caused a law to be made, that none should be accounted citizens of Athens, but those whose parents were both Athenians. After this the king of Egypt made the Athenians a present of forty thousand medimni of wheat; and as this was to be divided among the citizens, many persons were proceeded against as illegitimate upon that law, whose birth had never before been called in question, and many were disgraced upon false accusations. Near five thousand were cast and sold for slaves; and fourteen thousand and forty appeared to be entitled to the privilege of citizens. Though it was unequitable and strange that a law, which had been put in execution with so much severity, should be repealed by the man who first proposed it, yet the Athenians, moved at the late misfortunes in his family, by which he seemed to have suffered the punishment of his arrogance and pride, and thinking he should be treated with humanity, after he had felt the wrath of heaven, permitted him to enrol a natural son in his own tribe, and to give him his own name. This is he who after

wards defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people, together with his colleagues*.

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague, but not with such acute and continued symptoms as it generally shows. It was rather a lingering distemper, which, with frequent intermissions, and by slow degrees, consumed his body, and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophrastus has a disquisition in his Ethics, whether men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and the soul so affected with the disorders of the body as to lose her virtue; and there he relates, that Pericles showed to a friend, who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which the women had hung about his neck, intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a piece of superstition.

When he was at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens sitting about his bed, discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue, and the great authority he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits and the number of his victories; for, while he was commander-in-chief, he had erected no less than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they talked of, supposing that he attended not to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had spoken, and thereupon delivered himself audibly as follows: "I am surprised, that while you dwell upon and extol these acts of mine, though fortune had her share in them, and many other generals have performed the like, you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, *that no* Athenian, *through my means, ever put on mourning.*"

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment which led him to think it his most excellent attainment never to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest foe. In my opinion, this one thing, I mean his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct

* The Athenians had appointed ten commanders on that occasion. After they had obtained the victory, they were tried, and eight of them were capitally condemned, of whom six that were on the spot were executed, and this natural son of Pericles was one of them. The only crime laid to their charge was, that they had not buried the dead. Xenophon, in his Grecian history, has given a large account of this affair. It happened under the archonship of Callias, the second year of the ninety-third Olympiad, twenty-four years after the death of Pericles. Socrates the Philosopher was at that time one of the Prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. And, a little while after, the madness of the people turned the other way.

during his whole administration, makes his appellation of Olympius, which would be otherwise vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable, nay, gives it a propriety. Thus we think the divine powers, as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe; not in the manner which the poets relate, who, while they endeavoured to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency by their own writings; for they represent the place which the gods inhabit as the region of security and the most perfect tranquillity, unapproached by storms, and unsullied with clouds; where a sweet serenity for ever reigns, and a pure *ether* displays itself without interruption; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature. Yet, at the same time, they represent the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions, unworthy even of a reasonable man. But this by the by.

The state of public affairs soon showed the want of Pericles*, and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those who in his lifetime could but ill brook his superior power, as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, yet, upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged, that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate; or, if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity than Pericles. And his so much envied authority, to which they had given the name of monarchy and tyranny, then appeared to have been the bulwark of the state: so much corruption and such a rage of wickedness broke out upon the commonwealth after his death, which he by proper restraints had palliated, and kept from dangerous and destructive extremities.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

SUCH were the memorable actions of Pericles, as far as we have been able to collect them; and now we proceed to the life of Fabius Maximus.

The first Fabius was the son of Hercules, by one of the nymphs, according to some authors; or, as others say, by a woman of the country, near the river Tyber. From him came the family of the Fabii,

* Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, that is, the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and 428 years before the Christian era.

one of the most numerous and illustrious in Rome*. Yet some authors write, that the first founders of this family were called *Fodii*, on account of their catching wild beasts by means of *pits*; for a *pit* is still in Latin called *fovea*, and the word *fodere* signifies to *dig*; but in time, two letters being changed, they had the name of *Fabii*.—This family produced many eminent men, the most considerable of whom was *Rullus*†, by the Romans surnamed *Maximus*, or *the great*, and from him the Fabius Maximus, of whom we are writing, was the fourth in descent.

This last had the surname of *Verrucosus*, from a small wart on his upper lip. He was likewise called *Ovicula*‡, from the mildness and gravity of his behaviour when a boy. Nay, his composed demeanor, and his silence, his caution in engaging in the diversions of the other boys, the slowness and difficulty with which he took up what was taught him, together with the submissive manner in which he complied with the proposals of his comrades, brought him under the suspicion of stupidity and foolishness, with those that did not thoroughly know him. Yet a few there were who perceived that his composedness was owing to the solidity of his parts, and who discerned withal a magnanimity and lion-like courage in his nature. In a short time, when application to business drew him out, it was obvious, even to the many, that his seeming inactivity was a command which he had of his passions, that his cautiousness was prudence, and that what he had passed for heaviness and insensibility, was really an unmoveable firmness of soul. He saw what an important concern the administration was, and in what wars the republic was frequently engaged, and therefore by exercise prepared his body, considering its strength as a natural armour; at the same time he improved his powers of persuasion, as the engines by which the people are to be moved; adapting them to the manner of his life.—For, in his eloquence, there was nothing of affectation, no empty plausible elegance, but it was full of that good sense which was peculiar to him,

* The most numerous, for that family alone undertook the war against the Veientes, and sent out three hundred and six persons of their own name, who were all slain in that expedition. It was likewise one of the most illustrious; for the Fabii had borne the highest offices in the state, and two of them had been seven times consuls.

† This Fabius Rullus was five times consul, and gained several important victories over the Samnites, Tuscans, and other nations. It was not, however, from these great actions that he obtained the surname of *Maximus*, but from his behaviour in the censorship; during which he reduced the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes in general, and, by that means, had very great power in the assemblies. These were called *Tribus Urbanæ*. Liv. lib. ix. cap. 46.

‡ Ovicula signifies *a little sheep*.

and had a sententious force and depth, said to have resembled that of Thucydides. There is an oration of his still extant, which he delivered before the people on occasion of his son's funeral, who died after he had been consul.

Fabius Maximus was five times consul*; and, in his first consulship, was honoured with a triumph for the victory he gained over the Ligurians; who, being defeated by him in a set battle, with the loss of a great number of men, were driven behind the Alps, and kept from such inroads and ravages as they had used to make in the neighbouring provinces.

Some years after, Hannibal having invaded Italy†, and gained the battle of Trebia, advanced through Tuscany, laying waste the country, and striking Rome itself with terror and astonishment. This desolation was anounced by signs and prodigies, some familiar to the Romans, as that of thunder for instance, and others quite strange and unaccountable. For it was said, that certain shields sweated blood, that bloody corn was cut at Antium, that red-hot stones fell from the air, that the Falerians saw the heavens open, and many billets fall‡, upon one of which these words were very legible, *Mars brandisheth his arms.* But Caius Flaminius, then consul, was not discouraged by any of these things. He was indeed naturally a man of much fire and ambition, and, besides, was elated by former successes which he had met with contrary to all probability; for, against the sense of the senate and his colleague, he had engaged with the Gauls and beaten them. Fabius likewise paid but little regard to prodigies§, as too absurd to be believed, notwithstanding the great effect they had upon the multitude. But being informed how small

* Fabius was consul the first time in the year of Rome 521; and the fifth time, in the tenth year of the second Punic war, in the year of Rome 545.

† Here Plutarch leaves a void of fifteen years. It was not, indeed, a remarkable period of the life of Fabius. Hannibal entered Italy in the year of Rome 535. He defeated Scipio in the battle of Ticinus, before he beat Sempronius in that of Trebia.

‡ Plutarch misunderstood Livy, and, of the two prodigies which he mentions, made but one. Livy says, "At Falerium the sky was seen to open, and in the void space a great light appeared. The lots at Præneste shrunk of their own accord, and one of them dropped down, whereon was written, *Mars brandisheth his sword.*"—Liv. lib. xxii. These lots were bits of oak handsomely wrought, with some ancient characters inscribed upon them. When any came to consult them, the coffer in which they were kept was opened, and a child having first shaken them together, drew out one from the rest, which contained the answer to the querist's demand. As to the lots being shrunk, which Livy mentions, and which was considered as a bad omen, no doubt the priest had two sets, a smaller and a greater, which they played upon the people's superstition as they pleased. Cicero says they were very little regarded in his time. *Cic. de Divinat.* lib. ii.

§ If Fabius was not moved by those prodigies, it was not because he despised them (as his colleague did, who, according to Livy, neither feared the gods, nor took advice

the numbers of the enemy were, and of the want of money, he advised the Romans to have patience; not to give battle to a man who led on an army hardened by many conflicts for this very purpose, but to send succours to their allies, and to secure the towns that were in their possession, until the vigour of the enemy expired of itself, like a flame for want of fuel.

He could not, however, prevail upon Flaminius.—That general declared he would never suffer the war to approach Rome, nor, like Camillus of old, dispute within the walls who should be the master of the city. He therefore ordered the tribunes to draw out the forces, and mounted his horse, but was thrown headlong off*, the horse, without any visible cause, being seized with a fright and trembling. Yet he persisted in his resolution of marching out to meet Hannibal, and drew up his army near the lake called Thrasymenus†, in Tuscany.

While the armies were engaged, there happened an earthquake, which overturned whole cities, changed the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains, yet not one of the combatants was in the least sensible of that violent motion. Flaminius himself, having greatly signalized his strength and valour, fell, and, with him, the bravest of his troops; the rest being routed, a great carnage ensued; full fifteen thousand were slain, and as many taken prisoners‡. Hannibal was very desirous of discovering the body of Flaminius, that he might bury it with due honour, as a tribute to his bravery, but he could not find it, nor could any account be given what became of it.

When the Romans lost the battle of Trebia, neither the generals

of men), but because he hoped, by appeasing the anger of the gods, to render the prodigies ineffectual. It was not Fabius, however, but Cn. Servilius Geminus, who was colleague to Flaminius.

* This fall from his horse, which was considered as an ill omen, was followed by another as bad. When the ensign attempted to pull his standard out of the ground in order to march, he had not strength enough to do it. But where is the wonder, says Cicero, to have a horse take fright, or to find a standard-bearer feebly endeavouring to draw up the standard which he had perhaps purposely struck deep into the ground?

† Now the lake of Perugia.

‡ Notwithstanding this complete victory, Hannibald lost only fifteen hundred men; for he fought the Romans at great advantage, having drawn them into an ambuscade between the hills of Cortona and the lake Thrasymenus. Livy and Valerius Maximus make the number of prisoners only six thousand; but Polybius says, they were much more numerous.—About ten thousand Romans, most of them wounded, made their escape, and took their route to Rome, where few of them arrived, the rest dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. Two mothers were so transported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when she saw her son unexpectedly appear, and the other at home, where she found her son, that they both expired on the spot.

sent a true account of it, nor did the messenger represent it as it was: both pretended the victory was doubtful. But as to the last, as soon as the prætor Pomponius was apprised of it, he assembled the people, and without disguising the matter in the least, made this declaration; "Romans, we have lost a great battle, our army is cut to pieces, and Flaminius the consul is slain; think, therefore, what is to be done for your safety."—The same commotion which a furious wind causes in the ocean did these words of the prætor produce in so vast a multitude. In the first consternation, they could not fix upon any thing: but at length all agreed that affairs required the direction of an absolute power, which they called the dictatorship, and that a man should be pitched upon for it, who would exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity: that such a man was Fabius Maximus, who had a spirit and dignity of manners equal to so great a command, and, besides, was of an age in which the vigour of the body is sufficient to execute the purposes of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

Pursuant to these resolutions, Fabius was chosen dictator*, and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horse†. But first he desired permission of the senate to make use of a horse when in the field. This was forbidden by an ancient law, either because they placed their greatest strength in the infantry, and therefore chose that the commander-in-chief should be always posted among them; or else, because they would have the dictator, whose power in all other respects was very great, and indeed arbitrary, in this case at least appear to be dependent upon the people. In the next place, Fabius, willing to show the high authority and grandeur of his office, in order to make the people more tractable and submissive, appeared in public with twenty-four *lictors* carrying the *fasces* before him; and, when the surviving consul met him, he sent one of his officers to order him to dismiss his *lictors* and the other ensigns of his employment, and to join him as a private man.

Then beginning with an act of religion, which is the best of all beginnings, and assuring the people that their defeats were not owing to the cowardice of the soldiers, but to the general's neglect of the sacred rites and auspices, he exhorted them to entertain no dread of the enemy, but, by extraordinary honours, to propritiate the gods;

* A dictator could not be regularly named but by the surviving consul, and Servilius being with the army, the people appointed Fabius by their own authority, with the title of prodictator. However, the gratitude of Rome allowed his descendants to put dictator, instead of prodictator, in the list of his titles.

† According to Polybius and Livy, his name was not Lucius, but Marcus Minucius; nor was he pitched upon by Fabius, but by the people.

not that he wanted to infuse into them a spirit of superstition, but to confirm their valour by piety, and to deliver them from every other fear by a sense of the divine protection. On that occasion he consulted several of those mysterious books of the Sybils, which contained matters of great use to the state; and it is said, that some of the prophecies found there perfectly agreed with the circumstances of those times: but it was not lawful for him to divulge them. However, in full assembly, he vowed to the gods a *ver sacrum*, that is, all the young which the next spring should produce, on the mountains, the fields, the rivers, and meadows of Italy, from the goats, the swine, the sheep, and the cows. He likewise vowed to exhibit the great games in honour of the gods, and to expend upon those games three hundred and thirty-three thousand *sesterces*, three hundred and thirty-three *denarii*, and one third of a *denarius*; which sum, in our Greek money, is eighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-three *drachmas* and two *oboli**. What his reason might be for fixing upon that precise number is not easy to determine, unless it were on account of the perfection of the number three, as being the first of odd numbers, the first of plurals, and containing in itself the first differences, and the first elements of all numbers.

Fabius having taught the people to repose themselves on acts of religion, made them more easy as to future events. For his own part, he placed all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that heaven blesses men with success on account of their virtue and prudence; and therefore he watched the motions of Hannibal, not with a design to give him battle, but, by length of time, to waste his spirit and vigour, and gradually to destroy him by means of his superiority in men and money.—To secure himself against the enemy's horse, he took care to encamp above them on high and mountainous places. When they sat still, he did the same; when they were in motion, he showed himself upon the heights, at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight against his inclination, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm, as if, amidst his arts to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

These dilatory proceedings exposed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy, too, excepting Hannibal, thought him a man of no spirit. He alone was sensible of the keenness of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war, and therefore was determined, if possible, either by stratagem or force, to bring him to a battle, concluding that otherwise the Carthaginians must be undone; since they could not decide the matter in the field, where they had the advan-

* This vow had formerly been made to Mars by Aulus Cornelius, and neglected.

tage, but must gradually wear away, and be reduced to nothing; when the dispute was only who should be superior in men and money. Hence it was that he exhausted the whole art of war, like a skilful wrestler, who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced and alarmed him with the apprehensions of an attack; sometimes, by marching and countermarching, he led him from place to place, hoping to draw him from his plan of caution. But, as he was fully persuaded of its utility, he kept immoveably to his resolution. Minucius, his general of horse, gave him, however, no small trouble by his unseasonable courage and heat, haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious desire to come to action, and a vain confidence of success. Thus the soldiers were brought to despise Fabius, and, by way of derision, to call him the *pedagogue* of Hannibal*, while they extolled Minucius as a great man, and one that acted up to the dignity of Rome.—This led Minucius to give a freer scope to his arrogance and pride, and to ridicule the dictator for encamping constantly upon the mountains, "As if he did it on purpose that his men might more clearly behold Italy laid waste with fire and sword." And he asked the friends of Fabius, "Whether he intended to take his army up into heaven, as he had bid adieu to the world below, or whether he would screen himself from the enemy with clouds and fogs. When the dictator's friends brought him an account of these aspersions, and exhorted him to wipe them off by risking a battle, "In that case," said he, "I should be of a more dastardly spirit than they represent me, if, through fear of insults and reproaches, I should depart from my own resolution. But to fear for my country is not a disagreeable fear. That man is unworthy of such a command as this, who shrinks under calumnies and slanders, and complies with the humour of those whom he ought to govern, and whose folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain."

After this, Hannibal made a disagreeable mistake: for, intending to lead his army farther from Fabius, and to move into a part of the country that would afford him forage, he ordered the guides, immediately after supper, to conduct him to the plains of Casinum†.

* For the office of a pedagogue of old was (as the name implies) to attend the children, to carry them up and down, and to conduct them home again.

† Hannibal had ravaged Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and laid siege to Tilesia, a city at the foot of the Appenines. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of some cities, could make Fabius quit his eminences, he resolved to make use of a stronger bait, which was, to enter Campania, the finest country in Italy, and lay it waste under the dictator's eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to action. But, by the mistake which Plutarch mentions,

They, taking the word wrong, by reason of his *barbarous* pronunciation of it, led his forces to the borders of Campania, near the town of Casilinum, through which runs the river Lothronus, which the Romans call Vulturnus. The adjacent country is surrounded with mountains, except only a valley that stretches out to the sea. Near the sea the ground is very marshy, and full of large banks of sand, by reason of the overflowing of the river. The sea is there extremely rough, and the coast almost impracticable.

As soon as Hannibal was entered into this valley, Fabius, availing himself of his knowledge of the country, seized the narrow outlet, and placed in it a guard of four thousand men. The main body of his army he posted to advantage on the surrounding hills, and, with the lightest and most active troops, fell upon the enemy's rear, put their whole army in disorder, and killed about eight hundred of them.

Hannibal then wanted to get clear of so disadvantageous a situation, and, in revenge of the mistake the guides had made, and the danger they had brought him into, he crucified them all. But not knowing how to drive the enemy from the heights they were masters of, and sensible, besides, of the terror and confusion that reigned amongst his men, who concluded themselves fallen into a snare from which there was no escaping, he had recourse to stratagem.

The contrivance was this: he caused two thousand oxen, which he had in his camp, to have torches and dry bavins well fastened to their horns. These, in the night, upon a signal given, were to be lighted, and the oxen to be driven to the mountains, near the narrow pass that was guarded by the enemy. While those that had it in charge were thus employed, he decamped, and marched slowly forward. So long as the fire was moderate, and burnt only the torches and bavins, the oxen moved softly on, as they were driven up the hills; and the shepherds and herdsmen on the adjacent heights took them for an army that marched in order with lighted sorches. But, when their horns were burnt to the roots, and the fire pierced to the quick, terrified, and mad with pain, they no longer kept any certain route, but ran up the hills, with their foreheads and tails flaming, and setting every thing on fire that came in their way. The Romans who guarded the pass were astonished; for they appeared to them like a great number of men running up and down with torches, which scattered fire on every side. In their fears, of course, they concluded that they should be attacked and surrounded by the enemy; for which reason they quitted the pass, and fled to the main

his guides, instead of conducting him to the plains of Casinum, led him into the narrow passes of Casilinum, which divides Samnium from Campania.

body in the camp. Immediately Hannibal's light-armed troops took possession of the outlet, and the rest of his forces marched safely through, loaded with a rich booty.

Fabius discovered the stratagem that same night; for some of the oxen, as they were scattered about, fell into his hands; but, for fear of an ambush in the dark, he kept his men all night under arms in the camp. At break of day he pursued the enemy, came up with their rear, and attacked them; several skirmishes ensued in the difficult passes of the mountains, and Hannibal's army was put in some disorder, until he detached from his van a body of Spaniards, light and nimble men, who were accustomed to climb such heights. These falling upon the heavy-armed Romans, cut off a considerable number of them, and obliged Fabius to retire. This brought upon him more contempt and calumny than ever: for, having renounced open force, as if he could subdue Hannibal by conduct and foresight, he appeared now to be worsted at his own weapons.—Hannibal, to incense the Romans still more against him, when he came to his lands, ordered them to be spared, and set a guard upon them to prevent the committing of the least injury there, while he was ravaging all the country around them, and laying it waste with fire. An account of these things being brought to Rome, heavy complaints were made thereupon. The tribunes alleged many articles of accusation against him before the people, chiefly at the instigation of Metilius, who had no particular enmity to Fabius, but being strongly in the interest of Minucius the general of the horse, whose relation he was, he thought, by depressing Fabius, to raise his friend. The senate, too, was offended, particularly with the terms he had settled with Hannibal for the ransom of prisoners. For it was agreed between them, that the prisoners should be exchanged man for man, and that if either of them had more than the other, he should release them for two hundred and fifty drachmas each man*; and, upon the whole account, there remained two hundred and forty Romans unexchanged. The senate determined not to pay this ransom, and blamed Fabius as taking a step that was against the honour and interest of the state, in endeavouring to recover men whom cowardice had betrayed into the hands of the enemy.

When Fabius was informed of the resentment of his fellow-citizens, he bore it with invincible patience; but being in want of money, and not choosing to deceive Hannibal, or to abandon his countrymen in their distress, he sent his son to Rome, with orders to sell part of his

* Livy calls this *argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem*; whence we learn that the Roman *pondo*, or pound weight of silver, was equivalent to one hundred Grecian *drachmas*, or a *mina*.

estate, and bring him the money immediately.—This was punctually performed by his son, and Fabius redeemed the prisoners; several of whom afterwards offered to repay him, but his generosity would not permit him to accept it.

After this he was called to Rome by the priests to assist at some of the solemn sacrifices, and therefore was obliged to leave the army to Minucius; but he both charged him as dictator, and used many arguments and entreaties with him as a friend, not to come to any kind of action. The pains he took were lost upon Minucius; for he immediately sought occasions to fight the enemy. And observing one day that Hannibal had sent out great part of his army to forage, he attacked those that were left behind, and drove them within their intrenchments, killing great numbers of them, so that they even feared he would storm their camp; and, when the rest of the Carthaginian forces were returned, he retreated without loss*. This success added to his temerity, and increased the ardour of the soldiers. The report of it soon reached Rome, and the advantage was represented as much greater than it really was. When Fabius was informed of it, he said, *he dreaded nothing more than* the success of *Minucius*. But the people, mightily elated with the news, ran to the *forum;* and their tribune Metilius harangued them from the *rostrum*, highly extolling Minucius, and accusing Fabius now, not of cowardice and want of spirit, but of treachery. He endeavoured also to involve the principal men in Rome in the same crime, alleging, "That they had originally brought the war upon Italy for the destruction of the common people, and had put the commonwealth under the absolute direction of one man, who, by his slow proceedings, gave Hannibal opportunity to establish himself in the country, and to draw fresh forces from Carthage, in order to effect a total conquest of Italy."

Fabius disdained to make any defence against these allegations of the tribune; he only declared, that "He would finish the sacrifice, and other religious rites, as soon as possible, that he might return to the army, and punish Minucius for fighting contrary to his orders." This occasioned a great tumult among the people, who were alarmed at the danger of Minucius. For it is in the dictator's power to imprison and inflict capital punishment without form of trial: and they thought that the wrath of Fabius now provoked, though he was naturally very mild and patient, would prove heavy and implacable. But fear kept them all silent, except Metilius, whose person, as tribune of the people, could not be touched, (for the tribunes are the

* Others say, that he lost five thousand of his men, and that the enemy's loss did not exceed his by more than a thousand.

only officers of state that retain their authority after the appointing of a dictator). Metilius entreated, insisted that the people should not give up Minucius to suffer, perhaps, what Manlius Torquatus caused his own son to suffer, whom he beheaded when crowned with laurel for his victory; but that they should take from Fabius his power to play the tyrant, and leave the direction of affairs to one who was both able and willing to save his country. The people, though much affected with this speech, did not venture to divest Fabius of the dictatorship, notwithstanding the odium he had incurred, but decreed that Minucius should share the command with him, and have equal authority in conducting the war: a thing never before practised in Rome. There was, however, another instance of it soon after upon the unfortunate action of Cannæ; for Marcus Junius, the dictator, being then in the field, they created another dictator, Fabius Buteo, to fill up the senate, many of whose members were slain in that battle. There was this difference, indeed, that Buteo had no sooner enrolled the new senators, than he dismissed his *lictors* and the rest of his retinue, and mixed with the crowd, stopping some time in the *forum* about his own affairs as a private man.

When the people had thus invested Minucius with a power equal to that of the dictator, they thought they should find Fabius extremely humbled and dejected; but it soon appeared that they knew not the man. For he did not reckon their mistake any unhappiness to him; but as Diogenes, the philosopher, when one said, "They deride you," answered, "Well, but I am not derided;" accounting those only to be ridiculed, who feel the ridicule, and are discomposed at it; so Fabius bore without emotion all that happened to himself, herein confirming that position in philosophy, which affirms that *a wise and good man can suffer no disgrace.* But he was under no small concern for the public on account of the unadvised proceedings of the people, who had put it in the power of a rash man to indulge his indiscreet ambition for military distinction. And apprehensive that Minucius, infatuated with ambition, might take some fatal step, he left Rome very privately.

Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance of Minucius grown to such a height, that it was no longer to be endured. Fabius, therefore, refused to comply with his demand of having the army under his orders every other day, and, instead of that, divided the forces with him, choosing rather to have the full command of a part, than the direction of the whole by turns. He therefore took the first and fourth legions himself, leaving the second and third to Minucius; and the confederate forces were likewise equally divided.

Minucius valued himself highly upon this, that the power of the greatest and most arbitrary office in the state was controlled and reduced for his sake. But Fabius put him in mind, "That it was not Fabius whom he had to contend with, but Hannibal; that if he would, notwithstanding, consider his colleague as his rival, he must take care lest he who had so successfully carried his point with the people should one day appear to have their safety and interest less at heart than the man who had been so ill treated by them." Minucius, considering this as the effect of an old man's pique, and taking the troops that fell to his lot, marked out a separate camp for them*. Hannibal was well informed of all that passed, and watched his opportunity to take advantage of it.

There was a hill betwixt him and the enemy, not difficult to take possession of, which yet would afford an army a very safe and commodious post. The ground about it, at a distance, seemed quite level and plain, though there were in it several ditches and hollows; and therefore, though he might privately have seized that post with ease, yet he left it as a bait to draw the enemy to an engagement. But as soon as he saw Minucius parted from Fabius, he took an opportunity in the night to place a number† of men in those ditches and hollows; and, early in the morning, he openly sent out a small party, as if designed to make themselves masters of the hill, but really to draw Minucius to dispute it with them. The event answered his expectation. For Minucius sent out his light-armed troops first, then the cavalry, and at last, when he saw Hannibal send reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked with great vigour the Carthaginians, who were marking out a camp upon the hill. The fortune of the day was doubtful, until Hannibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the snare, and that their rear was open to the ambuscade, instantly gave the signal. Hereupon his men rushed out on all sides, and advancing with loud shouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmost ranks, they put the Romans in disorder and terror inexpressible. Even the spirit of Minucius began to shrink; and he looked first upon one officer, and then upon another, but not one of them durst stand his ground: they all betook themselves to flight, and the flight itself proved fatal. For the Numidians, now victorious, galloped round the plain, and killed those whom they found dispersed.

Fabius was not ignorant of the danger of his countrymen. Fore-

* About fifteen hundred paces from Fabius.

† Five hundred horse, and five thousand foot. *Polyb.*

seeing what would happen, he kept his forces under arms, and took care to be informed how the action went on: nor did he trust to the reports of others, but he himself looked out from an eminence not far from his camp. When he saw the army of his colleague surrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, not like that of men standing the charge, but of persons flying in great dismay*, he smote upon his thigh, and with a deep sigh said to his friends about him, "Ye gods! how much sooner than I expected, and yet later than his indiscreet proceedings required, has Minucius ruined himself!" Then, having commanded the standard-bearers to advance, and the whole army to follow, he addressed them in these words: "Now, my brave soldiers, if any one has a regard for Marcus Minucius, let him exert himself; for he deserves assistance for his valour, and the love he bears his country. If, in his haste to drive out the enemy, he has committed an error, this is not a time to find fault with him."

The first sight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians, who were picking up stragglers in the field. Then he attacked those who were charging the Romans in the rear. Such as made resistance he slew; but the greatest part retreated to their own army, before the communication was cut off, lest they should themselves be surrounded in their turn. Hannibal seeing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius pushed on through the hottest of the battle with a vigour above his years, to come up to Minucius upon the hill, put an end to the dispute, and having sounded a retreat, retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part, were not sorry when the action was over. Hannibal, as he was drawing off, is reported to have said smartly to those that were by, "Did not I often tell you, that this cloud would one day burst upon us from the mountains with all the fury of a storm?"

After the battle, Fabius having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, returned to his post; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word against his colleague. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself: "Friends and fellow soldiers, not to err at all in the management of great affairs is above the wisdom of men: but it is the part of a prudent and good man to learn, from his errors and miscarriages, to correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess, that though fortune has frowned upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in

* Homer mentions the custom of smiting upon the thigh in time of trouble.——*Kai o peplegeto mero*; and we learn from Scripture, that it was practised in the East.

Compare Hom. Il. XII. v. 162. and this passage of Plutarch, with Jer. xxxi. 19. and Ezek. xxi. 12.

so long a time, I have learned in the small compass of one day, that I know not how to command, but have need to be under the direction of another; and from this moment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better of a man whom it is an honour to be foiled by.—In all other respects the dictator shall be your commander; but in the due expressions of gratitude to him, I will be your leader still, by being the first to show an example of obedience and submission."

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head, to the camp of Fabius. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and with a loud voice saluted him by the name of *Father;* at the same time his soldiers called those of Fabius their *Patrons;* an appellation which freedmen give to those that enfranchise them. These respects being paid, and silence taking place, Minucius thus addressed himself to the dictator: "You have this day, Fabius, obtained two victories, one over the enemy by your valour, the other over your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, by the latter you have instructed us; and Hannibal's victory over us is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary to us. I call you *Father,* not knowing a more honourable name, and am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life, and the lives of all these brave men." After this, he threw himself into the arms of Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.—Not long after this, Fabius laid down the dictatorship, and consuls were created*. The first of these kept to the plan which Fabius had laid down; he took care not to come to a pitched battle with Hannibal, but sent succours to the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro†, a man of obscure birth, and remarkable only for his temerity and servile complaisance to the people, rose to the consulship, it soon appeared that his boldness and inexperience would bring him to risk the very being of the commonwealth: for he loudly insisted, in the assemblies of the people,

* According to Livy, Fabius, after the six months of his dictatorship were expired, resigned the army to the consuls of that year, Servilius and Attilius; the latter having been appointed in the room of Flaminius, who was killed in battle. But Plutarch follows Polybius, who says, that as the time for the election of new consuls approached, the Romans named L. Paulus Æmilius, and Terentius Varro, consuls, after which the dictators resigned their charge.

† Varro was the son of a butcher, and had followed his father's profession in his youth; but growing rich, he had forsaken that mean calling, and, by the favour of the people, procured by supporting the most turbulent of their tribunes, he obtained the consulate.

that the war stood still whilst it was under the conduct of the Fabii; but for his part he would take but one day to get sight of the enemy, and to beat him. With these promises he so prevailed on the multitude, that he raised greater forces than Rome had ever had on foot before in her most dangerous wars; for he mustered* no fewer than eighty-eight thousand men. Hereupon Fabius and other wise men and experienced persons among the Romans, were greatly alarmed; because they saw no resource for the state, if such a number of their youths should be cut off. They addressed themselves, therefore, to the other consul, Paulus Æmilius, a man of great experience in war, but disagreeable to the people, and at the same time afraid of them, for they had formerly set a considerable fine upon him. Fabius, however, encouraged him to withstand the temerity of his colleague, telling him, "That the dispute he had to support for his country was not so much with Hannibal as with Varro. The latter," said he, "will hasten to an engagement†, because he knows not his own strength; and the former, because he knows his own weakness. But believe me, Æmilius, I deserve more attention than Varro with respect to the affairs of Hannibal; and I do assure you, that if the Romans come to no battle with him this year, he will either be undone by his stay in Italy, or else be obliged to quit it. Even now, when he seems to be victorious, and to carry all before him, not one of his enemies has quitted the Roman interest, and not a third part of his forces remains, which he brought from home with him." To this Æmilius is said to have answered, "My friend, when I consider myself only, I conclude it better for me to fall upon the weapons of the enemy, than by the sentence of my own countrymen. However, since the state of public affairs is so critical, I will endeavour to approve myself a good general, and had rather appear such to you, than to all who oppose you, and who would draw me, willing or unwilling, to their party." With these sentiments Æmilius began his operations. But Varro having brought his colleague to agree‡ that they should command alternately, each his day, when his turn came, took post over against Hannibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the village of Cannæ§. As soon as it was light, he gave the signal for battle.

* It was usual with the Romas to muster every year four legions, which consisting in difficult times, each of five thousand Roman foot, and three hundred horse, and a battalion of Latins equal to that number, amounted in the whole to 42,400. But this year, instead of four legions, they raised eight.

† The best dependence of Varro was undoubtedly to prolong the war, that Hannibal who was already weakened, might wear himself out by degrees; and, for the same reason, it was Hannibal's business to fight.

‡ It was a fixed rule with the Romans, that the consuls, when they went upon the same service, should have the command of the army by turns.

§ Cannæ, according to Livy, Appian, and Florus, was only a poor village, which after

which is a red mantle set up over the general's tent. The Carthaginians were a little disheartened at first, when they saw how daring the consul was, and that his army was more than twice their number. But Hannibal having ordered them to arm, himself, with a few others, rode up to an eminence, to take a view of the enemy now drawn up for battle. One Gisco, that accompanied him, a man of his own rank, happening to say, "The numbers of the enemy appeared to him surprising, "Hannibal replied, with a serious countenance, "There is another thing which has escaped your observation, much more surprising than that." Upon his asking what it was, "It is," said he, "that among such numbers not one of them is named Gisco." The whole company were diverted with the humour of his observation, and as they returned to the camp, they told the jest to those they met, so that the laugh became universal. At sight of this the Carthaginians took courage, thinking it must proceed from the great contempt in which their general held the Romans, that he could jest and laugh in the face of danger.

In this battle Hannibal gave great proofs of generalship. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground, to post his men with their backs to the wind, which was then very violent and scorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians, clouds of sand and dust into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans, so that they were obliged to turn away their faces, and break their ranks. In the next place, his troops were drawn up with superior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and those upon whom he had less dependence in the main corps, which was considerably more advanced than the wings. Then he commanded those in the wings, that when the enemy had charged, and vigorously pushed that advanced body, which he knew would give way, and open a passage for them to the very centre; and when the Romans, by this means, should be far enough engaged within the two wings, they should both on the right and left take them in flank, and endeavour to surround them*. This was the principal cause of the great carnage that followed. For the enemy pressing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half-moon; and the officers of the select troops caused the two points of the wings to join behind the Romans. Thus they were exposed to the attacks of

wards became famous on account of the battle fought near it; but Polybius, who lived near the time of the second Punic war, styles Cannæ a city; and adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the Roman army. Silius Italicus agrees with Polybius. It was afterwards rebuilt; for Pliny ranks it among the cities of Apulia. The ruins of Cannæ are still to be seen in the territory of Bari.

* Five hundred Numidians pretended to desert to the Romans; but in the heat of the battle turned against them, and attacked them in the rear.

the Carthaginians on all sides; an incredible slaughter followed; nor did any escape but the few that retreated before the main body was enclosed.

It is also said, that a strange and fatal accident happened to the Roman cavalry. For the horse which Æmilius rode, having received some hurt, threw him; and those around him alighting to assist and defend the consul on foot, the rest of the cavalry seeing this, and taking it for a signal for them to do the same, all quitted their horses and charged on foot. At sight of this, Hannibal said, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the historians who have described this battle.

As to the consuls, Varro escaped with a few horse to Venutia; and Æmilius, covered with darts which stuck in his wounds, sat down in anguish and despair, and waited for the enemy to dispatch him. His head and face were so disfigured and stained with blood, that it was not easy to know him; even his friends and servants passed by him without stopping. At last, Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a patrician family, perceiving who he was, dismounted, and entreated him to take his horse, and save himself for the commonwealth, which had then more occasion than ever for so good a consul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer; and, notwithstanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to mount his horse again.—Then rising up, and taking him by the hand, "Tell Fabius Maximus," said he, "and, Lentulus, do you yourself bear witness, that Paulus Æmilius followed his directions to the last, and did not deviate in the least from the plan agreed upon between them, but was first overcome by Varro, and then by Hannibal." Having dispatched Lentulus with this commission, he rushed among the enemy's swords, and was slain. Fifty thousand Romans are said to have fallen in this battle*, and four thousand to have been taken prisoners, besides ten thousand that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

After this great success, Hannibal's friends advised him to pursue his fortune, and to enter Rome along with the fugitives, assuring him, that in five days he might sup in the capitol. It is not easy to conjecture what his reason was for not taking this step. Most probably some

* According to Livy, there were killed of the Romans only forty thousand foot, and two thousand seven hundred horse. Polybius says, that seventy thousand were killed. The loss of the Carthaginians did not amount to six thousand. When the Carthaginians were stripping the dead, among other moving objects they found, to their great surprise, a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himself headlong upon his enemy, and beat him down; but being no longer able to make use of his weapons, because he had lost his hands, had torn off the nose and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired.

deity opposed it, and therefore inspired him with this hesitation and timidity. On this account it was, that a Carthaginian, named Barca, said to him with some heat, "Hannibal, you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use it*."

The battle of Cannæ, however, made such an alteration on his affairs, that, though before it he had neither town, nor magazine, nor port in Italy, but, without any regular supplies for the war, subsisted his army by rapin, and for that purpose moved them, like a great band of robbers, from place to place, yet then he became master of the greatest part of Italy. Its best provinces and towns voluntarily submitted to him; and Capua itself, the most respectable city after Rome, threw its weight into his scale.

In this case, it appeared that great misfortunes are not only, what Euripides calls them, a trial of the fidelity of a friend, but of the capacity and conduct of a general. For the proceedings of Fabius, which before this battle were deemed cold and timid, then appeared to be directed by counsels more than human, to be indeed the dictates of a divine wisdom, which penetrated into futurity at such a distance, and foresaw what seemed incredible to the very persons who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome places her last hope; his judgment is the temple, the altar, to which she flies for refuge, believing that to his prudence it was chiefly owing that she still held up her head, and that her children were not dispersed, as when she was taken by the Gauls. For he who, in times of apparent security, seemed to be deficient in confidence and resolution, now, when all abandoned themselves to inexpressible sorrow and helpless despair, alone walked about the city with a calm and easy pace, with a firm countenance, a mild and gracious address, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from assembling in public to bewail their common distress. He caused the senate to meet; he encouraged the magistrates, himself being the soul of their body, for all waited his motion, and were ready to obey his orders. He placed a guard at the gates, to hinder such of the people as were inclined to

* Zonarus tells us, that Hannibal himself afterwards acknowledged his mistake in not pursuing that day's success, and used often to cry out, O Cannæ, Cannæ!

But, on the other hand, it may be pleaded in defence of Hannibal, that the advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could not act in a siege: that the inhabitants of Rome were all bred up to arms from their infancy; would use their utmost efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domestic gods; and, when sheltered by walls and ramparts, would probably be invincible: that they had as many generals as senators: that no one nation of Italy had yet declared for him, and he might judge it necessary to gain some of them before he attempted the capital: and lastly, that if he had attempted the capital first, and without success, he would not have been able to gain any one nation or city.

fly, from quitting the city. He fixed both the place and time for mourning, allowed thirty days for that purpose in a man's own house, and no more for the city in general. And as the feast of Ceres fell within that time, it was thought better entirely to omit the solemnity, than, by the small numbers and the melancholy looks of those that should attend it, to discover the greatness of their loss*; for the worship most acceptable to the gods is that which comes from cheerful hearts. Indeed, whatever the augers ordered for propitiating the divine powers, and averting inauspicious omens, were carefully performed. For Fabius Pictor, the near relation of Fabius Maximus, was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi; and of the two vestals who were then found guilty of a breach of their vow of chastity, one was buried alive, according to custom, the other died by her own hand.

But what most deserves to be admired, is the magnanimity and temper of the Romans, when the consul Varro returned, after his defeat†, much humbled and very melancholy, as one who had occasioned the greatest calamity and disgrace imaginable to the republic. The whole senate and people went to welcome him at the gates; and, when silence was commanded, the magistrates and principal senators, amongst whom was Fabius, commended him for not giving up the circumstances of the state as desperate after so great a misfortune, but returning to take upon him the administration, and to make what advantage he could for his country of the laws and citizens, as not being utterly lost and ruined.

When they found that Hannibal, after the battle, instead of marching to Rome, turned to another part of Italy, they took courage, and sent their armies and generals into the field. The most eminent of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men distinguished by characters almost entirely opposite. Marcellus, as related in his life, was a man of a buoyant and animated valour; remarkably well skilled in the use of weapons, and naturally enterprising; such a one, in short, as Homer calls *lofty in heart, in courage fierce, in war delighting*. So intrepid a general was very fit to be opposed to an enemy as daring as himself, to restore the

* This was not the real cause of deferring the festival, but that which Plutarch hints at just after, viz. because it was unlawful for persons in mourning to celebrate it; and at that time there was not one matron in Rome who was not in mourning. In fact, the feast was not entirely omitted, but kept as soon as the mourning was expired.

† Valerius Maximus tells us (lib. iii. c. 6), that the senate and people offered Varro the dictatorship, which he refused, and by his modest refusal wiped off, in some measure, the shame of his former behaviour. Thus the Romans, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, lessened the disgrace of their being vanquished or discharged; while the Carthaginians condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, though it was often without their own fault.

courage and spirits of the Romans by some vigorous stroke in the first engagements. As for Fabius, he kept to his first sentiments, and hoped that if he only followed Hannibal close, without fighting him, he and his army would wear themselves out, and lose their warlike vigour, just as a wrestler does who keeps continually in the ring, and allows himself no repose to recruit his strength after excessive fatigues. Hence it was that the Romans (as Posidonius tells us) called Fabius *their shield*, and Marcellus *their sword*, and used to say, that the steadiness and caution of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldness of the other, made a compound very salutary to Rome. Hannibal, therefore, often meeting Marcellus, whose motions were like those of a torrent, found his forces broken and diminished; and by Fabius, who moved with a silent but constant stream, he was undermined and insensibly weakened. Such, at length, was the extremity he was reduced to, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus*, and afraid of Fabius. And these were the persons he had generally to do with during the remainder of the war, as prætors, consuls, and procousuls; for each of them was five times consul. It is true, Marcellus, in his fifth consulate, was drawn into his snares, and killed by means of an ambuscade. Hannibal often made the like attempts upon Fabius, exerting all his art and stratagems, but without effect. Once only he deceived him, and had nearly led him into a fatal error. He forged letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to deliver up the city to him, and assuring him that those who had taken this resolution only waited till he appeared before it. Fabius, giving credit to these letters, ordered a party to be ready, intending to march thither in the night; but finding the auspices unpromising, he altered his design, and soon after discovered that the letters were forged by an artifice of Hannibal's, and that he was lying in ambush for him near the town. But this, perhaps, may be ascribed to the favour and protection of the gods.

Fabius was persuaded that it was better to keep the cities from revolting, and to prevent any commotions among the allies, by affability and mildness, than to entertain any suspicion, or to use severity against those whom he did suspect. It is reported of him, that being informed that a certain Marcian in his army*, who was a man not inferior in courage or family to any among the allies, solicited some of his men to desert, he did not treat him harshly, but acknowledged that he had been too much neglected; declaring, at the same time, that he was now perfectly sensible how much his officers had been to blame in distributing honours more out of favour than regard

* Livy tells this story of Marcellus, which Plutarch here applies to Fabius.

to merit; and that, for the future, he should take it ill if he did not apply to *him* when he had any request to make. This was followed with a present of a war-horse, and with other marks of honour; and from that time the man behaved with great fidelity and zeal for the service. Fabius thought it hard that, while those who breed dogs and horses soften their stubborn tempers, and bring down their fierce spirits by care and kindness, rather than with whips and chains, he who has the command of men should not endeavour to correct their errors by gentleness and goodness, but treat them even in a harsher and more violent manner than gardeners do the wild fig-trees, wild pears and olives, whose nature they subdue by cultivation, and which by that means they bring to produce very agreeable fruit.

Another time, some of his officers informed him, that one of the soldiers, a native of Lucania, often quitted his post, and rambled out of the camp. Upon this report, he asked what kind of man he was in other respects; and they all declared it was not easy to find so good a soldier, doing him the justice to mention several extraordinary instances of his valour. On inquiring into the cause of this irregularity, he found that the man was passionately in love, and that, for the sake of seeing a young woman, he ventured out of the camp, and took a long and dangerous journey every night. Hereupon Fabius gave orders to some of his men to find out the woman, and convey her into his own tent, but took care that the Lucanian should not know it. Then he sent for him, and taking him aside, spoke to him as follows: "I very well know that you have lain many nights out of the camp, in breach of the Roman discipline and laws; at the same time I am not ignorant of your past services. In consideration of them, I forgive your present crime: but for the future I will give you in charge to a person who shall be answerable for you." While the soldier stood much amazed, Fabius produced the woman, and, putting her in his hands, thus expressed himself: "This is the person who engages for you that you will remain in camp; and now we shall see whether there was not some traitorous design which drew you out, and which you made the love of this woman a cloke for." Such is the account we have of this affair.

By means of another love affair, Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherously delivered up to Hannibal. A young man, a native of that place, who served under Fabius, had a sister there who loved him with great tenderness. This youth being informed that a certain Brutian, one of the officers of the garrison which Hannibal had put in Tarentum, entertained a violent passion for his sister, hoped to avail himself of this circumstance to the advantage of the Romans. Therefore, with the permission of Fabius,

he returned to his sister at Tarentum, under colour of having deserted. Some days passed, during which the Brutian forebore his visits, for she supposed that her brother knew nothing of the amour. This obliged the young man to come to an explanation. "It has been currently reported," said he, "that you receive addresses from a man of some distinction. Pray, who is he? If he is a man of honour and character, as they say he is, Mars, who confounds all things, takes but little thought of what country he may be. What necessity imposes is no disgrace; but we may rather think ourselves fortunate, at a time when justice yields to force, if that which force might compel us to happens not to be disagreeable to our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young woman sent for the Brutian, and presented him to her brother. And as she behaved to him in a kinder and more compliant manner through her brother's means, who was very indulgent to his passion, it was not very difficult to prevail with the Brutian, who was deeply in love, and was withal a mercenary, to deliver up the town upon promises of great rewards from Fabius.

This is the account which most historians give us: yet some say, that the woman by whom the Brutian was gained was not a Tarentine, but a Brutian; that she had been concubine to Fabius, and that when she found the governor of Tarentum was her countryman and acquaintance, she told Fabius of it, and finding means, by approaching the walls, to make him a proposal, she drew him over to the Roman interest.

During these transactions, Fabius, in order to make a diversion, gave directions to the garrison of Rhegium to lay waste the Brutian territories, and, if possible, to make themselves masters of Caulonia. These were a body of eight thousand men, composed partly of deserters, and partly of the most worthless of that infamous band brought by Marcellus out of Sicily*, and therefore the loss of them would not be great, nor much lamented by the Romans. These men he threw out as a bait for Hannibal, and, by sacrificing them, hoped to draw him to a distance from Tarentum. The design succeeded accordingly: for Hannibal marched with his forces to Caulonia, and Fabius, in the mean time, laid siege to Tarentum. The sixth day of the siece, the young man having settled the matter with the Brutian officer by means of his sister, and having well observed the place where he kept guard, and promised to let in the Romans, went to Fabius by night, and gave him an account of it. The consul moved to the appointed quarter, though not entirely depending upon the

* These men were brought from Sicily, not by Marcellus, but by his colleague Lævinus.

promise that the town would be betrayed. There he himself sat still, but, at the same time, ordered an assault on every other part, both by sea and land. This was put in execution with great noise and tumult, which drew most of the Tarentines that way to assist the garrison, and repel the besiegers. Then the Brutian giving Fabius the signal, he scaled the walls, and got possession of the town.

On this occasion Fabius seems to have indulged a criminal ambition. For, that it might not appear that the place was betrayed to him, he ordered the Brutians to be put to the sword*. But he failed in his design; for the former suspicion still remained, and he incurred, besides, the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity.—Many of the Tarentines also were killed; thirty thousand of them were sold for slaves; the army had the plunder of the town, and three thousand talents were brought into the public treasury. Whilst every thing was ransacked, and the spoils were heaped before Fabius, it is reported that the officer who took the inventory asked, "What he would have them do with the gods?" meaning the statues and pictures: Fabius answered, "Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods†." However, he carried away a *colossus* of Hercules, which he afterwards set up in the capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself in brass‡. Thus he showed himself inferior to Marcellus in his taste for the fine arts, and still more so in mercy and humanity. Marcellus in this respect had greatly the advantage, as will be seen in his life.

Hannibal had hastened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within five miles of it when it was taken, he scrupled not to say publicly, "The Romans, too, have their Hannibal; for we have lost Tarentum in the same manner that we gained it." And, in private, he then first acknowledged to his friends, "That he had always thought it difficult, but now saw it was impossible, with the forces he had, to conquer Italy."

Fabius, for this, was honoured with a triumph more splendid than the former, having gloriously maintained the field against Hannibal, and baffled all his schemes with ease, just as an able wrestler disengages himself from the arms of his antagonist, whose grasp no longer retains the same vigour: for Hannibal's army was now partly ener-

* Livy does not say that Fabius gave such orders. He only says, "There were many Brutians slain, either through ignorance, or through the ancient hatred which the Romans bore them, or because the Romans were desirous that Tarentum should be taken sword in hand, rather than betrayed to them."

† The gods were in the attitude of combatants; and they appeared to have fought against the Tarentines.

‡ The work of Lysippus.

vated with opulence and luxury, and partly impaired and worn out with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum when it was betrayed to Hannibal, retired into the citadel, and held it till the town was retaken by the Romans.—This officer beheld with pain the honours conferred upon Fabius, and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expression in the senate: "I, not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Tarentum." "True," said Fabius, laughing, "for if you had not lost the town, I had never recovered it."

Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul*. When he had entered upon his office, and was settling some point relating to the war, the father, either on account of his age and infirmities, or else to try his son, mounted his horse to ride up to him. The young consul, seeing him at a distance, would not suffer it, but sent one of the *lictors* to his father, with orders for him to dismount, and to come on foot to the consul, if he had any occasion to apply to him. The whole assembly were moved at this, and cast their eyes upon Fabius, by their silence and their looks expressing their resentment of the indignity offered to a person of his character. But he instantly alighted, and ran to his son, and embraced him with great tenderness. "My son," said he, "I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. You know what a people you command, and have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was the way that we and our forefathers took to advance Rome to her present height of glory, always considering the honour and interest of our country before that of our own fathers and children."

And, indeed, it is reported that the great-grandfather of our Fabius†, though he was one of the greatest men in Rome, whether we consider his reputation or authority, though he had been five times consul, and had been honoured with several glorious triumphs on account of his successes in war of the last importance, yet condescended to serve as lieutenant to his son, then consul‡, in an expedition against the Samnites: and, while his son, in the triumph which was decreed him, drove into Rome in a chariot and four, he, with others, followed him on horseback. Thus, while he had authority over his son, considered as a private man, and while he was, both especially and reputedly, the most considerable member of the commonwealth, yet he gloried in showing his subjection to the laws and to the magistrate. Nor was this the only part of his character that deserves to be admired.

* Four years before the father took Tarentum. † Fabius Rullus.

‡ Fabius Gurges, who had been defeated by the Samnites, and would have been degraded, had not his father promised to attend him in his second expedition as his lieutenant.

When Fabius Maximus had the misfortune to lose his son, he bore that loss with great moderation, as became a wise man and a good father: and the funeral oration*, which, on occasion of the deaths of illustrious men, is usually pronounced by some near kinsman, he delivered himself, and having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many battles, and driven them out of that province, and when he had, moreover, reduced several towns and nations under the obedience of Rome, on returning loaded with spoil, he was received with great acclamations and general joy. Being appointed consul, and finding that the people expected something great and striking at his hands, he considered it as an antiquated method, and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Hannibal in Italy, and therefore determined to remove the seat of war from thence into Africa, to fill the enemy's country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itself. With this view he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his design. But Fabius, on this occasion, filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth was going to be brought into the most extreme danger, by a rash and indiscreet young man; in short, he scrupled not to do or say any thing he thought likely to dissuade his countrymen from embracing the proposal. With the senate he carried his point†. But the people believed that his opposition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his success, or from a secret fear, that if this young hero should perform some signal exploit, put an end to the war, or even remove it out of Italy, his own slow proceedings, through the course of so many years, might be imputed to indolence or timidity.

To me, Fabius seems at first to have opposed the measures of Scipio from an excess of caution and prudence, and to have really thought the danger attending his project great; but in the progress of the opposition, I think he went too great lengths, misled by ambition and a jealousy of Scipio's rising glory. For he applied to Crassus, the colleague of Scipio, and endeavoured to persuade him not to yield that province to Scipio, but, if he thought it proper to conduct the war in that manner, to go himself against Carthage‡. Nay, he

* Cicero, in his treatise on old age, speaks in high terms both of Fabius and this oration of his: "Many extraordinary things have I known in that man, but nothing more admirable than the manner in which he bore the death of his son, a person of great merit, and of consular dignity. His eulogium is in our hands; and, while we read it, do we not look down on the best of the philosophers!"

† See the debates in the senate on that occasion in Livy, lib. xxviii.

‡ This Crassus could not do; for, being *Pontifex Maximus*, it was necessary that he should remain in Italy.

even hindered the raising of money for that expedition, so that Scipio was obliged to find the supplies as he could: and he effected it through his interest with the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to him*. As for Crassus, he stayed at home, partly induced to it by his disposition, which was mild and peaceful, and partly by the care of religion, which was intrusted to him as high-priest.

Fabius, therefore, took another method to traverse the design. He endeavoured to prevent the young men who offered to go volunteers from giving in their names, and loudly declared, both in the senate and *forum*, "That Scipio did not only himself avoid Hannibal, but intended to carry away with him the remaining strength of Italy, persuading the young men to abandon their parents, their wives, and native city, whilst an unsubdued and potent enemy was still at their doors." With these assertions he so terrified the people, that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and three hundred of those men who had served him with so much fidelity in Spain. In this particular Fabius seems to have followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio was gone over into Africa, an account was soon brought to Rome of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account was followed by rich spoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king was taken prisoner; two camps were burnt and destroyed, and in them a vast number of men, arms, and horses; and the Carthaginians sent orders to Hannibal to quit his fruitless hopes in Italy, and return home to defend his own country. Whilst every tongue was applauding these exploits of Scipio, Fabius proposed that his successor should be appointed, without any shadow of reason for it, except what this well known maxim implies, viz. "That it is dangerous to trust affairs of such importance to the fortune of one man, because it is not likely that he will always be successful."

By this he offended the people, who now considered him as a captious and envious man, or as one whose courage and hopes were lost in the dregs of years, and who, therefore, looked upon Hannibal as much more formidable than he really was. Nay, even, when Hannibal embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceased not to disturb the general joy, and to damp the spirits of Rome. For he took the liberty to affirm, "That the commonwealth was now come

* Scipio was empowered to ask of the allies all things necessary for building and equipping a new fleet. And many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves to furnish him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for sails, &c. so that in forty days after the cutting of the timber, he was in condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, besides the thirty he had before. There went with him about seven thousand volunteers.

to her last and worst trial; that she had the most reason to dread the efforts of Hannibal when he should arrive in Africa, and attack her sons under the walls of Carthage; that Scipio would have to do with an army yet warm with the blood of so many Roman generals, dictators, and consuls." The city was alarmed with these declamations, and though the war was removed into Africa, the danger seemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

However, soon after, Scipio defeated Hannibal in a pitched battle, pulled down the pride of Carthage, and trod it under foot. This afforded the Romans a pleasure beyond all their hopes, and restored a firmness to their empire, which had been shaken with so many tempests. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Hannibal, or to see the prosperity of his country re-established; for, about the time that Hannibal left Italy, he fell sick and died. We are assured that Epaminondas died so poor, that the Thebans buried him at the public charge; for, at his death, nothing was found in his house but an iron spit*. The expense of Fabius's funeral was not indeed defrayed out of the Roman treasury, but every citizen contributed a small piece of money towards it; not that he died without effects, but that they might bury him as the father of the people, and that the honours paid him at his death might be suitable to the dignity of his life.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS COMPARED.

SUCH were the lives of those two persons, so illustrious and worthy of imitation both in their civil and military capacity. We shall first compare their talents for war. And here it strikes us at once that Pericles came into power at a time when the Athenians were at the height of prosperity, great in themselves, and respectable to their neighbours; so that, in the very strength of the republic, with only common success, he was secure from taking any disgraceful step. But as Fabius came to the helm when Rome experienced the worst and most mortifying turn of fortune, he had not to preserve the well-established prosperity of a flourishing state, but to draw his country from an abyss of misery, and raise it to happiness.

* Xylander is of opinion, that the word *Obeliskos* in this place does not signify a *spit*, but a *piece of money*; and he shows, from a passage in the life of Lysander, that money anciently was made in a pyramidical form. But he did not consider that iron money was not in use at Thebes; and Plutarch says that this obeliscus was of iron.

Besides, the successes of Cimon, the victories of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great achievements of Tolmides, rather furnished occasion to Pericles, during his administration, to entertain the city with feasts and games, than to make new acquisitions, or to defend the old ones by arms. On the other hand, Fabius had the frightful objects of defeats and disgraces before his eyes, of Roman consuls and generals slain, of lakes, fields, and forests full of the dead carcases of whole armies, and of rivers flowing with blood down to the very sea. In this tottering and decayed condition of the commonwealth, he was to support it by his counsels and his vigour, and to keep it from falling into absolute ruin, to which it was brought so near by the errors of former commanders.

It may seem, indeed, a less arduous performance to manage the tempers of a people humbled by calamities, and compelled by necessity to listen to reason, than to restrain the wildness and insolence of a city elated with success, and wanton with power, such as Athens was when Pericles held the reins of government. But then, undauntedly to keep to his first resolutions, and not to be discomposed by the vast weight of misfortunes with which Rome was then oppressed, discovers in Fabius an admirable firmness and dignity of mind.

Against the taking of Samos by Pericles, we may set the retaking of Tarentum by Fabius; and with Eubœa we may put in balance the towns of Campania. As for Capua, it was recovered afterwards by the consuls Furius and Appius. Fabius indeed gained but one set battle, for which he had his first triumph; whereas Pericles erected nine trophies for as many victories won by land and sea. But none of the victories of Pericles can be compared with that memorable rescue of Minucius, by which Fabius redeemed him and his whole army from utter destruction: an action truly great, and in which you find at once the bright assemblage of valour, of prudence, and humanity. Nor can Pericles, on the other hand, be said ever to have committed such an error as that of Fabius, when he suffered himself to be imposed on by Hannibal's stratagem of the oxen; let his enemy slip in the night through those straits in which he had been entangled by accident, and where he could not possibly have forced his way out; and, as soon as it was day, saw himself repulsed by the man who so lately was at his mercy.

If it is the part of a good general not only to make a proper use of the present, but also to form the best judgment of things to come, it must be allowed that Pericles both foresaw and foretold what success the Athenians would have in the war, namely, that they would ruin themselves by grasping at too much. But it was entirely against

the opinion of Fabius that the Romans sent Scipio into Africa, and yet they were victorious there, not by the favour of fortune, but by the courage and conduct of their general. So that the misfortunes of his country bore witness to the sagacity of Pericles; and from the glorious success of the Romans, it appeared that Fabius was utterly mistaken.—And, indeed, it is an equal fault in a commander-in-chief to lose an advantage through diffidence, and to fall into danger for want of foresight. For it is the same want of judgment and skill that sometimes produces too much confidence, and sometimes leaves too little. Thus far concerning their abilities in war.

And, if we consider them in their political capacity, we shall find that the greatest fault laid to the charge of Pericles was, that he caused the Peloponnesian war through opposition to the Lacedæmonians, which made him unwilling to give up the least point to them. I do not suppose that Fabius Maximus would have given up any point to the Carthaginians, but that he would generously have run the last risk to maintain the dignity of Rome.

The mild and moderate behaviour of Fabius to Minucius sets in a very disadvantageous light the conduct of Pericles, in his implacable persecution of Cimon and Thucydides, valuable men, and friends to the aristocracy, and yet banished by his practices and intrigues.

Besides, the power of Pericles was much greater than that of Fabius; and therefore he did not suffer any misfortune to be brought upon Athens by the wrong measures of other generals. Tolmides only carried it against him for attacking the Bœotians, and in doing it he was defeated and slain. All the rest adhered to his party, and submitted to his opinion, on account of his superior authority; whereas Fabius, whose measures were salutary and safe, as far as they depended upon himself, appears only to have fallen short by his inability to prevent the miscarriages of others. For the Romans would not have had so many misfortunes to deplore if the power of Fabius had been as great in Rome as that of Pericles in Athens.

As to their liberality and public spirit, Pericles showed it in refusing the sums that were offered him, and Fabius in ransoming his soldiers with his own money. This, indeed, was no great expense, being only about six talents*. But it is not easy to say what a treasure Pericles might have amassed from the allies, and from kings who

* Probably this is an error of the transcribers. For Fabius was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas for each prisoner, and he ransomed two hundred and forty-seven; which would cost him sixty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, more than ten talents. A very considerable expense to Fabius, which he could not answer without selling his estate.

made their court to him, on account of his great authority; yet no man ever kept himself more free from corruption.

As for the temples, the public edifices, and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, all the structures of that kind in Rome put together, until the times of the Cæsars, deserved not to be compared with them, either in the greatness of the design, or the excellence of the execution.

ALCIBIADES.

THOSE that have searched into the pedigree of Alcibiades say, that Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, was founder of the family, and that by his mother's side he was descended from Alcmæon: for Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expense, and afterwards was slain in the battle of Coronæ, where the Bœotians won the day.—Pericles and Ariphron, the sons of Xanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said (and not without reason) that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, Theramenes, were illustrious persons, and his cotemporaries, yet we do not so much as know the name of the mother of either of them; whereas we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was of Lacedæmon, and that her name was Amycla; as well as that Zopyrus was his schoolmaster; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be sufficient to say, that it retained its charm through the several stages of childhood, youth, and manhood. For it is not universally true what Euripides says,

> The very autumn of a form once fine
> Retains its beauties.

Yet this was the case of Alcibiades, amongst a few others, by reason of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse.—Aristophanes, in those verses wherein he ridicules Theorus, takes notice that Alcibiades lisped; for, instead of calling him Corax, *Raven*, he called him Colax, *Flatterer;* from whence the poet takes occasion to observe, that

the term in that lisping pronunciation, too, was very applicable to him. With this agrees the satirical description which Archippus gives of the son of Alcibiades:

> With saunt'ring step, to imitate his father,
> The vain youth moves; his loose robe wildly floats;
> He bends the neck; he lisps.

His manners were far from being uniform: nor is it strange that they varied according to the many vicissitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of strong passions; but his ruling passion was an ambition to contend and overcome. This appears from what is related of his sayings when a boy.—When hard pressed in wrestling, to prevent his being thrown, he bit the hands of his antagonist, who let go his hold, and said, "You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." "No," says he, "like a lion."

One day he was playing at dice with other boys in the street; and, when it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the waggon was to pass. The rustic disregarding him, and driving on, the other boys broke away; but Alcibiades threw himself upon his face directly before the waggon, and, stretching himself out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleased. Upon this he was so startled, that he stopped his horses, while those that saw it ran up to him with terror.

In the course of his education, he willingly took the lessons of his other masters, but refused learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecomming a gentleman. "The use of the *plectrum* upon the lyre, he would say, has nothing in it that disorders the features or form, but a man is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends when he plays upon the flute. Besides, the lyre does not hinder the performer from speaking or accompanying it with a song, whereas the flute so engages the mouth and the breath, that it leaves no possibility of speaking. Therefore let the Theban youth pipe, who know not how to discourse: but we Athenians, according to the account of our ancestors, have Minerva for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector, one of whom threw away the flute, and the other stripped off the man's skin who played upon it*." Thus, partly by raillery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades kept both himself and others from learning to play upon the flute: for it soon became the talk among the young men of condition, that Alcibiades was right in holding that art in abomination, and ridiculing those that practised it. Thus it lost its place in the number of liberal accomplishments, and was universally exploded.

* Marsyas.

In the invective which Antipho wrote against Alcibiades, one story is, that, when a boy, he ran away from his guardians to one of his friends named Democrates; and that Ariphron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by saying, "If he is dead, we shall only find him one day the sooner for it; if he is safe, it will be a reproach to him as long as he lives." Another story is, that he killed one of his servants with a stroke of his stick in Sibyrtius's place of exercise. But, perhaps, we should not give entire credit to these things, which were professedly written by an enemy to defame him.

Many persons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his person. Socrates was the only one whose regards were fixed upon the mind, and bore witness to the young man's virtue and ingenuity, the rays of which he could distinguish through his fine form.—And fearing lest the pride of riches and high rank, and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and strangers, should corrupt him, he used his best endeavours to prevent it, and took care that so hopeful a plant should not lose its fruit, and perish in the very flower. If ever fortune so enclosed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him inaccessible to the incision-knife of philosophy, and the searching-probe of free advice, surely it was Alcibiades. From the first he was surrounded with pleasure, and a multitude of admirers, determined to say nothing but what they thought would please, and to keep him from all admonition and reproof: yet, by his native penetration, he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and the great who sued for his regard.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, want improper favours, but that he studied to correct the errors of his heart, and to cure him of his empty and foolish arrogance,

> Then his crest fell, and all his pride was gone,
> He droop'd the conquer'd wing.

In fact, he considered the discipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself, admiring his friend, adoring his wisdom, and revering his virtue, he insensibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather came under the influence of that power, who, as Plato says, secure his votaries from vicious love. It surprised all the world to see him constantly sup with Socrates, take with him the exercise of wrestling, lodge in the same tent with him, while to his other admirers he was reserved and rough. Nay, to some he behaved with great insolence; to Anytus, for instance, the son of Anthemion. Anytus was very

fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for some strangers, he desired Alcibiades to give him his company. Alcibiades would not accept of the invitation, but having drank deep with some of his acquaintance at his own house, he went thither to play some frolic. The frolic was this: he stood at the door of the room where the guests were entertained, and seeing a great number of gold and silver cups upon the table, he ordered his servants to take half of them, and carry them to his own house*: and then, not vouchsafing so much as to enter into the room himself, as soon as he had done this, he went away.—The company resented the affront, and said he had bahaved very rudely and insolently to Anytus. "Not at all," said Anytus, "but rather kindly, since he has left us half, when he knew it was in his power to take the whole."

He behaved in the same manner to his other admirers, except only one stranger. This man, they tell us, was in but indifferent circumstances; for, when he had sold all, he could make up no more than the sum of one hundred *staters*†; which he carried to Alcibiades, and begged of him to accept it. Alcibiades was pleased at the thing, and, smiling, invited him to supper.—After a kind reception and entertainment, he gave him the gold again, but required him to be present the next day, when the public revenues were to be offered to farm, and to be sure to be the highest bidder. The man endeavouring to excuse himself, because the rent would be many talents, Alcibiades, who had a private pique against the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. Next morning, therefore, the stranger appeared in the market-place, and offered a talent more than the former rent. The farmers, uneasy and angry at this, called upon him to name his security, supposing that he could not find any. The poor man was indeed much startled, and going to retire with shame, when Alcibiades, who stood at some distance, cried out to the magistrates, "Set down my name; he is my friend, and I will be his security." When the old farmers of the revenue heard this, they were much perplexed: for their way was, with the profits of the present year to pay the rent of the preceding; so that, seeing no other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they applied to the stran-

* Athenæus says, he did not keep them himself, but having taken them from this man who was rich, gave them to Thrasylus, who was poor.

† The *stater* was a coin which weighed four Attic drachmas, and was either of gold or silver. The silver was worth about two shillings and sixpence sterling. The *stater daricus*, a gold coin, was worth twelve shillings and three pence halfpenny: but the Attic *stater* of gold must be worth much more, if we reckon the proportion of gold to silver only at ten to one, as it was then: whereas now it is about sixteen to one.—Dacier, then, is greatly mistaken, when he says the *stater* here mentioned by Plutarch was worth only forty French sols; for Plutarch says expressly that these *staters* were of gold.

ger in a humble strain, and offered him money. But Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent, which accordingly was paid. Having done him this service, he told him he might relinquish his bargain.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though sometimes he gave Socrates the slip, and was drawn away by his flatterers, who exhausted all the art of pleasure for that purpose, yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him; the rest he held in great contempt.—Hence that saying of Cleanthes: Socrates gains Alcibiades by the ear, and leaves to his rivals other parts of his body, with which he scorns to meddle. In fact, Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleasure; and what Thucydides says concerning his excesses in his way of living, gives occasion to believe so. Those who endeavoured to corrupt him, attacked him on a still weaker side, his vanity and love of distinction, and led him into vast designs and unseasonable projects, persuading him, that as soon as he should apply himself to the management of public affairs, he should not only eclipse the other generals and orators, but surpass even Pericles himself in point of reputation, as well as interest with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when softened by the fire, is soon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water, so when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or swoln with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himself by his discourses; for from them he learned the number of his defects, and the imperfection of his virtue.

When he was past his childhood, happening to go into a grammar-school, he asked the master for a volume of Homer; and, upon his making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and so left him. Another schoolmaster telling him he had Homer corrected by himself, "How!" said Alcibiades, "and do you employ your time in teaching children to read? You who are able to correct Homer might seem to be fit to instruct men."

One day wanting to speak to Pericles, he went to his house, and being told there that he was busied in considering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leisure, he said as he went away, "He had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all."

While he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle they both be-

haved with great gallantry; but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually in the sight of the whole army, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, yet the generals inclined to give it to Alcibiades, on account of his quality; and Socrates, willing to encourage his thirst after true glory, was the first who gave his suffrage for him, and pressed them to adjudge him the crown and the complete suit of armour. On the other hand, at the battle of Delium, where the Athenians were routed*, and Socrates, with a few others, was retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it, did not pass him, but covered his retreat, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed furiously forward, and killed great numbers of the Athenians. But this happened a considerable time after.

To Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man respectable both for his birth and fortune, Alcibiades one day gave a box on the ear; not that he had any quarrel with him, or was heated by passion, but purely because in a wanton frolic he had agreed with his companions to do so. The whole city being full of the story of his insolence, and every body (as it was natural to expect) expressing some resentment, early next morning Alcibiades went to wait on Hipponicus, knocked at the door, and was admitted. As soon as he came into his presence, he stripped off his garment, and, presenting his naked body, desired him to beat and chastise him as he pleased. But, instead of that, Hipponicus pardoned him, and forgot all his resentment: nay, some time after, he even gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage. Some say it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with ten talents to her portion; and that when she brought him a child, he demanded ten talents more, as if he had taken her on that condition. Though this was but a groundless pretence, yet Callias, apprehensive of some bad consequence from his artful contrivances, in a full assembly of the people declared, that if he should happen to die without children, Alcibiades should be his heir.

Hipparete made a prudent and affectionate wife; but at last growing very uneasy at her husband's associating with such a number of courtezans, both strangers and Athenians, she quitted his house and went to her brother's. Alcibiades went on with his debaucheries, and gave himself no pain about his wife; but it was necessary for her, in order to a legal separation, to give in a bill of divorce to the

* Laches, as introduced by Plato, tells us, that if others had done their duty as Socrates did his, the Athenians would not have been defeated in the battle of Delium. That battle was fought the first year of the eighty-ninth Olympiad, eight years after the battle of Potidæa.

archon, and to appear personally with it; for the sending of it by another would not do. When she came to do this, according to law, Alcibiades rushed in, caught her in his arms, and carried her through the market-place to his own house, no one presuming to oppose him, or to take her from him. From that time she remained with him until her death, which happened not long after, when Alcibiades was upon his voyage to Ephesus. Nor does the violence used in this case seem to be contrary to the laws either of society in general, or of that republic in particular. For the law of Athens, in requiring her who wants to be divorced to appear publicly in person, probably intended to give the husband an opportunity to meet with her, and to recover her.

Alcibiades had a dog of an uncommon size and beauty, which cost him seventy *minæ*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off.—Some of his acquaintance found great fault with his acting so strangely, and told him that all Athens rung with the story of his foolish treatment of the dog: at which he laughed and said, "This is the very thing I wanted; for I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should find something worse to say of me."

The first thing that made him popular, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not by design, but accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people as he was walking along, he asked what it meant; and being informed there was a donative made to the people, he distributed money too as he went in amongst them. This meeting with great applause, he was so much delighted, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe*, and the bird, frightened with the noise, flew away. Upon this the people set up still louder acclamations, and many of them assisted him to recover the quail. The man who did catch it, and bring it to him, was one Antiochus†, a pilot, for whom he had ever after a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs, from his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations: but what he chose above all the rest to recommend himself by to the people, was the charms

* It was the fashion in those days to breed quails. Plato reports, that Socrates, having brought Alcibiades to acknowledge that the way to rise to distinction among the Athenians was to study to excel the generals of their enemies, replied with this severe irony, "No, no, Alcibiades; your only study is how to surpass Midias in the art of breeding quails." *Plat. in 1 Alcib.*

† The name of the man who caught the quail would hardly have been mentioned, had not Alcibiades afterwards intrusted him with the command of the fleet in his absence; when he took the opportunity to fight, and was beaten.

of his eloquence. That he was a fine speaker the comic writers bear witness; and so does the prince of orators, in his oration against Midias*, where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time. And if we believe Theophrastus, a curious searcher into antiquity, and more versed in history than the other philosophers, Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of invention, and readiness of ideas, which eminently distinguished him. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter, but the expression, and he had not the greatest facility in the latter, he often hesitated in the midst of a speech, not hitting upon the word he wanted, and stopping until it occurred to him.

He was famed for his breed of horses and number of his chariots. For no one besides himself, whether private person or king, ever sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic games. The first, the second, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides, or the third, as Euripides relates it, he bore away at once, which exceeds every thing performed by the most ambitious in that way. Euripides thus celebrates his success:

Great son of Clinias, I record thy glory,
First on the dusty plain
The threefold prize to gain;
What hero boasts thy praise in Grecian story!
Twice† does the trumpet's voice proclaim
Around the plausive *cirque* thy honour'd name:
Twice on thy brow was seen
The peaceful olive's green,
The glorious palm of easy purchas'd fame‡.

The emulation which several Grecian cities expressed, in the presents

* It appears from that passage of Demosthenes, that he spoke only from common fame, and consequently there was little of Alcibiades's then extant. We find some remains of his oratory in Thucydides.

† Alcibiades won the first, second, and third prizes in person, besides which his chariots won twice in his absence. The latter is what Euripides refers to in the words *aponeti* and *dis stephthenta*.

‡ Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, writes, that Chios fed his horses, and Cyzicus provided his victims. The passage is remarkable, for we learn from it that this was done not only when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in his warlike expeditions, and even in his travels. "Whenever," says he, "Alcibiades travelled, four cities of the allies ministered to him as his handmaids. Ephesus furnished him with tents as sumptuous as those of the Persians; Chios found provender for his horses; Cyzicus supplied him with victims and provisions for his table; and Lesbos with wine and all other necessaries for his household." None but opulent cities were able to answer such an expense: for at the time when Alcibiades won the three prizes in person at the Olympic games, after he had offered a very costly sacrifice to Jupiter, he entertained at a magnificent repast that innumerable company which had assisted at the games.

they made him, gave a still greater lustre to his success. Ephesus provided a magnificent pavilion for him; Chios was at the expence of keeping his horses and beasts for sacrifice; and Lesbos found him in wine and every thing necessary for the most elegant public table. Yet, amidst this success, he escaped not without censure, occasioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. It seems there was at Athens one Diomedes, a man of good character, and a friend of Alcibiades, who was very desirous of winning a prize at the Olympic games; and being informed that there was a chariot to be sold which belonged to the city of Argos, where Alcibiades had a strong interest, he persuaded him to buy it for him. Accordingly he did buy it, but kept it for himself, leaving Diomedes to vent his rage, and to call gods and men to bear witness of the injustice. For this there seems to have been an action brought against him; and there is extant an oration concerning a chariot, written by Isocrates, in defence of Alcibiades, then a youth; but there the plaintiff is named Tisius, not Diomedes.

Alcibiades was very young when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet he soon showed himself superior to the other orators. The persons capable of standing in some degree of competition with him were Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias the son of Niceratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the best generals of his time. The former was but a youth, like himself, just beginning to make his way, for which he had the advantage of high birth; but in other respects, as well as in the art of speaking, was inferior to Alcibiades. He seemed fitter for soliciting and persuading in private, than for stemming the torrent of a public debate; in short, he was one of those of whom Eupolis says, "True, he can talk, and yet he is no speaker." There is extant an oration against Alcibiades and Phæax, in which, amongst other things, it is alleged against Alcibiades, that he used at his table many of the gold and silver vessels provided for the sacred processions, as if they had been his own.

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward Perithois, whom Thucydides makes mention of as a very bad man, and who was a constant subject of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worst things they could say of him, and being regardless of honour, he was also insensible of shame.—This, though really impudence and folly, is by some people called fortitude and noble daring. But, though no one liked him, the people nevertheless made use of him, when they wanted to strike at persons in authority. At his instigation, the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of *ostracism*, by which they pull down and expel such of the

citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear.

As it was evident that this sentence was levelled against one of the three, Phæax, Nicias, or Alcibiades, the latter took care to unite the contending parties, and, leaguing with Nicias, caused the *ostracism* to fall upon Hyperbolus himself. Some say it was not Nicias, but Phæax, with whom Alcibiades joined interest, and by whose assistance he expelled their common enemy, when he expected nothing less. For no vile or infamous person had ever undergone that punishment. So Plato, the comic poet, assures us, thus speaking of Hyperbolus:

> Well had the caitiff earned his banishment,
> But not by ostracism; that sentence sacred
> To dangerous eminence.

But we have elsewhere given a more full account of what history has delivered down to us concerning this matter*.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the great esteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect which the Athenians themselves paid him. The rights of hospitality had long subsisted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at Pylos; yet when they found that it was chiefly by the means of Nicias that they obtained a peace, and recovered the captives, their regards centered in him. It was a common observation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had set them free from it; nay, the peace was even called the Nician peace. Alcibiades was very uneasy at this, and, out of envy to Nicias, determined to break the league.

As soon, then, as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and consequently wanted to get clear of all connexion with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens; and, both by his agents and in person, he encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or to give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almost ready to repent of the peace they had made, and would soon seek occasion to break it.

But, after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but quite dismantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still more. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability; for he reproached him with having neglected, when com-

* In the lives of Aristides and Nicias.

mander-in-chief, to make that party* prisoners who were left by the enemy in Sphacteria, and with releasing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians. He farther asserted, that though Nicias had an interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to prevent their entering into the confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians; but that when an alliance was offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian states, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias was greatly disconcerted; but, at that very juncture, it happened that ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate proposals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened: but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found means to speak with the ambassadors in the mean time; and thus he addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon, what is it you are going to do? Are you not apprised that the behaviour of the senate is always candid and humane to those who apply to it, whereas the people are haughty, and expect great concessions? If you say that you are come with full powers, you will find them untractable and extravagant in their demands. Come then, retract that imprudent declaration, and if you desire to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reason, and not to have terms extorted from you, which you cannot approve, treat with them as if you had not a discretionary commission. I will use my best endeavours in favour of the Lacedæmonians." He confirmed his promise with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himself. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his understanding and address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the ambassadors were intro-

* After the Lacedæmonians had lost the fort of Pylos in Messenia, they left the isle of Sphacteria, which was opposite that fort, a garrison of three hundred and twenty men, besides Helots, under the command of Epitades the son of Molobrus. The Athenians would have sent Nicias, while commander-in-chief, with a fleet against that island, but he excused himself. Afterwards Cleon, in conjunction with Demosthenes, got possession of it after a long dispute, wherein several of the garrison were slain, and the rest made prisoners, and sent to Athens. Among those prisoners were a hundred and twenty Spartans, who, by the assistance of Nicias, got released. The Lacedæmonians afterwards recovered the fort of Pylos: for Anytus, who was sent with a squadron to support it, finding the wind directly against him, returned to Athens; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die; which sentence, however, he commuted, by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reserved a judgment in that manner.

duced. Alcibiades asked them, in an obliging manner, what their commission was, and they answered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and storm as if he had received an injury, not done one; calling them faithless, prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor to say any thing honourable. The senate was incensed; the people were enraged; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the ambassadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives*, the Mantineans, and Eleans, as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the manner of this transaction; but the effect was very great, since it divided and embroiled almost all Peloponnesus, in one day lifted so many arms against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to so great a distance from Athens the scene of war; by which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have risked the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea†, the principal officers‡ of the Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government of Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians espoused the design, and assisted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new masters; and Alcibiades, coming to their aid, made the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians. From Athens he sent them carpenters and masons, exerting himself greatly on this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ, too, to join their city to the sea by long walls. And somebody observing to the Patrensians, "That the Athenians would one day swallow them up;" "Possibly it may be so," said Alcibiades, "but they will begin with the feet, and do it by little and little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin with the head, and do it all at once." He

* He concluded a league with these states for a hundred years, which Thucydides has inserted at full length in his fifth book; and by which we learn that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were no less perfect and explicit than ours. Their treaties were of as little consequence too; for how soon was that broken which the Athenians had made with the Lacedæmonians!

† That battle was fought near three years after the conclusion of the treaty with Argos.

‡ Those officers availed themselves of the consternation the people of Argos were in after the loss of the battle; and the Lacedæmonians gladly supported them, from a persuasion that if the popular government were abolished, and an aristocracy (like that of Sparta) set up in Argos, they should soon be masters there.

exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land as well as of the sea; and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to show by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos*. The oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives, as the bounds of Attica; by which it is insinuated, that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.

But these his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking, and debauches; his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. He wore a purple robe with a long train when he appeared in public. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed upon the boards, but hanging upon girths. And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual† ensigns of his country, but, in their stead, a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with uneasiness and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profusion, and contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute. And Aristophanes well expresses how the bulk of the people were disposed towards him:

> They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.

And he satirizes him still more severely by the following allusion:

> Nurse not a lion's whelp within your walls,
> But, if he is brought up there, sooth the brute.

The truth is, his prodigious liberality, the games he exhibited, and the other extraordinary instances of his munificence to the people, the glory of his ancestors, the beauty of his person, and the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic strength, his valour, and experience in war, so gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, call-

* Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, had devoted herself to death for the benefit of her country; it has been supposed, therefore, that the oath which the young Athenians took bound them to do something of that nature, if need should require; though, as given by Plutarch, it implies only an unjust resolution to extend the Athenian dominions to all lands that were worth seizing. Demosthenes mentions the oath in his oration *De Fals. Legat.* but does not explain it.

† Both cities and private persons had of old their ensigns, devices of arms. Those of the Athenians were commonly Minerva, the owl, or the olive. None but people of figure were allowed to bear any devices; nor even they, until they had performed some action to deserve them; in the mean time their shields were plain white. Alcibiades, in his device, referred to the beauty of his person and his martial prowess. Mottos, too, were used. Capaneus, for instance, bore a naked man with a torch in his hand; the motto this, *I will burn the city.* See more in Æschylus's tragedy of the *Seven Chiefs.*

ing them sallies of youth, and good-humoured frolics. Such were his confining Agatharcus the painter* until he had painted his house, and then dismissing him with a handsome present; his giving a box on the ear to Taureus, who exhibited games in opposition to him, and vied with him for the preference; and his taking one of the captive Melian women for his mistress, and bringing up a child he had by her. These were what they called his good-humoured frolics. But surely we cannot bestow that appellation upon the slaughtering of all the males in the isle of Melos† who had arrived at years of puberty, which was in consequence of a decree that he promoted.—Again, when Aristophon had painted the courtezan Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, many of the people eagerly crowded to see it; but such of the Athenians as were more advanced in years were much displeased, and considered these as sights only fit for a tyrant's court, and as insults on the laws of Athens. Nor was it ill observed by Archestratus, "That Greece could not bear another Alcibiades." When Timon, famed for his misanthropy, saw Alcibiades, after having gained his point, conducted home with great honour from the place of assembly, he did not shun him, as he did other men, but went up to him, and shaking him by the hand, thus addressed him: "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." This occasioned various reflections; some laughed, some railed, and others were extremely moved at the saying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades, by reason of the inconsistency of his character.

In the time of Pericles‡, the Athenians had a desire after Sicily,

* This painter had been familiar with Alcibiades's mistress.

† The isle of Melos, one of the Cyclades, and a colony of Lacedæmon, was attempted by Alcibiades, the last year of the ninetieth Olympiad, and taken the year following. Thucydides, who has given us an account of this slaughter of the Melians, makes no mention of the decree. Probably he was willing to have the carnage thought the effect of a sudden transport in the soldiery, and not of a cruel and cool resolution of the people of Athens.

‡ Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had restrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. Two years after this the Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, which were to go from thence to the succour of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracusans. The year following, they sent a still greater number; and, two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to their divisions, and by the advice of Hermocrates (whose speech Thucydides, in his fourth book, gives us at large), having sent back the fleet, the Athenians were so enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they banished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon. So infatuated were they by their prosperity, that they imagined themselves irresistible.

and when he had paid the last dept to nature, they attempted it; frequently under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. This was a step to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part, and by halves, but to send a powerful fleet to subdue it entirely. He inspired the people with hopes of great things, and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty: for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived.—And while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse, as a business too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Lybia; and, after these were gained, he designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with great attention to those who, under the sanction of age, related wonders concerning the intended expeditions; so that many of them sat whole days in the places of exercise, drawing in the dust the figure of the island, and plans of Lybia and Carthage. However, we are informed, that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astrologer, were far from expecting that these wars would turn to the advantage of Athens: the former, it should seem, influenced by some prophetic notices with which he was favoured by the genius who attended him; and the latter, either by reasonings which led him to fear what was to come, or else by knowledge with which his art supplied him. Be that as it may, Meton feigned himself mad, and, taking a lighted torch, attempted to set his house on fire.—Others say, that he made use of no such pretence, but burnt down his house in the night, and in the morning went and begged of the people to excuse his son from that campaign, that he might be a comfort to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he imposed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much against his inclination; for he would have declined the command, if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague. The Athenians, however, thought the war would be better conducted, if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again op-

posed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments, and carrying all before him, the orator Demostratus proposed a decree, that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war, and of all the preparations for it. When the people had given their assent, and every thing was got ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occured, even on a festival which was celebrated at that time. It was the feast of Adonis*; the women walked in procession with images, which represented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and singing the mournful dirges usual on such occasions.

Add to this the mutilating and disfiguring of almost all the statues of Mercury†, which happened in one night; a circumstance which alarmed even those who had long despised things of that nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony; and they were supposed to have done it in hopes that such a prodigy might induce the Athenians to desist from the war. But the people paid little regard to this insinuation, or to the discourses of those who said that there was no manner of ill presage in what had happened, and that it was nothing but the wild frolic of a parcel of young fellows flushed with wine, and bent on some extravagance. Indignation and fear made them take this event not only for a bad omen, but for the consequence of a plot which aimed at greater matters; and therefore both senate and people assembled several times within a few days, and very strictly examined every suspicious circumstance.

In the mean time, the demagogue Androcles produced some Athenian slaves and certain sojourners, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of defacing some other statues, and of mimicking the sacred mysteries in one of their drunken revels; on which occasion, they said, one Theodorus represented the herald, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the high-priest; his other companions attending as persons initiated, and therefore called Mystæ. Such was the import of the deposition of Thessalus the son of Cimon, who accused Alcibiades of impiety towards the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. The

* On the feast of Adonis all the cities put themselves in mourning; coffins were exposed at every door; the statues of Venus and Adonis were borne in procession, with certain vessels filled with earth, in which they had raised corn, herbs, and lettuce, and these vessels were called *the gardens of* Adonis. After the ceremony was over, the *gardens* were thrown into the sea or some river. This festival was celebrated throughout Greece and Egypt, and among the Jews too, when they degenerated into idolatry, see Ezekiel, x. 14.—*And behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz*, that is, Adonis.

† The Athenians had statues of Mercury at the doors of their houses, made of stones of a cubical form.

people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles, his bitterest enemy, exasperating them still more, at first he was somewhat disconcerted. But when he perceived that the seamen and soldiers too, intended for the Sicilian expedition, were on his side, and heard a body of Argives and Mantineans, consisting of a thousand men, declare that they were willing to cross the seas, and to run the risk of a foreign war for the sake of Alcibiades, but that, if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again, then he recovered his spirits, and appeared to defend himself. It was now his enemy's turn to be discouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need they had of him, would be favourable in their sentence. To obviate this inconvenience, they persuaded certain orators who were not reputed to be his enemies, but hated him as heartily as the most professed ones, to move it to the people, "That it was extremely absurd that a general who was invested with a discretionary power and a very important command, when the troops were collected, and the allies all ready to sail, should lose time, while they were casting lots for judges, and filling the glasses with water, to measure out the time of his defence. In the name of the gods let him sail, and, when the war is concluded, be accountable to the laws, which will still be the same."

Alcibiades easily saw their malicious drift in wanting to put off the trial, and observed, "That it would be an intolerable hardship to leave such accusations and calumnies behind him, and be sent out with so important a commission, while he was in suspense as to his own fate. That he ought to suffer death, if he could not clear himself of the charge; but if he could prove his innocence, justice required that he should be set free from all fear of false accusers, before they sent him against their enemies." But he could not obtain that favour. He was indeed ordered to set sail*; which he accordingly did, together with his colleagues, having near a hundred and forty galleys in his company, five thousand one hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and about one thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and others light-armed, with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war should be conducted, and was opposed by Nicias: but as Lamachus agreed with him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana†. This was all he performed, being soon sent for by the Athenians to take his trial. At first, as we have observed, there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the depositions of slaves and persons

* The second year of the eighty-first Olympiad, and seventeenth of the Peloponnesian war.

† By surprise. *Thucyd.* lib. vi.

who sojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his absence to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the statues his sacrilegious behaviour with respect to the mysteries, and alleging that both these crimes flowed from the same source*, a conspiracy to change the government. All that were accused of being anyways concerned in it, they committed to prison unheard; and they repented exceedingly that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and got him condemned upon so heavy a charge. While this fury lasted, every relation, every friend and acquaintance of his was very severely dealt with by the people.

Thucydides has omitted the names of the accusers, but others mention Dioclides and Teucer. So Phrynichus, the comic poet,

> Good *Hermes*, pray, beware a fall; nor break
> Thy marble nose, lest some false Dioclides
> Once more his shafts in fatal poison drench.
> *Merc.* I will. Nor e'er again shall that informer,
> Teucer, that faithless stranger, boast from me
> Rewards for perjury.

Indeed no clear or strong evidence was given by the informers. One of them being asked how he could distinguish the faces of those who disfigured the statues, answered, that he discerned them by the light of the moon; which was a plain falsity, for it was done at the time of the moon's change. All persons of understanding exclaimed against such baseness; but this detection did not in the least pacify the people; they went on with the same rage and violence with which they had begun, taking informations, and committing all to prison whose names were given in.

Among those that were then imprisoned, in order to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellanicus the historian reckons among the descendants of Ulysses. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government, but a favourer of oligarchy. What contributed not a little to his being suspected of having some concern in defacing the *Hermæ*, was, that the great statue of Mercury, which was placed near his house, being consecrated to that god by the tribe called the Ægeis, was almost the only one, among the more remarkable, which was left entire. Therefore to this day it is called the *Hermes* of Andocides, and that title universally prevails, though the inscription does not agree with it.

It happened, that among those who were imprisoned on the same

* They gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, and that he had persuaded the Argives to undertake something to their prejudice.

account, Andocides contracted an acquaintance and friendship with one Timæus; a man not equal in rank to himself, but of uncommon parts, and a daring spirit. He advised Andocides to accuse himself and a few more, because the decree promised impunity to any one that would confess and inform, whereas the event of the trial was uncertain to all, and much to be dreaded by such of them as were persons of distinction. He represented, that it was better to save his life by a falsity, than to suffer an infamous death as one really guilty of the crime; and that, with respect to the public, it would be an advantage to give up a few persons of dubious character, in order to rescue many good men from an enraged populace.

Andocides was prevailed upon by these arguments of Timæus; and, informing against himself and some others, enjoyed the impunity promised by the decree; but all the rest whom he named were capitally punished, except a few that fled. Nay, to procure the greater credit to his deposition, he accused even his own servants.

However, the fury of the people was not satisfied; but, turning from the persons who had disfigured the Hermæ, as if it had reposed a while only to recover its strength, it fell totally upon Alcibiades.—At last they sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough ordering their officer not to use violence, or to lay hold on his person, but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the order of the people, that he should go and take his trial, and clear himself before them; for they were apprehensive of some tumult and mutiny in the army, now it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might have raised with all the ease in the world. Indeed, the soldiers expressed great uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be spun out to a great length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reason of his poverty.

Alcibiades immediately embarked*; the consequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Massena. There were persons in the town ready to betray it, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew, and as he apprised some that were friends to the Syracusans of their intention, the affair miscarried.

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and, concealing himself there, eluded the search which was made after him. But some person knowing him, and saying, "Will not you, then, trust your country?" he answered, "As to any thing else, I will trust her; but with my life I would not trust even my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one." Afterwards, being

* He prudently embarked in a vessel of his own, and not in the Salaminian galley.

told that the republic had condemned him to die, he said, "But I will make them find that I am alive."

The information against him ran thus: "Thessalus, the son of Cimon, of the ward of Lacias, accuseth Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the ward of Scambonis, of sacrilegiously offending the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by counterfeiting their mysteries, and showing them to his companions in his own house. Wearing such a robe as the high-priest does while he shows the holy things, he called himself high priest, as he did Polytion torch-bearer, and Theodorus, of the ward of Phygea, herald: and the rest of his companions he called *persons initiated**, and *brethren of the secret;* herein acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies established by the Eumolpidæ†, the heralds and priests at Eleusis." As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him; which was denounced accordingly by all but Theano, the daughter of Menon, priestess of the temple of Agraulos, who excused herself, alleging that *she was a priestess for prayer, not for execration.*

While these decrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos, having quitted Thurii, which no longer afforded him a safe asylum, to come into Peloponnesus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta to desire permission to live there under the protection of the public faith, promising to serve that state more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them whilst their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went thither with pleasure. One thing he soon effected, which was, to procure succours for Syracuse without further hesitation or delay, having persuaded them to send Galyppus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing which he persuaded them to was to declare war against the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent: and the third, which was the most important of all, was to get Decelea fortified; for this being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to that commonwealth‡.

* The *Mystæ*, or persons initiated, were to remain a year under probation, during which time they were to go no farther than the vestibule of the temple; after that term was expired, they were called *Epoptæ*, and admitted to all the mysteries, except such as were reserved for the priests only.

† Eumolpus was the first who settled the mysteries of Ceres, for which reason his descendants had the care of them after him; and when his line failed, those who succeeded in the function were, notwithstanding, called Eumolpidæ.

‡ Agis, king of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Co-

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation at Sparta, and he was no less admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet and other austerities, he charmed and captivated the people. When they saw him close shaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarse bread, or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man had ever kept a cook in his house, seen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Milesian purple. It seems, that amongst his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging the affections of those with whom he conversed, by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manner of forms with more ease than the cameleon changes his colour. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power to assume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt himself either to good or bad, and did not find any thing which he attempted impracticable. Thus at Sparta he was all for exercise, frugal in his diet, and severe in his manners. In Asia he was as much for mirth and pleasure, luxury and ease. In Thrace, again, riding and drinking were his favourite amusements; and in the palace of Tissaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real manners, or approve in his heart the form which he assumed; but because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say, as the proverb does, *This is not the son of* Achilles, *but* Achilles *himself;* this man has surely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus: but then, if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim with Electra in the play, *The same weak woman still*!* For while king Agis was employed in a distant expedition, he corrupted his wife Timæa so effectually, that she was with child by him, and did not pretend to deny it; and when she was delivered of a son, though in public she called him Leotychidas, yet in

rinthians, and other nations of Peloponnesus, invaded Attica, and, according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, seized and fortified Decelea, which stood at an equal distance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, by means of which the Athenians were now deprived of the profits of the silver mines, of the rents of their lands, and of the succours of their neighbours. But the greatest misfortune which happened to the Athenians, from the beginning of the war to this time, was that which befel them this year in Sicily, where they not only lost the conquest they aimed at, together with the reputation they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals

* This is spoken of Hermione, in the Orestes of Euripides, upon her discovering the same vanity and solicitude about her beauty, when advanced in years, that she had when she was young.

her own house she wispered to her female friends and to her servants, that his true name was Alcibiades: to such a degree was the woman transported by her passion. And Alcibiades himself, indulging his vein of mirth, used to say, "His motive was not to injure the king, or to satisfy his appetite, but that his offspring might one day sit on the throne of Lacedæmon." Agis had information of these matters from several hands, and he was the more ready to give credit to them, because they agreed with the time. Terrified with an earthquake, he had quitted his wife's chamber, to which he returned not for the next ten months; at the end of which Leotychidas being born, he declared the child was not his, and for this reason he was never suffered to inherit the crown of Sparta.

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and Cyzicum, sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens, and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians, on this occasion, solicited for the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicum, but, at the persuasion of Alcibiades, succours were sent to those of Chios before all others. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost all that country to revolt, and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy on acount of the injury done to his bed, could not endure his glory and prosperity, for most of the present successes were ascribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy, and had influence enough with the civil magistrates to procure orders to be sent to their friends in Ionia to kill him. But timely foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every step he took he still served the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himself in their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tissaphernes, one of the grandees of Persia, or lieutenants of the king. With this Persian he soon attained the highest credit and authority; for himself, a very subtle and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. Indeed, by the elegance of his conversation, and the charms of his politeness, every man was gained, all hearts were touched. Even those that feared and envied him were not insensible to pleasure in his company; and, while they enjoyed it, their resentment was disarmed. Tissaphernes, in all other cases savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece experienced among the Persians, gave himself up, notwithstanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, insomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in address. For of all his gardens, that which excelled

in beauty, which was remarkable for the salubrity of its streams and the freshness of its meadows, which was set off with pavilions royally adorned, and retirements finished in the most elegant taste, he distinguished by the name of *Alcibiades;* and every one continued to give it that appellation.

Rejecting, therefore, the interests of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he represented them, and their king Agis, in a disadvantageous light to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to assist them effectually, nor absolutely to ruin the Athenians; but to send his subsidies to Sparta with a sparing hand; that so the two powers might insensibly weaken and consume each other, and both at last be easily subjected to the king. Tissaphernes readily followed his counsels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greatest admiration and esteem; which made him equally considerable with the Greeks of both parties. The Athenians repented of the sentence they had passed upon him, because they had suffered for it since; and Alcibiades, on his side, was under some fear and concern, lest, if their republic was destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who hated him.

At that time the whole strength of the Athenians lay at Samos. With their ships sent out from thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty; and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which were said to be coming against them; for against such a force they could not hope to defend themselves. Alcibiades, apprised of this, privately sent a messenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure them the friendship of Tissaphernes; not to recommend himself to the people, whom he could not trust, but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their superiority, repress the insolence of the commonalty, and, taking the government into their own hands, by that means save their country.

All the officers readily embraced his proposal, except Phrynicus, who was of the ward of *Diradès*. He alone suspected what was really the case, that it was a matter of very little consequence to Alcibiades whether an oligarchy or democracy prevailed in Athens; that it was his business to get himself recalled by any means whatever; and that therefore, by his invectives against the people, he wanted only to insinuate himself into the good graces of the nobility. Upon these reasons proceeded the opposition of Phrynichus; but seeing his opinion disregarded, and that Alcibiades must certainly become his enemy, he gave secret intelligence to Astyochus, the enemy's

admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades acted, advising him to beware of his designs, and to secure his person. But he knew not that, while he was betraying, he was himself betrayed; for Anstyochus, wanting to make his court to Tissaphernes, informed Alcibiades of the affair, who, he knew, had the ear of that grandee.

Alcibiades immediately sent proper persons to Samos, with an accusation against Phrynichus; who, seeing no other resource, as every body was against him, and expressed great indignation at his behaviour, attempted to cure one evil with another and a greater: for he sent to Astyochus to complain of his revealing his secret, and to offer to deliver up to him the whole Athenian fleet and army. This treason of Phrynichus, however, did no injury to the Athenians, because it was again betrayed by Astyochus; for he layed the whole matter before Alcibiades. Phrynichus had the sagacity to foresee and expect another accusation from Alcibiades, and, to be beforehand with him, he himself forewarned the Athenians, that the enemy would endeavour to surprise them, and therefore desired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ships, and to fortify their camp.

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came from Alcibiades again, advising them to beware of Phrynichus, who had undertaken to betray their fleet to the enemy; but they gave no credit to these dispatches, supposing that Alcibiades, who perfectly knew the preparations and intentions of the enemy, abused that knowledge to the raising of such a calumny against Phrynichus. Yet afterwards, when Phrynichus was stabbed in full assembly by one of Herman's soldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians, taking cognizance of the matter after his death, condemned Phrynichus as guilty of treason, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for dispatching a traitor.

The friends of Alcibiades, who now had a superior interest at Samos, sent Pisander to Athens to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to assume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tissaphernes. This was the colour of the pretence made use of by those who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body which were called *the five thousand*, but in fact were only *four hundred**, had got the

* It was at first proposed that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in five thousand of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people. But when Pisander and his associates found the strength of their party, they carried it that the old form of government should be dissolved, and that five *Prytanes* should be elected; that these five should choose a hundred; that each of the hundred should choose three; that the four hundred thus elected should become

power into their hands, they paid but little attention to Alcibiades, and carried on the war but slowly; partly distrusting the citizens, who did not yet relish the new form of government, and partly hoping that the Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favour an oligarchy, would not press them with their usual vigour.

Such of the commonalty as were at home were silent through fear, though much against their will; for a number of those who had openly opposed the *four hundred* were put to death. But when they that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it, and inclined immediately to set sail for the Piræus. In the first place, however, they sent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general, ordered him to lead them against the tyrants, and demolish both them and their power. On such an occasion, almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favour of the multitude, would have thought he must have complied with all their humours, and not have contradicted those in any thing, who, from a fugitive and a banished man, had raised him to be commander-in-chief of such a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the saving of the commonwealth: for if they had sailed home, as they promised, the enemy would have seized on Ionia immediately, and have gained the Hellespont and the islands without striking a stroke; while the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itself must have been the seat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger, but applied to them one by one, using entreaties to some, and force to others; in which he was assisted by the loud harangues of Thrasybulus, of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.

Another great service performed by Alcibiades was his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected from the king of Persia, should either join the Athenians, or at least not act on the enemy's side. In consequence of this promise he set out as expeditiously as possible, and prevailed upon Tissaphernes not to forward the ships, which were already come as far as Aspendus, but to disappoint and deceive the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless, both sides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accused Alcibiades of hindering that fleet from coming to their aid; for they supposed he had instructed the Persians to leave the Greeks to destroy each other.

a senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only when and on such matters as they thought fit.

And, indeed, it was obvious enough that such a force added to either side would entirely have deprived the other of the dominion of the sea.

After this, the *four hundred* were soon quashed*, the friends of Alcibiades very readily assisting those who were for a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wished for him, but commanded him to return; yet he thought it not best to return with empty hands, or without having effected something worthy of note; but, instead of being indebted to the compassion and favour of the multitude, to distinguish his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidus and about the isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, was sailed with his whole fleet towards the Hellespont to find out the Athenians. This made him hasten to the assistance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived with his eighteen ships at the very juncture of time when the two fleets, having engaged near Abydos, continued the fight from morning until night, one side having advantage in the right wing, and the other on the left†.

On the apperance of his squadron, both sides entertained a false opinion of the end of his coming; for the Spartans were encouraged, and the Athenians struck with terror. But he soon hoisted the Athenian flag on the admiral galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponnesians, who now had the advantage, and were urging the pursuit. His vigorous impression put them to flight, and, following them close, he drove them ashore, destroying their ships, and killed such of their men as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming; though Pharnabazus succoured them all he could from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The conclusion was, that the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ships, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious success, Alcibiades, ambitious to show himself as soon as possible to Tissaphernes, prepared presents and other proper acknowledgments for his friendship and hospitality, and then went to wait upon him with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner he expected; for Tissaphernes, who, for some time, had been accused by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehen-

* The same year that that they were set up, which was the second of the ninety-second Olympaid. The reader must carefully distinguish this faction of four hundred from the senate of four hundred established by Solon, which these turned out the few months they were in power.

† Thucydides does not speak of this arrival of Alcibiades; but probably he did not live to have a clear account of this action, for he died this year. Xenophon, who continued his history, mentions it.

sive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident, and therefore put him under arrest, and confined him at Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himself.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades, having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ; and, by way of revenge, he pretended that Tissaphernes privately set him at liberty. From thence he passed to the place where the Athenians were stationed; and being informed that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he showed the troops that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and land, nay, even to fight with stone walls, if that should be required, in order to come at their enemies; for, if the victory were not complete and universal, they could come at no money. Then he embarked the forces, and sailed to Proconesus, where he ordered them to take the lighter vessels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care that the enemy might not discover that he was coming against them. A great and sudden rain which happened to fall at that time, together with dreadful thunder and darkness, was of great service in covering his operations; for not only the enemy were ignorant of his design, but the very Athenians, whom he had ordered in great haste on board, did not presently perceive that he was under sail. Soon after the weather cleared up, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum. Lest, therefore, the enemy should be alarmed at the largeness of his fleet, and save themselves by getting on shore, he directed many of the officers to slacken sail, and keep out of sight, while he showed himself with forty ships only, and challanged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The stratagem had its effect; for, despising the small number of galleys which they saw, they immediately weighed anchor, and engaged; but the rest of the Athenian ships coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were struck with terror, and fled.—Upon that, Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships, breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and, having made a descent, pursued those that fled from their ships, and killed great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance, and was slain; but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

The Athenians remained masters of the field, and of the spoils, and took all the enemy's ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cyzicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians, who were almost all cut off, they not only secured the Hellespont, but entirely cleared the sea of the

Lacedæmonians. The letter was also intercepted, which, in the Laconic style, was to give the *Ephori* an account of their misfortune. "Our glory is faded; Mindarus is slain; our soldiers are starving; and we know not what step to take."

On the other hand, Alcibiades's men were so elated, and took so much upon them, because they had always been victorious, that they would not even vouchsafe to mix with other troops that had been sometimes beaten. It happened not long before, that Thrasyllus having miscarried in his attempt upon Ephesus, the Ephesians erected a trophy of brass in reproach of the Athenians*. The soldiers of Alcibiades, therefore, upbraided those of Thrasyllus with this affair, magnifying themselves and their general, and disdaining to join the the others, either in the place of exercise or in the camp. But soon after, when Pharnabazus, with a strong body of horse and foot, attacked the forces of Thrasyllus, who were ravaging the country round Abydos, Alcibiades marched to their assistance, routed the enemy, and, together with Thrasyllus, pursued them until night. Then admitting Thrasyllus into his company, and with mutual civilities and satisfaction, they returned to the camp. Next day he erected a trophy, and plundered the province which was under Pharnabazus, without the least opposition. The priests and priestesses he made prisoners among the rest, but soon dismissed them without ransom. From thence he intended to proceed and lay siege to Chalcedon, which had withdrawn its allegiance from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison and governor; but being informed that the Chalcedonians had collected their cattle and corn, and sent it all to the Bithynians, their friends, he led his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and sent a herald before him to summon them to surrender it. They, dreading his resentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

Afterwards he returned to the siege of Chalcedon, and enclosed it with a wall which reached from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced to raise the siege, and Hippocrates, the governor, sallied out with his whole force to attack the Athenians. But Alcibiades drew up his army so as to engage them both at once, and he defeated them both; Pharnabazus betaking himself to flight, and Hippocrates being killed, together with the greatest part of his troops This done, he sailed into the Hellespont to raise contributions in the towns upon the coast.

In this voyage he took Selybria; but in the action unnecessarily

* Trophies before had been of wood, but the Ephesians erected this of brass, to perpetuate the infamy of the Athenians; and it was this new and mortifying circumstance with which Alcibiades's soldiers reproached those of Thrasyllus. *Diodor.* lib. xiii.

exposed himself to great danger. The persons who promised to surrender the town to him, agreed to give him a signal at midnight with a lighted torch; but they were obliged to do it before the time, for fear of some one that was in the secret, who suddenly altered his mind. The torch, therefore, being held up before the army was ready, Alcibiades took about thirty men with him, and ran to the walls, having ordered the rest to follow as fast as possible. The gate was opened to him, and twenty of the conspirators, lightly armed, joining his small company, he advanced with great spirit, but soon perceived the Selybrians, with their weapons in their hands, coming forward to attack him. As to stand and fight promised no sort of success, and he who to that hour had never been defeated did not choose to fly, he ordered a trumpet to command silence, and proclamation to be made, that *the* Selybrians *should not*, under the pain of the republic's high displeasure, *take up arms against the* Athenians. Their inclination to the combat was then immediately damped, partly from a supposition that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes they conceived of coming to tolerable terms. Whilst they were talking together of this order, the Athenian army came up, and Alcibiades, rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, was afraid of giving the Thracians an opportunity to plunder the town. These last came down in great numbers to serve under him as volunteers, from a particular attachment to his person; but, on this occasion, he sent them all out of the town; and, upon the submission of the Selybrians, he saved them from being pillaged, demanding only a sum of money, and leaving a garrison in the place.

Mean time, the other generals, who carried on the siege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus on these conditions; namely, that a sum of money should be paid them by Pharnabazus; that the Chalcedonians should return to their allegiance to the republic of Athens; and that no injury should be done the province of which Pharnabazus was governor, who undertook that the Athenian ambassadors should be conducted safe to the king. Upon the return of Alcibiades, Pharnabazus desired that he too would swear to the performance of the articles; but Alcibiades insisted that Pharnabazus should swear first. When this treaty was reciprocally confirmed with an oath, Alcibiades went against Byzantium, which had revolted, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. While he wa thus employed, Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and some others, secretly promised to deliver up the place, on condition that he would keep it from being plundered. Hereupon he caused it to be reported, that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and in

the day-time he set sail with his whole fleet: but returning at night, he himself disembarked with the land-forces, and posting them under the walls, he commanded them not to make the least noise. At the same time the ships made for the harbour, and the crews pressing in with loud shouts and great tumult, astonished the Byzantines, who expected no such matter. Thus an opportunity was given to those within the walls, who favoured the Athenians, to receive them in great security, while every body's attention was engaged upon the harbour and ships.

The affair passed not, however, without blows. For the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Megarensians, who were at Byzantium, having driven the ships' crews back to their vessels, and perceiving that the Athenian land-forces were got into the town, charged them too with vigour. The dispute was sharp, and the shock great, but victory declared for Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of these generals commanded the right wing, and the latter the left. About three hundred of the enemy, who survived, were taken prisoners.—Not one of the Byzantines, after the battle, was either put to death or banished; for such were the terms on which the town was given up, that the citizens should be safe in their persons and their goods.

Hence it was, that when Anaxilaus was tried at Lacedæmon for treason, he made a defence which reflected no disgrace upon his past behaviour; for he told them, "That not being a Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine, and seeing not Lacedæmon but Byzantium in danger, its communication with those that might have relieved it stopped, and the Peloponnesians and Bœotians eating up the provisions that were left, while the Byzantines, with their wives and children, were starving, he had not betrayed the town to an enemy, but delivered it from calamity and war; herein imitating the worthiest men among the Lacedæmonians, who had no other rule of justice and honour, but by all possible means to serve their country." The Lacedæmonians were so much pleased with this speech, that they acquitted him, and all that were concerned with him.

Alcibiades, by this time desirous to see his native country, and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen, after so many glorious victories, set sail with the Athenian fleet, adorned with many shields and other spoils of the enemy; a great many ships that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had destroyed being carried in triumph; for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added by Duris the Samian, who boasts of his being descended from Alcibiades, that the oars kept time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games; that Callipides the tragedian, attired in his

buskins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to those who laboured at the oars; and that the admiral galley entered the harbour with a purple sail; as if the whole had been a company who had proceeded from a debauch to such a frolic; these are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon. Nor is it probable that, at his return from exile, and after such misfortunes as he had suffered, he would insult the Athenians in that manner. So far from it, that he approached the shore with some fear and caution; nor did he venture to disembark until, as he stood upon the deck, he saw his cousin Eurytolemus, with many others of his friends and relations, coming to receive and invite him to land.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but, crowding up to him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could approach him crowned him with garlands; while those who could not come up so close viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young.—Many tears were mixed with public joy, and the memory of past misfortunes with the sense of their present success. For they concluded, that they should not have miscarried in Sicilly, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, if they had left the direction of affairs, and the command of the forces, to Alcibiades; since now, having exerted himself in behalf of Athens, when it had almost lost its dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend its own suburbs, and was moreover harassed with intestine broils, he had raised it from that low and ruinous condition, so as not only to restore its maritime power, but to render it victorious every where by land.

The act for recalling him from banishment had been passed at the motion of Critias, the son of Callæschrus*, as appears from his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of his service:

> If you no more in hapless exile mourn,
> The praise is mine .....

The people presently meeting in full assembly, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his hard fortune, and the influence of some envious demon.—

* This Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and the same that he introduces in his dialogues. Though now the friend of Alcibiades, yet, as the lust of power destroys all ties, when one of the thirty tyrants, he became his bitter enemy; and sending to Lysander, assured him that Athens would never be quiet, or Sparta safe, until Alcibiades was destroyed. Critias was afterwards slain by Thrysabulus, when he delivered Athens from that tyranny.

He then proceeded to discourse of the hopes and designs of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. And they were so much pleased with his harangue, that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces both by sea and land. They likewise made a decree, that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the heralds should take off the execrations which they had pronounced against him by order of the people. Whilst the rest were employed in expiations for this purpose, Theodorus the high-priest said, "For his part, he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth."

Amidst this glory and prosperity of Alcibiades, some people were still uneasy, looking upon the time of his arrival as ominous For on that very day was kept the *plynteria**, or purifying of the goddess Minerva. It was the twenty-fifth of May, when the praxiergidæ perform those ceremonies which are not to be revealed, disrobing the image, and covering it up. Hence it is, that the Athenians of all days, reckon this the most unlucky, and take the greatest care not to business upon it. And it seemed that the goddess did not receive him graciously, but rather with aversion, since she hid her face ~~from~~ from him. Notwithstanding all this, every thing succeeded to his wish; three hundred galleys were manned, and ready to put to sea again; but a laudable zeal detained him till the celebration of the mysteries †. For, after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelea, which commaded the roads to Eleusis, the feast was not kept with its usual pomp, because they were obliged to conduct the procession by sea; the sacrifices, the sacred dances, and other ceremonies which had been performed on the way, called holy, while the image of Bacchus was carried in procession, being on that account necessalily omitted. Alcibiades judged, therefore, that it would be an act conducive to the honour of the gods, and to his reputation with men, to restore those rites to their due solemnity, by conducting the procession with his army, and guarding it against the enemy. By that means, either king Agis would be humbled if he suffered it to pass unmolested; or, if he attacked the convoy, Alcibiades would have a fight to maintain in the cause of piety and religion, for the most ve-

* On that day when the statue of Minerva was washed, the temples were encompassed with a cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary on all inauspicious days. They carried dried figs in procession, because that was the first fruit which was eaten after acorns.

† The festival of Ceres and Proserpine continued nine days. On the sixth day they carried in procession to Eleusis the statue of Bacchus, whom they supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres.

nerable of its mysteries, in the sight of his country; and all his fellow-citizens would be witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated his design to the *Eumolpidæ* and the heralds, he placed sentinels upon the eminences, and set out his advanced guard as soon as it was light. Next he took the priests, the persons initiated, and those who had the charge of initiating others, and, covering them with his forces, led them on in great order and profound silence; exhibiting in that march a spectacle so august and venerable, that those who did not envy him declared he had performed not only the office of a general, but of a high-priest: not a man of the enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession back in great safety; which both exalted him in his own thoughts, and gave the soldiery such an opinion of him, that they considered themselves as invincible while under his command. And he gained such an influence over the mean and indigent part of the people, that they were passionately desirous to see him invested with absolute power; insomuch that some of them applied to him in person, and exhorted him, in order to quash the malignity of envy at once, to abolish the privileges of the people and the laws, and to quell those busy spirits who would otherwise be the ruin of the state; for then he might direct affairs, and proceed to action, without fear of groundless impeachments.

What opinion he himself had of this proposal we know not; but this is certain, that the principal citizens were so apprehensive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got him to embark as soon as possible; and the more to expedite the matter, they ordered, among other things, that he should have the choice of his colleagues. Putting to sea, therefore, with a fleet of a hundred ships, he sailed to the isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians, and such of the Lacedæmonians as assisted them. But yet he did not take the city, which gave his enemies the first occasion for the charge which they are afterwards brought against him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high distinction of character, it was Alcibiades*. For his continual successes had procured such an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he happened to fail in what he undertook, it was suspected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability; they thought nothing too hard for him, when he pleased to exert himself. They

* It was not altogether the universality of his success that rendered Alcibiades suspected, when he came short of public expectation. The duplicity of his character is obvious from the whole account of his life. He paid not the least regard to veracity in political matters; and it is not to be wondered if such principles made him continually obnoxious to the suspicion of the people.

hoped also to hear that Chios was taken, and all Ionia reduced, and grew impatient when every thing was not dispatched as suddenly as they desired. They never considered the smallness of his supplies, and that, having to carry on the war against people who were furnished out of the treasury of a great king, he was often laid under the necessity of leaving his camp to go in search of money and provisions for his men.

This it was that gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money he received from Cyrus, raised the wages of each mariner from three *oboli* a-day to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter, therefore, went into Caria to raise money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus*, who was an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate.—Though he had express orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet, in his contempt of those orders, having taken some troops on board his own galley and one more, he stood for Ephesus, where the enemy lay, and as he sailed by the heads of their ships, insulted them in the most insufferable manner both by words and actions. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him; but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to assist Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his, and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy.—Upon this disagreeable news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, from whence he moved with the whole fleet to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander, content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies which Alcibiades had in [illegible] Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, being the most d[illegible] camp, and went to Athens to impeach him. [illegible] against him, he declared, in full assembly, [illegible] the ruin of their affairs, and the means of [illegible] insolent and imprudent behaviour in comm[illegible] direction of every thing to persons who had [illegible] through the great merit of drinking dee[illegible] jokes; whilst he was securely traversing t[illegible] ney, indulging his love of liquor, or abando[illegible] pl[illegible] sures with the courtezans of Ionia and Abydos: and this at a ti[illegible] when the enemy were stationed at a small distance from his fleet. It was also objected to him, that he had built a castle in Thrace, near the city of Bisanthe, to be made use of as a retreat for himself, as if he either could not or would not live any longer in his own

* This was he who caught the quail for him.

country. The Athenians giving ear to these accusations, to show their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces*.

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of it than, consulting his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army. And having collected a band of strangers, he made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledged no king. The booty he made raised him great sums; and, at the same time, he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimanthus, the new-made generals, being now at Ægos Potamos† with all the ships which the Athenians had left, used to stand out early every morning and offer battle to Lysander, whose station was at Lampsacus, and then to return and pass the day in a disorderly and careless manner, as if they despised their adversary. This seemed to Alcibiades, who was in the neighbourhood, a matter not to be passed over without notice. He therefore went and told the generals‡, "He thought their station by no means safe in a place where there was neither town nor harbour; that it was very inconvenient to have their provisions and stores from so distant a place as Sestos; and extremely dangerous to let their seamen go ashore, and wander about at their pleasure, whilst a fleet was observing them, which was under the orders of one man, and the strictest discipline imaginable. He therefore advised them to remove their station to Sestos."

The generals, however, gave no attention to what he said, and Tydeus was so insolent as even to bid him begone, for that they, not he, were now to give orders. Alcibiades, suspecting that there was some tr[illegible] the case, retired, telling his acquaintance, who condu[illegible] the camp, that if he had not been insulted in [illegible]anner by the generals, he would in a few [illegible]acedæmonians, however unwilling, either to [illegible], or else to quit their ships. This to some [illegible]o others it seemed not at all improbable, [illegible]ught down a number of Tracian archers and [illegible]ass the Lacedæmonian camp§.

[illegible]ls. *Xenoph.* lib. i.

Pl[illegible]ost three years; namely, the twenty-fifth of the Peloponnesian war; the twenty-sixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginusæ, and put six of the ten generals to death, upon a slight accusation of their colleague Theramenes; and almost the whole twenty-seventh, towards the end of which the Athenians sailed to Ægos Potamos, where they received the blow that is spoken of in this place.

‡ The officers at the head of the Grecian armies and navy we sometimes call generals, sometimes admirals because they commonly commanded both by sea and land.

§ When a fleet remained some time at one particular station, there was generally a body of land-forces, and part of the mariners too, encamped upon the shore.

The event soon showed that he judged right of the errors which the Athenians had committed. For Lysander falling upon them when they least expected it, eight galleys only escaped*, along with Conon; the rest, not much short of two hundred, were taken and carried away, together with three thousand prisoners, who were afterwards put to death. And within a short time after Lysander took Athens itself, burnt the shipping, and demolished the long walls.

Alcibiades, alarmed at this success of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. Thither he ordered much treasure to be sent, and took large sums with him, but still left more behind in the castle where he had resided. In Bithynia he once more lost great part of his substance, being stript by the Thracians there, which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat his protection.—He imagined that the king, upon trial, would find him no less serviceable than Themistocles had been, and he had a better pretence to his patronage; for he was not going to solicit the king's aid against his countrymen, as Themistocles had done, but for his country against its worst enemies. He concluded that Pharnabazus was most likely to procure him a safe conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time making his court, and receiving marks of respect.

It was a grief to the Athenians to be deprived of their power and dominion; but when Lysander robbed them also of their liberty, and put their city under the authority of thirty chiefs, they were still more miserably afflicted. Now their affairs were ruined, they perceived with regret the measures which would have saved them, and which they had neglected to make use of; now they acknowledged their blindness and errors, and looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest of those errors. They had cast him off without any offence of his: their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his lieutenant in losing a few of his ships, and their own conduct had been still worse in depriving the commonwealth of the most excellent and valiant of all its generals. Yet, amidst their present misery, there was one slight glimpse of hope, that, while Alcibiades survived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he, who before was not content to lead an inactive though peaceable life in exile, would not now, if his own affairs were upon any tolerable footing, sit still and see the insolence of the Lacedæmonians, and the madness of the thirty tyrants, without endeavouring at some remedy. Nor was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of such relief, since those thirty chiefs themselves were so solicitous to inquire af-

* There was a ninth ship called Paralus, which escaped and carried the news of their defeat to Athens. Conon himself retired to Cyprus.

ter Alcibiades, and gave so much attention to what he was doing and contriving.

At last Critias represented to Lysander, that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy was absolutely destroyed. And though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to such a kind of government. Lysander, however, could not be prevailed upon by these arguments, until he received private orders from the magistrates of Sparta* to get Alcibiades dispatched; whether it was that they dreaded his great capacity and enterprising spirit, or whether it was done in complaisance to king Agis. Lysander then sent to Pharnabazus to desire him to put this order in execution; and he appointed his brother Magacus, and his uncle Susamithres, to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided in a small village in Phrygia, having his mistress Timandra with him. One night he dreamt that he was attired in his mistress's habit†, and that, as she held him in her arms, she dressed his head, and painted his face like a woman's. Others say, he dreamt that Magacus cut off his head, and burnt his body; and we are told, that it was but a little before his death that he had this vision. Be that as it may, those that were sent to assassinate him, not daring to enter his house, surrounded it, and set it on fire. As soon as he perceived it, he got together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it; then, having wrapt his robe about his left hand, and taking his sword in his right, he sallied through the fire, and got safe out before the stuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At sight of him the barbarians dispersed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand; but, standing at a distance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was slain, Timandra wrapt the body in her own robes‡, and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow.

Timandra is said to have been mother to the famous Lais, commonly called the Corinthian, though Lais was brought a captive from Hyccaræ, a little town in Sicily.

* The *Scytala* was sent to him.

† Alcibiades had dreamt that Timandra attired him in her own habit.

‡ She buried him in a town called Melissa: and we learn from Athenæus (*in Deipnosoph.*) that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor Adrian, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of Persian marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull to be sacrificed to him annually.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner of Alcibiades's death, yet differ about the cause. They tell us, that catastrophe is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lysander, or the Lacedæmonians; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of a noble family in that country, and keeping her in his house, her brothers, incensed at the injury, set fire in the night, to the house in which he lived, and, upon his breaking through the flames, killed him in the manner we have related*.

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

The family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illustrious patricians. Of this house was Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter; as were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who supplied Rome with plenty of the best water. Censorinus, too, who was twice appointed *Censor* by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterwards, had the same pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, was brought up by his mother in her widowhood; and from him it appeared, that the loss of a father, though attended with other disadvantages, is no hinderance to a man's improving in virtue, and attaining to a distinguished excellence; though bad men sometimes allege it as an excuse for their corrupt lives. On the other hand, the same Marcius became witness to the truth of that maxim, that if a generous and noble nature be not thoroughly formed by discipline, it will shoot forth many bad qualities along with the good, as the richest soil, if not cultivated, produces the rankest weeds. His undaunted courage and firmness of mind, excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honour. But, at the same time, the violence of his passions, his spirit of contention and excessive obstinacy, rendered him untractable and disagreeable in conversation:

* Ephorus, the historian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xiv.) gives an account of his death quite different from those recited by Plutarch. He says, that Alcibiades having discovered the design of Cyrus the younger to take up arms, informed Pharnabazus of it, and desired that he might carry the news to the king; but Pharnabazus, envying him that honour, sent a confident of his own, and took all the merit to himself. Alcibiades, suspecting the matter, went to Paphlagonia, and sought to procure from the governor letters of credence to the king, which Pharnabazus understanding, hired people to murder him. He was slain in the fortieth year of his age.

so that those very persons who saw with admiration his soul unshaken with pleasures, toils, and riches, and allowed him to b possessed of the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude, yet in the councils and affairs of state, could not endure his imperiou temper, and that savage manner which was too haughty for a republic Indeed, there is no other advantage to be had from a liberal educatio equal to that of polishing and softening our nature by reason and dis cipline; for that produces an evenness of behaviour, and banishe from our manners all extremes. There is this, however, to be said that in those times, military abilities were deemed by the Roman the highest excellence, insomuch that the term which they use fo virtue in general, was applied by them to valour in particular.

Marcius, for his part, had a more than ordinary inclination fo war, and therefore from a child began to handle his weapons. A he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unless those wit which nature has supplied us be well improved and kept ready fo use, he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind of combat that while his limbs were active and nimble enough for pursuing such was his force and weight in wrestling and in grappling wit the enemy, that none could get easily clear of him. Those, there fore, that had any contest with him for the prize of courage and va lour, though they failed of success, flattered themselves with im puting it to his invincible strength, which nothing could resist o fatigue.

He made his first campaign when he was very young*, whe Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne and after many battles fought with bad success, was now venturin all upon the last throw. Most of the people of Latium, and man other states of Italy, were now assisting, and marching toward Rome, to re-establish him, not through any regard they had fo Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whose growin greatness they were desirous to check. A battle ensued, with va rious turns of fortune. Marcius distinguished himself that day i sight of the dictator; for, seeing a Roman pushed down at a smal distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him he engaged his adversary, and slew him. When the dispute was de cided in favour of the Romans, the general presented Marcius, amon the first, with an oaken crown†. This is the reward which their custon

* In the first year of the seventy-first Olympiad, the two hundred and fifty-eight of Rome, four hundred and ninety-third before the Christian era.

† The civic crown was the foundation of many privileges. He who had once obtained it had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the public spectacles the senators rose up to do him honour. He was placed near their bench; and his fa

assigns to the man who saves the life of a citizen; either because they honoured the oak for the sake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called *acorn-eaters;* or because an oaken branch is most easy to be had, be the scene of action were it will; or because they think it most suitable to take a crown for him who is the means of saving a citizen, from the tree which is sacred to Jupiter, the protector of cities. Besides, the oak bears more and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the strongest of those that are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the first ages both food and drink, by its acorns and honey; and supplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the misletoe, of which birdlime is made*.

Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared in that battle, and, with their horses dropping sweat, to have been seen soon after in the *forum*, announcing the victory near the fountain, where the temple now stands.—Hence also it is said, that the fifteenth of July†, being the day on which that victory was gained, is consecrated to those sons of Jupiter.

It generally happens, that when men of small ambition are very early distinguished by the voice of fame, their thirst of honour is soon quenched, and their desires satiated; whereas deep and solid minds are improved and brightened by marks of distinction, which serve as a brisk gale to drive them forward in the pursuit of glory. They do not so much think that they have received a reward as that they have given a pledge, which would make them blush to fall short of the expectations of the public, and therefore they endeavour by their actions to exceed them. Marcius had a soul of this frame. He was always endeavouring to excel himself, and meditating some exploit which might set him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and spoils to spoils; therefore the latter generals under whom he served were always striving to outdo the former in the honours they paid him, and in the tokens of their esteem. The Romans at that time were engaged in several wars, and fought many battles, and there was not one that Marcius returned from without some honorary crown, some ennobling distinction. The end which others proposed in their acts of valour was glory; but he pursued

ther, and grandfather by the father's side, were entitled to the same privileges. Here was an encouragement to merit, which cost the public nothing, and yet was productive of many great effects.

* It does not any where appear that the ancients made use of the oak in ship building. How much nobler an encomium might an English historian afford that tree than Plutarch has been able to give it!

† By the great disorder of the Roman kalendar, the fifteenth of July then fell upon the twenty-fourth of our October.

glory because the acquisition of it delighted his mother. For when she was witness to the applauses he received, when she saw him crowned, when she embraced him with tears of joy, then it was that he reckoned himself at the height of honour and felicity. Epaminondas (they tell us) had the same sentiments, and declared it the chief happiness of his life that his father and mother lived to see the generalship he exerted, and the victory he won at Leuctra. *He* had the satisfaction, indeed, to see both his parents rejoice in his success, and partake of his good fortune; but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia, was living, and therefore, holding himself obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, over and above what was due to herself, he thought he could never sufficiently express his tenderness and respect. He even married in compliance with her desire and request, and, after his wife had borne him children, still lived in the same house with his mother.

At the time when the reputation and interest which his virtue had procured him in Rome was very great, the senate, taking the part of the richer sort of citizens, were at variance with the common people, who were used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those that had something considerable were stripped of their goods, which were either detained for security, or sold; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds, and worn out with fighting for their country. The last expedition they were engaged in was against the Sabines, on which occasion their rich creditors promised to treat them with more lenity, and, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, M. Valerius, the consul, was guarantee of that promise. But when they had cheerfully undergone the fatigues of that war, and were returned victorious, and yet found that the usurers made them no abatement, and that the senate pretended to remember nothing of that agreement, but, without any sort of concern, saw them dragged to prison, and their goods seized upon as formerly, then they filled the city with tumult and sedition.

The enemy, apprised of these intestine broils, invaded the Roman territories, and laid them waste with fire and sword. And when the consuls called upon such as were able to bear arms to give in their names, not a man took any notice of it. Something was then to be done, but the magistrates differed in their opinions. Some thought the poor should have a little indulgence, and that the extreme rigour of the law ought to be softened. Others declared absolutely against that proposal, and particularly Marcius. Not that he thought the money a matter of great consequence, but he considered this specimen of the people's insolence as an attempt to subvert the laws, and

the forerunner of farther disorders, which it became a wise government timely to restrain and suppress.

The senate assembled several times within the space of a few days, and debated this point; but, as they came to no conclusion, on a sudden, the commonalty rose one and all, and, encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill now called *Sacred*, near the river Anio, but without committing any violence or other act of sedition. Only, as they went along, they loudly complained, "That it was now a great while since the rich had driven them from their habitations; that Italy would anywhere supply them with air and water, and a place of burial; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would afford them no other privilege, unless it were such, to bleed and die in fighting for their wealthy oppressors."

The senate were then alarmed, and from the oldest men of their body selected the most moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who, after much entreaty addressed to them, and many arguments in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with this celebrated fable: "The members of the human body once mutinied against the belly, and accused it of lying idle and useless, while they were all labouring and toiling to satisfy its appetites: but the belly only laughed at their simplicity, who knew not that though it received all the nourishment into itself, it prepared and distributed it again to all parts of the body. Just so my fellow-citizens," said he, "stands the case between the senate and you: for their necessary counsels and acts of government are productive of advantage to you all, and distribute their salutary influence amongst the whole people."

After this they were reconciled to the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men* to defend their right on all occasions. These are called tribunes of the people. The first that were elected were Junius Brutus†, and Sicinius Vellutus, the leaders of the secession. When the breach was thus made up, the plebeians soon came to be enrolled as soldiers, and

* The tribunes were at first five in number; but, a few years after, five more were added. Before the people left the *Mons Sacer*, they passed a law, by which the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. Their sole function was to interpose in all grievances offered the plebeians by their superiors. This interposing was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up and pronouncing the single word *veto*, I forbid it. They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it but when the consuls called them to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the people.

† The name of this tribune was Lucius Junius, and because Lucius Junius Brutus was famed for delivering his country from the tyrannic yoke of the kings, he also assumed the surname of Brutus, which exposed him to a great deal of ridicule.

readily obeyed the orders of the consuls relative to the war. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleased at the advantage which the people had gained, as it was a lessening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a considerable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the interest of their country was concerned, but to show themselves superior to the commonalty rather in virtue than in power.

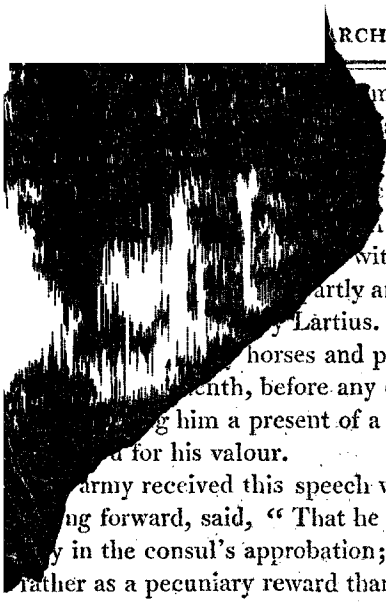
Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war. And as it was besieged by the consul Cominius, the rest of the Volscians were much alarmed, and assembled to succour it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to meet the Volscians without, who were marching against him, leaving Titus Lartius, an illustrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the body that were left, and sallied out to fight them. The Romans at first were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their intrenchments. But Marcius, with a small party, flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and, stopping the rest in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back. For he was (what Cato wanted a soldier to be) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with terror and dismay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to second him, the enemy retired in confusion. Nor was he satisfied with making them retire; he pressed hard upon their rear, and pursued them quite up to the gates.—There he perceived that his men discontinued the pursuit, by reason of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city, which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms; nevertheless, he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, "That fortune had opened the gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished." But as few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, no one at first daring to oppose him, or even to look him in the face. But when he cast his eyes around, and saw so small a number within the walls, whose services he could make use of in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he summoned all his force, and performed the most incredible exploits, whether you consider his heroic strength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring spirit; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the farthest corners of the town, and

others to give out and throw down
an opportunity to bring in the re

The city thus taken, most of th
Marcius highly resented; crying
to run about after plunder, or,
spoils, to get out of the way of dange
mans under his command were, perhaps,
As there were not many that listened to wh
at the head of such as offered to follow him, an
he knew would lead him to the consul's army; s
his small party to hasten their march, and conjuri
suffer their ardour to cool, and sometimes begging of th
the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he mig
his share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they
drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their shields, a
gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers were thus employed, and the enemy in sight, Marcius came up. Some were startled at his first appearance, covered as he was with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart; and those who heard the news of that success, and those who did but guess at it, were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be led on to the combat. Marcius inquired of Corminius in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being answered that the Antiates, who were placed in the centre, were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike—"I beg it of you, then," said Marcius, "as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them." And the consul, admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle was begun, with the throwing of spears, Marcius advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volscians with so much fury, that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him; and the consul, alarmed for him, sent to his assistance a select band which he had near his own person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcius, and a great carnage was quickly made; but the Romans pressed the enemy with so much vigour, that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon the pursuit, they begged of Marcius, now almost weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, "That it was not for conquerors to be tired," and so joined them in prose-



my of the Volscians were defeated,
ade prisoners.
n the consul, and the army being
rostrum; and having first return-
extraordinary success, addressed
with a detail of his gallant actions, of
artly an eye witness, and which had part-
Lartius. Then, out of the great quantity
horses and prisoners they had taken, he order-
enth, before any distribution was made to the rest,
him a present of a fine horse, with noble trappings,
for his valour.

army received this speech with great applause; and Marcius
ng forward, said, "That he accepted of the horse, and was
y in the consul's approbation; but as for the rest, he considered
ather as a pecuniary reward than as a mark of honour, and there-
ore desired to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of
he booty. One favour only in particular," continued he, "I desire,
nd beg I may be indulged in. I have a friend among the Volsci-
ns, bound with me in the sacred rites of hospitality*, and a man of
irtue and honour. He is now among the prisoners, and from easy
nd opulent circumstances, reduced to servitude. Of the many mis-
fortunes under which he labours, I should be glad to rescue him from
one, which is that of being sold as a slave."

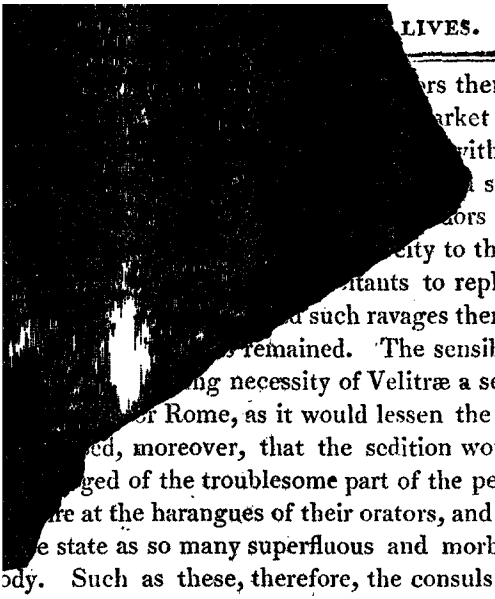
These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclama-
tions; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired
than the valour he had exerted in battle. For even those who before
regarded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, now thought
him worthy of great things, because he had greatly declined them,
and were more struck with that virtue which led him to despise such
extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them.
Indeed, the right use of riches is more commendable than that of
arms, and not to desire them at all, more glorious than to use
them well.

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude silent again,
Cominius subjoined, "You cannot indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force
these gifts of yours upon a person so firmly resolved to refuse them;
let us then give him what it is not in his power to decline; let us

* With the former translator we have rendered it thus, instead of *Host*, which is in-
deed the literal sense, but sounds uncouthly in English; as it conveys to the unlearn-
ed reader the idea of an inkeeper. Among the ancients one friend called another of a
different nation *xenos moi*, my stranger, or *hospes meus*, my host, because, on their travels
or other occasions, they entertained each other at their houses.

pass a vote that he be called C
Corioli has not already bes
came his third name of Co
was the proper name; th
the family; and that the th
of distinction, given aftewards
fortune, or signature, or virtue of hi
Greeks, additional names were given to s
chievements, as *Soter, the preserver*, and *Cau*
to others, for something remarkable in their per
the gore-bellied, and *Grypus, the eagle-nosed;* or f
qualities, as *Euergetes, the benefactor*, and *Philadelphus*,
brother; or their good fortune, as *Eudæmon, the prosp*
name given to the second prince of the family of the Batti. S
princes also have had satirical names bestowed upon them; Ant
nus (for instance) was called *Doson, the man that will give to-morrow*, and Ptolemy was styled *Lamyrus, the buffoon*. But appellations of this last sort were used with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the Metelli was distinguished by the name of *Deadematus*, because he went a long time with a bandage, which covered an ulcer he had in his forehead; and another they called *Celer*, because, with surprising celerity, he entertained them with a funeral show of gladiators a few days after his father's death. In our times, too, some of the Romans receive their names from the circumstances of their birth; as that of *Proculus*, if born when their fathers are in a distant country; and that of *Posthumus*, if born after their father's death: and when twins come into the world, and one of them dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Names are also appropriated on account of bodily imperfections; for, amongst them we find not only *Sylla, the red*, and *Niger, the black;* but even *Cæcus, the blind*, and *Claudius, the lame;* such persons by this custom being wisely taught not to consider blindness or any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or disgrace, but to answer to appellations of that kind as their proper names. But this point might have been insisted upon with greater propriety in another place.

When the war was over, the demagogues stirred up another sedition. And as there was no new cause of disquiet or injury done the people, they made use of the mischiefs which were the necessary consequence of the former troubles and dissensions, as a handle against the *patricians*. For the greatest part of the ground being left uncultivated and unsown, and the war not permitting them to bring in bread-corn from other countries, there was an extreme



rs then seeing that corn was
arket could be supplied, the
ith, slanderously asserted
spirit of revenge.

ors from the people of Ve-
ity to the Romans, and desired
itants to replenish it; a pestilential
such ravages there, that scarce the tenth
remained. The sensible part of the Romans
ng necessity of Velitræ a seasonable and advanta-
r Rome, as it would lessen the scarcity of provisions.
ed, moreover, that the sedition would subside, if the city
ged of the troublesome part of the people, who most readily
re at the harangues of their orators, and who were as dangerous
e state as so many superfluous and morbid humours are to the
dy. Such as these, therefore, the consuls singled out for the co-
ny, and pitched upon others to serve in the war against the Volsci-
ns, contriving it so, that employment abroad might still the intestine
mults, and believing, that when the rich and poor, plebeians and
atricians, came to bear arms together again, to be in the same camp,
nd to meet the same dangers, they would be disposed to treat each
ther with more gentleness and candour.

But the restless tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, opposed both these
esigns, crying out, that the consuls disguised a most inhuman act
nder the plausible term of a colony; for inhuman it certainly was,
o throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by sending them to
place where the air was infected, and where noisome carcases lay
bove ground, where also they would be at the disposal of a strange
nd cruel deity. And, as if it were not sufficient to destroy some by
amine, and to expose others to the plague, they involved them also
a needless war, that no kind of calamity might be wanting to
omplete the ruin of the city, because it refused to continue it sla-
ery to the rich.

The people, irritated by these speeches, neither obeyed the sum-
ons to be enlisted for the war, nor could be brought to approve the
rder to go and people Velitræ. While the senate were in doubt
hat step they should take, Marcius, now not a little elated with the
honours he had received, by the sense of his own great abilities, and
by the deference that was paid him by the principal persons in the

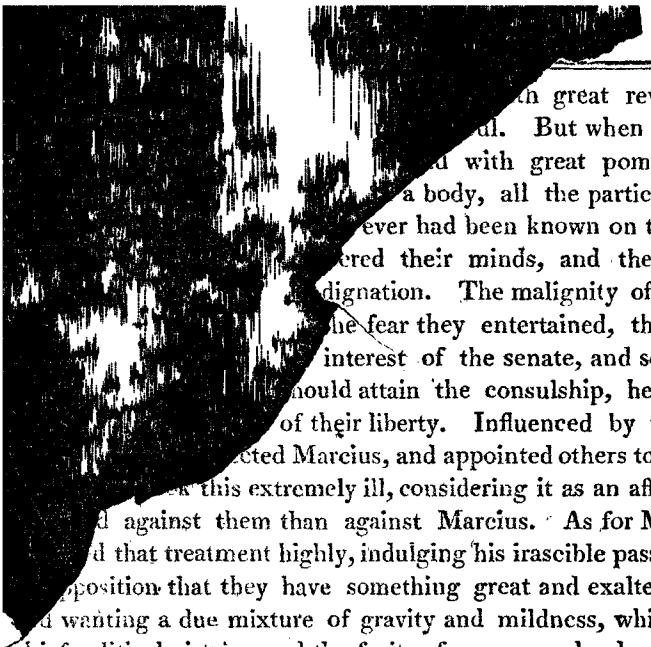
* The people withdrew to the sacred mount soon after the autumnal equinox, and the reconciliation with the patricians did not take place until the winter solstice, so that the seed-time was lost. And the Roman factors, who were sent to buy corn in other countries, were very unsuccessful.

state, stood foremost
therefore, was sent out,
to go. But as they declared
Marcius mustered up his own cli
could procure, and with these made
the *Antiates*. There he found plenty
of cattle and slaves, no part of which he
his troops back to Rome, loaded with
the citizens then repenting of their obstin
had got such a quantity of provisions, look
evil eye, not being able to endure the increa
nour, which they considered as rising on the ru

Soon after*, Marcius stood for the consulship; on
the commonalty began to relent, being sensible what a s
would be to reject and affront a man of his family and virtu
that, too, after he had done so many signal services to the public
was the custom for those who were candidates for such a high offi
to solicit and caress the people in the *forum*, and, at those times,
to be clad in a loose gown without the *tunic;* whether that humble
dress was thought more suitable for suppliants, or whether it was for
the convenience of showing their wounds, as so many tokens of va-
lour. For it was not from any suspicion the citizens then had of
bribery that they required the candidates to appear before them un-
girt, and without any close garment, when they came to beg their
votes; since it was much later than this, and indeed many ages after,
that buying and selling stole in, and money came to be a means
of gaining an election. Then, corruption reaching also the tribunals
and the camps, arms were subdued by money, and the common-
wealth was changed into a monarchy. It was a shrewd saying, who-
ever said it, "That the man who first ruined the Roman people was
he who first gave them treats and gratuities." But this mischief
crept secretly and gradually in, and did not show its face in Rome
for a considerable time; for we know not who it was that first bribed
its citizens or its judges; but it is said, that in Athens the first man
who corrupted a tribunal was Anytas, the son of Anthymion, when
he was tried for treason in delivering up the fort of Pylos, at the lat-
ter end of the Peloponnesian war; a time when the Golden Age
reigned in the Roman courts in all its simplicity.

When, therefore, Marcius showed the wounds and scars he had
received in the many glorious battles he had fought for seventeen

* It was the next year, being the third of the seventy-second Olympiad, four hundred and eighty-eight years before the Christian era.



n great reverence for
l. But when the day of
d with great pomp into the
a body, all the particians acting
ever had been known on the like oc-
ered their minds, and their kindness
dignation. The malignity of these pas-
he fear they entertained, that if a man
interest of the senate, and so much re-
ould attain the consulship, he might ut-
of their liberty. Influenced by these con-
ted Marcius, and appointed others to that office.
this extremely ill, considering it as an affront rather
d against them than against Marcius. As for Marcius, he
d that treatment highly, indulging his irascible passions, upon
position that they have something great and exalted in them;
d wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildness, which are the
chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education. He
did not consider, that the man who applies himself to public busi-
ness, and undertakes to converse with men, should, above all things,
avoid that *overbearing austerity* which (as Plato says) *is always the
companion of solitude*, and cultivate in his heart the patience which
some people so much deride. Marcius, then, being plain and art-
less, but rigid and inflexible withal, was persuaded that to vanquish
opposition was the highest attainment of a gallant spirit. He never
dreamed that such obstinacy is rather the effect of the weakness and
effeminancy of a distempered mind, which breaks out in violent pas-
sions, like so many tumours; and therefore he went away in great
disorder, and full of rancour against the people. Such of the young
nobility as were most distinguished by the pride of birth, and great-
ness of spirit, who had always been wonderfully taken with Marcius,
and then unluckily happened to attend him, inflamed his resentment
by expressing their own grief and indignation; for he was their lea-
der in every expedition, and their instructor in the art of war; he it
was who inspired them with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught
them to rejoice in their own success, without envying the exploits
of others.

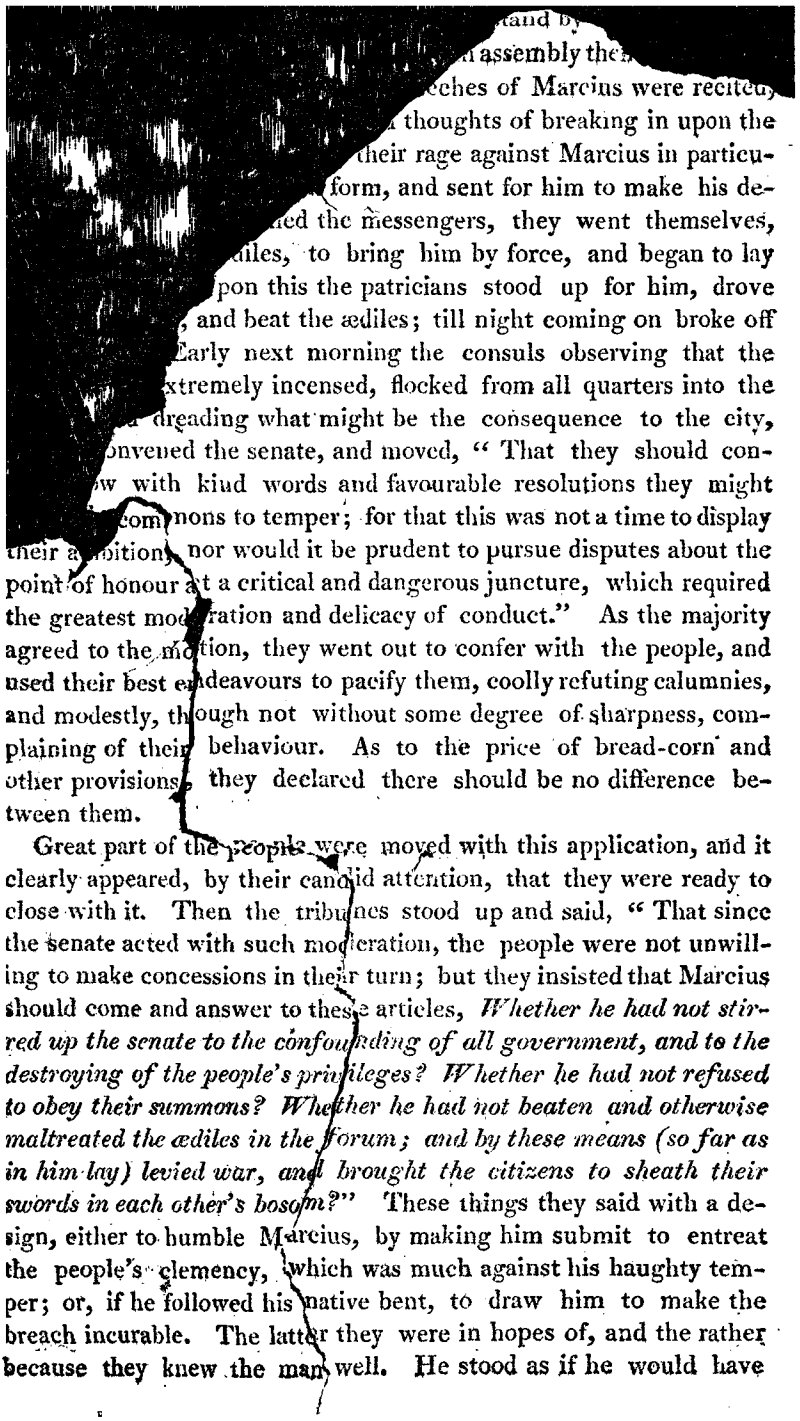
In the mean time, a great quantity of bread-corn was brought to
Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from
Gelon, king of Syracuse. The aspect of affairs appeared now to be
encouraging, and it was hoped that the intestine broils would cease
with the scarcity. The senate, therefore, being immediately assem-
bled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the issue of

[illegible]ught wo[illegible]
[illegible]was a gift wo[illegible]
who proposed that the senate[illegible]
But Marcius stood up, and severe[illegible]
favour of the commonalty, calling [illegible]
to the nobility. He said, "They nour[illegible]
judice, the pernicious seeds of boldness and[illegible]
been sown among the populace, when they shou[illegible]
ped them in the bud, and not have suffered the pleb[illegible]
themselves with the tribunitial power: that the peop[illegible]
come formidable, gaining whatever point they pleased[illegible]
any one thing against their inclination; so that, living[illegible]
anarchy, they would no longer obey the consuls, nor a[illegible]
any superiors but those whom they called their own ma[illegible]
that the senators who advised that distributions should be m[illegible]
the manner of the Grecks, whose government was entir[illegible]
cratical, were effecting the ruin of the constitution, by encouraging the insolence of the rabble. For that they would not suppose they received such favours for the campaign which they had refused to make, or for the secessions by which they had deserted their country, for the calumnies which they had countenanced against the senate: but," continued he, "they will think that we yield to them through fear, and grant them such indulgences by way of flattery; and, as they will expect to find us always so complaisant, there will be no end to their disobedience, no period to their turbulent and seditious practices. It would, therefore, be perfect madness to take such a step. Nay, if we are wise, we shall entirely abolish the tribune's office*, which has made cyphers of the consuls, and divided the city in such a manner that it is no longer one as formerly, but broken into two parts, which will never knit again, nor cease to vex and harass each other with all the evils of discord†."

Marcius, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young senators, and almost all the men of fortune, with his own enthusiasm; and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome who had a spirit above the meanness of flattery and submission; yet some of the aged senators foresaw the consequence, and opposed his measures. In fact, the issue was unfortunate; for the tribunes, who were present,

* The tribunes had lately procured a law, which made it penal to interrupt them when they were speaking to the people.

† Plutarch has omitted the most aggravating part of Coriolanus's speech, wherein he proposed the holding up the price of bread-corn as high as ever, to keep the people in dependence and subjection.



tand by
assembly the
eches of Marcius were recited,
thoughts of breaking in upon the
their rage against Marcius in particu-
form, and sent for him to make his de-
ed the messengers, they went themselves,
iles, to bring him by force, and began to lay
pon this the patricians stood up for him, drove
, and beat the ædiles; till night coming on broke off
Early next morning the consuls observing that the
xtremely incensed, flocked from all quarters into the
dreading what might be the consequence to the city,
onvened the senate, and moved, "That they should con-
w with kind words and favourable resolutions they might
commons to temper; for that this was not a time to display
their ambition, nor would it be prudent to pursue disputes about the
point of honour at a critical and dangerous juncture, which required
the greatest moderation and delicacy of conduct." As the majority
agreed to the motion, they went out to confer with the people, and
used their best endeavours to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies,
and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, com-
plaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and
other provisions, they declared there should be no difference be-
tween them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared, by their candid attention, that they were ready to close with it. Then the tribunes stood up and said, "That since the senate acted with such moderation, the people were not unwilling to make concessions in their turn; but they insisted that Marcius should come and answer to these articles, *Whether he had not stirred up the senate to the confounding of all government, and to the destroying of the people's privileges? Whether he had not refused to obey their summons? Whether he had not beaten and otherwise maltreated the ædiles in the forum; and by these means (so far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens to sheath their swords in each other's bosom?*" These things they said with a design, either to humble Marcius, by making him submit to entreat the people's clemency, which was much against his haughty temper; or, if he followed his native bent, to draw him to make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather because they knew the man well. He stood as if he would have

made his defence, an[illegible] in silence for w[illegible] to say. But when, inste[illegible] language t[illegible] pected, he began with an ag[illegible] id r[illegible] the commons than defended [illegible] t[illegible] voice and the fierceness of his looks, [illegible] dering upon insolence and contem[illegible] Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, a[illegible] his colleagues, pronounced openly that the [illegible] Marcius to die. He then ordered the ædiles to tak[illegible] up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and throw hi[illegible] cipice. However, when they came to lay hands on [illegible] appeared horrible even to many of the plebeians. Th[illegible] patr[illegible] shocked and astonished, ran with great outcries to his assistan[illegible] and got Marcius in the midst of them, some interposing to keep off the arrest, and others stretching out their hands in supplication to the multitude; but no regard was paid to words and entreaties amidst such disorder and confusion, until the friends and relations of the tribunes, perceiving it would be impossible to carry off Marcius, and punish him capitally, without first spilling much partician blood, persuaded them to alter the cruel and unprecedented part of the sentence; not to use violence in the affair, or put him to death without form of trial, but to refer all to the people's determination in full assembly.

Sicinius, then a little mollified, asked the patricians, "What they meant by taking Marcius out of the hands of the people, who were resolved to punish him?" To which they replied by another question, "What do you mean by thus dragging one of the worthiest men in Rome, without trial, to a barbarous and illegal execution?" "If that be all," said Sicinius, "you shall no longer have a pretence for your quarrels and factious behaviour to the people; for they grant you what you desire; the man shall have his trial. And as for you, Marcius, we cite you to appear the third market-day, and satisfy the citizens of your innocence, if you can; for then by their suffrages your affair will be decided." The patricians were content with this compromise; and thinking themselves happy in carrying Marcius off, they retired.

Meanwhile, before the third market-day, which was a considerable space, for the Romans held their markets every ninth day, and thence call them *Nundinæ*, war broke out with the Antiates*,

* Advice was suddenly brought to Rome, that the people of Antium had seized and confiscated the ships belonging to Gelon's ambassadors in their return to Sicily, and had even imprisoned the ambassadors. Hereupon they took up arms to chastise the Antiates, but they submitted, and made satisfaction.

use it was like to be of some continuance, gave them ing the judgment, since there would be time for the me more tractable, to moderate their anger, or per- rely evaporate in the business of that expedition. But de peace with the Antiates, and returned; whereupon of the senate were re wed, and they often met to consider nings might be so ma ed, that they should neither give up rcius, nor leave room for the tribunes to throw the people into ew disorders. On this occasion, Appius Claudius, who was the ost violent adversary the commons had, declared, "That the senate ould betra ruin themselves, and absolutely destroy the consti- ution, if th should once suffer the plebeians to assume a power of uffrage a inst the patricians." But the oldest and most popular f the senators* were of opinion, "That the people, instead of be- avin th more harshness and severity, would become mild and en if that power were indulged them; since they did not des- se the senate, but rather thought themselves despised by it; and the prerogative of judging would be such an honour to them that they would be perfectly satisfied, and immediately lay aside all resentment."

Marcius, then, seeing the senate perplexed between their regard for him and fear of the people, asked the tribunes, "What they accused him of, and upon what charge he was to be tried before the people?" Being told, "That he would be tried for treason against the commonwealth, in designing to set himself up as a tyrant†:"— "Let me go then," said he, "to the people, and make my defence; I refuse no form of trial, nor any kind of punishment, if I be found guilty. Only allege no other crime against me, and do not impose upon the senate." The tribunes agreed to these conditions, and promised that the cause should turn upon this one point.

But the first thing they did after the people were assembled, was to compel them to give their voices by tribes‡, and not by centuries;

* Valerius was at the head of these. He insisted also at large on the horrible consequences of a civil war.

† It was never known that any person, who affected to set himself up tyrant, joined with the nobility against the people, but on the contrary, conspired with the people against the nobility. "Besides," said he, in his defence, "it was to save these citizens that I have received the wounds you see: let the tribunes show, if they can, how such actions are consistent with the treacherous designs they lay to my charge."

‡ From the reign of Servius Tullius the voices had been always gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the ancient custom, being well apprised that they could save Coriolanus if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the knights and the wealthiest of the citizens made the majority, being pretty sure of ninety-eight out of a hundred and seventy-three. But the artful tribunes alleging that, in an affair relating

thus contriving that the meanest and most seditious part of the populace, and those who had no regard to justice or honour, might outvote such as had borne arms, or were of some fortune and character. In the next place, they passed by the charge of his affecting the sovereignty, because they could not prove it, and, instead of it, repeated what Marcius some time before had said in the senate, against lowering the price of corn, and for abolishing the tribunitial power. And they added to the impeachment a new article, namely, his not bringing into the public treasury the spoils he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but dividing them among the soldiers*. This last accusation is said to have discomposed Marcius more than all the rest; for it was what he did not expect, and he could not immediately think of an answer that would satisfy the commonalty; the praises he bestowed upon those who made that campaign with him serving only to raise an outcry against him from the majority, who were not concerned in it. At last, when they came to vote, he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual banishment.

After the sentence was pronounced, the people were more elated, and went off in greater transports than they ever did on account of a victory in the field; the senate, on the other hand, were in the greatest distress, and repented that they had not run the last risk, rather than suffer the people to possess themselves of so much power, and use it in so insolent a manner. There was no need then to look upon their dress, or any other mark of distinction, to know which was a plebeian, and which a patrician; the man that exulted was a plebeian, and the man that was dejected a patrician.

Marcius alone was unmoved and unhumbled. Still lofty in his port, and firm in his countenance, he appeared not to be sorry for himself, and to be the only one of the nobility that was not. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of reason or moderation, but the man was buoyed up by anger and indignation. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has its rise from grief, which, when it catches flame, is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feebleness and dejection. Hence the angry man is courageous, just as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the stretch, and in a

to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote ought to have its due weight would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes.

* "This," said the tribune Decius, "is a plain proof of his evil designs: with the public money he secured to himself creatures and guards, and supporters of his intended usurpation. Let him make it appear that he had power to dispose of this booty without violating the laws. Let him answer directly to this one article, without dazzling us with the splendid show of his crowns and scars, or using any other arts to blind the assembly."

violent agitation. His subsequent behaviour soon showed that he was thus affected; for having returned to his own house, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakness of women, he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then hastened to one of the city gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quitted Rome without asking or receiving aught at any man's hand, and took with him only three or four clients. He spent a few days in a solitary manner at some of his farms near the city, agitated with a thousand different thoughts, such as his anger suggested; in which he did not propose any advantage to himself, but considered only how he might satisfy his revenge against the Romans. At last he determined to spirit up a cruel war against them from some neighbouring nation; and for this purpose to apply first to the Volscians, whom he knew to be yet strong both in men and money, and whom he supposed to be rather exasperated and provoked to farther conflicts, than absolutely subdued.

There was then a person at Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name, highly distinguished among the Volscians by his wealth, his valour, and noble birth. Marcius was very sensible that of all the Romans himself was the man whom Tullus most hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually are, they had, in several engagements, encountered each other with menaces and bold defiances, and thus had added personal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But notwithstanding all this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and knowing that he was more desirous than any of the Volscians of an opportunity to return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had suffered, he took a method which strongly confirms that saying of the poet,

> Stern wrath, how strong thy sway! though life's the forfeit,
> Thy purpose must be gain'd.

For, putting himself in such clothes and habiliments as were most likely to prevent his being known, like Ulysses,

> He stole into the hostile town.

It was evening when he entered, and though many people met him in the streets, not one of them knew him. He passed, therefore, on to the house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered*; he seated himself without saying a word, covering his face, and remaining in a composed posture. The people of the house were very much surprised; yet they did not venture to disturb him, for there was something of dignity both in his person and in his silence; but they went and related the strange adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper,

* The fire-place, having the domestic gods in it, was esteemed sacred; and therefore the suppliants resorted to it as to an asylum.

Tullus, upon this, rose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him, *Who he was, and upon what business he was come?* Coriolanus, uncovering his face, paused awhile, and then thus addressed him: "If thou dost not yet know me, Tullus, but distrustest thy own eyes, I must of necessity be my own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, who have brought so many calamities upon the Volscians, and bear the additional name of Coriolanus, which will not suffer me to deny that imputation, were I disposed to it. For all the labours and dangers I have undergone, I have no other reward left but that appellation which distinguishes my enmity to your nation, and which cannot indeed be taken from me. Of every thing else I am deprived by the envy and outrage of the people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates, and those of my own order, on the other. Thus driven out an exile, I am come a suppliant to thy household gods; not for shelter and protection, for why should I come hither if I were afraid of death? but for vengeance against those who have expelled me, which, methinks, I begin to take, by putting myself into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art disposed to attack the enemy, come on, brave Tullus, avail thyself of my misfortunes; let my personal distress be the common happiness of the Volscians. You may be assured I shall fight much better for you than I have fought against you, because they who know perfectly the state of the enemy's affairs are much more capable of annoying them than such as do not know them. But if thou hast given up all thoughts of war, I neither desire to live, nor is it fit for thee to preserve a person who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not able to do thee any sort of service."

Tullus, delighted with this address, gave him his hand: "Rise," said he, "Marcius, and take courage. The present you thus make of yourself is inestimable; and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful." Then he entertained him at his table with great kindness; and the next and the following days they consulted together about the war.

Rome was then in great confusion, by reason of the animosity of the nobility against the commons, which was considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many prodigies were also announced by private persons, as well as by the priests and diviners; one of which was as follows: Titus Latinus, a man of no high rank, but of great modesty and candour, not addicted to superstition, much less to vain pretences to what is extraordinary, had this dream: Jupiter, he thought, appeared to him, and ordered him to tell the senate, *That they had provided him a very bad and ill-favoured leader of the dance in the sacred procession.* When he had seen

this vision, he said he paid but little regard to it at first. It was presented a second and a third time, and he neglected it: whereupon he had the unhappiness to see his son sicken and die, and he himself was suddenly struck in such a manner as to lose the use of his limbs. These particulars he related in the senate-house, being carried on his couch for that purpose. And he had no sooner made an end than he perceived, as they tell us, his strength return, and rose up and walked home without help.

The senate were much surprised, and made a strict inquiry into the affair; the result of which was, that a certain householder had delivered up one of his slaves, who had been guilty of some offence, to his other servants, with an order to whip him through the market-place, and then put him to death. While they were executing this order, and scourging the wretch, who writhed himself, through violence of pain, into various postures*, the procession happened to come up. Many of the people that composed it were fired with indignation, for the sight was excessively disagreeable and shocking to humanity; yet nobody gave him the least assistance; only curses and execrations were vented against the man who punished with so much cruelty; for in those times they treated their slaves with great moderation; and this was natural, because they worked and even ate with them. It was deemed a great punishment for a slave who had committed a fault to take up that piece of wood with which they supported the thill of a waggon, and carry it round the neighbourhood; for he that was thus exposed to the derision of the family, and other inhabitants of the place, entirely lost his credit, and was styled *Furcifer;* the Romans calling that piece of timber *furca*, which the Greeks call *hypostates*, that is, a *supporter*.

When Latinus had given the senate an account of his dream, and they doubted *who this ill-favoured and bad leader of the dance* might be, the excessive severity of the punishment put some of them in mind of the slave who was whipped through the market-place and afterwards put to death. All the priests agreeing that he must be the person meant, his master had a heavy fine laid upon him, and the procession and games were exhibited anew in honour of Jupiter. Hence it appears that Numa's religious institutions in general are very wise, and that this in particular is highly conducive to the purposes of piety, namely, that when the magistrates or priests are employed in any sacred ceremony, a herald goes before, and proclaim

* According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the master had given orders that the slave should be punished at the head of the procession, to make the ignominy the more notorious; which was a still greater affront to the deity in whose honour the procession was led up.

aloud, *Hoc age*, i. e. *be attentive to this;* hereby commanding every body to regard the solemn acts of religion, and not to suffer any business or avocation to intervene and disturb them; as well knowing that men's attention, especially in what concerns the worship of the gods, is seldom fixed, but by a sort of violence and constraint.

But it is not only in so important a case that the Romans begin anew their sacrifices, their processions, and games; they do it for very small matters. If one of the horses that draw the chariots called *Tensæ*, in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the whole procession was to be repeated. And in latter ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearence in it. Such reverence have the Romans paid to the Supreme Being.

Mean time Marcius and Tullus held secret conferences with the principal Volscians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was torn in pieces with factious disputes; but a sense of honour restrained some of them from breaking the truce, which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furnished them with a pretence for it, having, through some suspicion or false suggestion, caused proclamation to be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volscians should quit the town before sunset.—Some say it was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and accuse the Volscians of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and to set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans; and Tullus greatly aggravating the affront*, at last persuaded them to send to Rome to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war should be restored. The senate, having heard what the ambassadors had to say, answered with indignation, "That the Volscians might be the first to take up arms, but the Romans would be the last to lay them down." Hereupon Tullus summoned a general assembly of his countrymen, whom he advised to send for Marcius, and, forgetting all past injuries, to rest satisfied that the service he would do them, now their ally, would greatly exceed all the damage they had received from him while their enemy.

Marcius accordingly was called in, and made an oration to the people, who found that he knew how to speak as well as to fight, and

* "We alone," said he, "of all the different nations now in Rome, are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profanest wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public festival. Go, and tell in all your cities and villages the distinguishing mark the Romans have put upon us."

that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commission with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volscians would spend much time in preparations, and so lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates, and other principal persons in Antium, to provide troops and whatever else was necessary, while he, without making any set levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before any body in Rome could suspect it. There he made so much booty, that the Volscians found it difficult to carry it off, and consume it in the camp. But the great quantity of provisions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing such spoil, was the least part of the service in this expedition.—The great point he had in view in the whole matter was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility; for, while he ravaged the whole country, he was very attentive to spare the lands of the patricians, and to see that nothing should be carried off from them. Hence the ill opinion the two parties had of each other; and consequently the troubles grew greater than ever; the patricians accusing the plebeians of unjustly driving out one of the bravest men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching *them* with bringing Marcius upon them to indulge their revenge, and with sitting secure spectators of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself was a guard to their lands and subsistence. Marcius having thus effected his purpose, and inspired the Volscians with courage, not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without being molested.

The Volscian forces assembled with great expedition and alacrity; and they appeared so considerable, that it was thought proper to leave part to garrison their towns, while the rest marched against the Romans.—Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus which corps he would command, Tullus observed, that as his colleague was not at all inferior to himself in valour, and had hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for *him* to lead the army into the field, while himself stayed behind to provide for the defence of the towns, and to supply the troops that made the campaign with every thing necessary*.

Marcius, strengthened still more by this division of the command, marched first against Circeii, a Roman colony; and, as it surrendered without resistance, he would not suffer it to be plundered. After this he laid waste the territories of the Latins, expecting that

* It would have been very imprudent in Tullus to have left Coriolanus, who had been an enemy, and now might possibly be only a pretended friend, at the head of an army in the bowels of his country, while he was marching at the head of another against Rome.

the Romans would hazard a battle for the Latins, who were their allies, and, by frequent messengers, called upon them for assistance. But the commons of Rome showed no alarcity in the affair, and the consuls, whose office was almost expired, were not willing to run such a risk, and therefore rejected the request of the Latins. Marcius then turned his arms against Tolerium, Labici, Pedum, and Bola, cities of Latium, which he took by assault, and, because they made resistance, sold the inhabitants as slaves, and plundered their houses. At the same time he took particular care of such as voluntarily came over to him; and that they might not sustain any damage against his will, he always encamped at the greatest distance he could, and would not even touch upon their lands, if he could avoid it.

Afterwards he took Bollæ, which is little more than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the sword almost all that were of age to bear arms, and got much plunder. The rest of the Volscians, who were left as a safeguard to the towns, had not patience to remain at home any longer, but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they knew no other leader or general but him. His name and his valour were renowned through Italy. All were astonished that one man's changing sides could make so prodigious an alteration in affairs.

Nevertheless, there was nothing but disorder at Rome. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and mutual complaints, until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where the holy symbols of the gods of their fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their original, that being the first city which Æneas built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against Marcius, and to recal him to Rome; but the senate, being assembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition, either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused, or perhaps unwilling that Coriolanus should owe his return to the favour of the people; or else having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing all the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for showing himself an enemy to his country, in which he knew the most respectable body had both sympathized with him, and shared in his ill-treatment. This resolution being anounced to the commons*, it was not in their power to

* Perhaps the senate now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with Coriolanus,

proceed to vote or to pass a bill; for a previous decree of the senate was necessary.

At this news Coriolanus was still more exasperated, so that, quitting the siege of Lavinium*, he marched in great fury towards Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the *Fossæ Cluiliæ*. The sight of him caused great terror and confusion, but, for the present, it appeased the sedition; for neither magistrate nor senator durst any longer oppose the people's desire to recal him.—When they saw the women running up and down the streets, and the supplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods; when all courage and spirit were gone, and salutary counsels were no more; then they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavouring to be reconciled to Coriolanus, and that the senate were under a great mistake in beginning to indulge the passions of anger and revenge at a time when they should have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed to send ambassadors to Coriolanus to offer him liberty to return, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. Those that went on the part of the senate, being all either relations or friends of Coriolanus, expected at the first interview much kindness from a man who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwise; for, being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated in council, with a number of great officers, and with an insufferable appearance of pomp and severity. He bade them then declare their business, which they did in a very modest and humble manner, as became the state of their affairs.

When they had made an end of speaking, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him; and, as general of the Volscians, he insisted, "That the Romans should restore all the cities and lands which they had taken in the former wars; and that they should grant by decree the freedom of the city to the Volscians, as they had done to the Latins: for that no lasting peace could be made between the two nations, but upon these just and equal conditions." He gave them thirty days to consider of them; and having dismissed the ambassadors, he immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Several among the Volscians, who for a long time had envied his reputation, and been uneasy at the interest he had with the people, availed themselves of this circumstance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus, but he was led away by a pas-

or possibly out of that magnanimity which made the Romans averse to peace, when they were attended with bad success in war.

* He left a body of troops to continue the blockade.

sion too natural to man. It gave him pain to find his own glory obscured, and himself entirely neglected by the Volscians, who looked upon Coriolanus as their supreme head, and thought that others might well be satisfied with that portion of power and authority which he thought proper to allow them.—Hence secret hints were first given, and in their private cabals his enemies expressed their dissatisfaction, giving the name of treason to his retreat. For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet they said he had traitorously given up time, by which these and all other things are both won and lost. He had allowed them a respite of no less than thirty days, knowing their affairs to be so embarrassed that they wanted such a space to re-establish them.

Coriolanus, however, did not spend those thirty days idly. He harassed the enemy's allies*, laid waste their lands, and took seven great and populous cities in that interval. The Romans did not venture to send them any succours. They were as spiritless, and as little disposed to the war, as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palsy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they sent a second embassy, "To entreat him to lay aside his resentment, to draw off the Volscians from their territories, and then to proceed as should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up any thing through fear; but if he thought it reasonable that the Volscians should be indulged in some particular points, they would be duly considered, if they laid down their arms." Coriolanus replied, "That, as a general of the Volscians, he would give them no answer; but, as one who was yet a citizen of Rome, he would advise and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions he had proposed. At the same time, he assured them, that if their resolutions should be of a different nature, it would not be safe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words."

The senate, having heard the report of the ambassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in the waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore cast the last, the *sacred anchor*, as it is called. They ordered all the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all that, by the ancient usuage of their country, practised divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus in their robes, with the ensigns which they bear in the

* By this he prevented the allies of the Romans from assisting them, and guarded against the charge of treachery which some of the Volscians were ready to bring against him.

duties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volscians. When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe to admit them into the camp, but showed them no other favour, nor gave them a milder answer than the others had received; "He bade them," in short, "either accept the former proposals, or prepare for war."

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved to keep close within the city, and to defend the walls; intending only to repulse the enemy, should he attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune: for they knew of no resource within themselves: the city was full of trouble and confusion, terror and unhappy presages. At last something happened similar to what is often mentioned by Homer, but which men in general are little inclined to believe. For when, on occasion of any great and uncommon event, he says,

Pallas inspir'd that counsel;

And again,

But some immortal power who rules the mind,
Chang'd their resolves;

And elsewhere,

The thoughts spontaneous rising,
Or by the same god inspir'd ....

They despise the poet, as if, for the sake of absurd notions and incredible fables, he endeavoured to take away our liberty of will, a thing which Homer never dreamed of: for whatever happens in the ordinary course of things, and is the effect of reason and consideration, he often ascribes to our own powers; as,

.... My own great mind
I then consulted;

And in another place,

Achilles heard with grief; and various thoughts
Perplex'd his mighty mind;

Once more,

..... But she in vain
Tempted Bellerophon. The noble youth
With wisdom's shield was arm'd.

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require some supernatural impulse and enthusiastic movement, he never introduces the deity as depriving man of freedom of will, but as moving the will. He does not represent the heavenly power as producing the resolution, but ideas which lead to the resolution. The act, therefore, is by no means involuntary, since occasion only is given to free operations, and confidence and good hope are superadded. For

either the Supreme Being must be excluded from all casualty and influence upon our actions, or it must be confessed that this is the only way in which he assists men, and co-operates with them; since it is not to be supposed that he fashions our coporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purposes he designs, but that, by certain motives and ideas which he suggests, he either excites the active powers of the will, or else restrains them.

The Roman women were then dispersed in the several temples, but the greatest part, and most illustrious of the matrons, made their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the last was Valeria, the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had done the Romans the most considerable services both in peace and war. Publicola died some time before, as we have related in his life; but Valeria still lived in the greatest esteem; for her life did honour to her high birth. This woman, discerning by some divine impulse what would be the best expedient, rose and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the house of Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus. When she entered and found her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke to this effect: "We address ourselves to you, Volumnia and Vergilia, as women to women, without any decree of the senate, or order of the consuls. But our god, we believe, lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put it in our minds to apply to you, and to entreat you to do a thing that will not only be salutary to us and the other citizens, but more glorious for you, if you hearken to us, than the reducing their fathers and husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship was to the daughters of the Sabines. Come then, go along with us to Coriolanus; join your instances to ours; and give a true and honourable testimony to your country, that though she has received the greatest injuries from him, yet she has neither done nor resolved upon any thing against you in her anger, but restores you safe into his hands, though perhaps she may not obtain any better terms to herself on that account."

When Valeria had thus spoken, the rest of the women joined her request. Volumnia gave them this answer: "Besides the share which we have in the general calamity, we are, my friends, in particular very unhappy; since Marcius is lost to us. his glory obscured, and his virtue gone; since we behold him surrounded by the arms of the enemies of his country, not as their prisoner, but their commander. But it is still a greater misfortune to us, if our country is become so weak as to have need to repose her hopes upon us. For I know not whether he will have any regard for us, since he has had

none for his country, which he used to prefer to his mother, to his wife and children. Take us, however, and make what use of us you please. Lead us to him. If we can do nothing else, we can expire at his feet in supplicating for Rome."

She then took the children and Vergilia with her*, and went with the other matrons to the Volscian camp. The sight of them produced, even in the enemy, compassion and a reverential silence. Coriolanus, who then happened to be seated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, seeing the women approach, was greatly agitated and surprised. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to retain his wonted sternness and inexorable temper, though he perceived that his wife was at the head of them. But, unable to resist the emotions of affection, he could not suffer them to address him as he sat. He descended from the tribunal, and ran to meet them.—First he embraced his mother for a considerable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither refraining from tears, nor any other instance of natural tenderness.

When he had sufficiently indulged his passion, and perceived that his mother wanted to speak, he called the Volscian counsellors to him, and Volumnia expressed herself to this purpose: "You see, my son, by our attire and miserable looks, and therefore I may spare myself the trouble of declaring, to what condition your banishment has reduced us. Think with yourself whether we are not the most unhappy of women, when fortune has changed the spectacle, that should have been the most pleasing in the world, into the most dreadful; when Volumnia beholds her son, and Vergilia her husband, encamped in a hostile manner before the walls of his native city. And what to others is the greatest consolation under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to the gods, to us is rendered impracticable; for we cannot at the same time beg victory for our country and your preservation; but what our worst enemies would imprecate on us as a curse, must of necessity be interwoven with our prayers. Your wife and children must either see their country perish, or you. As to my own part, I will not live to see this war decided by fortune. If I cannot persuade you to prefer friendship and union to enmity and its ruinous consequences, and so to become a benefactor to both sides, rather than the destruction of one, you must take this along with you, and prepare to expect it, that you shall not advance against your country, without trampling upon the dead

* Valeria first gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Volumnia, and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in chariots which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp.

body of her that bore you. For it does not become me to wait for that day when my son shall either be led captive by his fellow-citizens, or triumph over Rome. If, indeed, I desire you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case would be hard, and the choice difficult: for it would neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor just to betray those who have placed their confidence in you. But what do we desire of you, more than deliverance from our own calamities? A deliverance which will be equally salutary to both parties*, but most to the honour of the Volscians, since it will appear that their superiority empowered them to grant us the greatest of blessings, peace and friendship, while they themselves receive the same. If these take place, you will be acknowledged to be the principal cause of them; if they do not, you alone must expect to bear the blame from both nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain, yet it will be the certain event of this, that if you conquer, you will be a destroying demon to your country; if you are beaten, it will be clear that, by indulging your resentment, you have plunged your friends and benefactors in the greatest of misfortunes."

Coriolanus listened to his mother, while she went on with her speech, without saying the least word to her; and Volumnia, seeing him stand a long time mute after she had left off speaking, proceeded again in this manner: "Why are you silent, my son? Is it an honour to yield every thing to anger and resentment, and would it be a disgrace to yield to your mother in so important a petition? Or does it become a great man to remember the injuries done him, and would it not equally become a great and good man with the highest regard and reverence to keep in mind the benefits he has received from his parents? Surely you, of all men, should take care to be grateful, who have suffered so extremely by ingratitude. And yet, though you have already severely punished your country, you have not made your mother the least return for her kindness. The most sacred ties, both of nature and religion, without any other constraint, require that you should indulge me in this just and reasonable request; but, if words cannot prevail, this only resource is left." When she had said this, she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children; upon which Coriolanus crying out, "O mother! What is it you have done?" raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her hand, continued, "You have gained a victory fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me†. I go, vanquished by you alone."

* She begged a truce for a year, that in that time measures might be taken for settling a solid and lasting peace.

† He well foresaw that the Volscians would never forgive him the favour he did their enemies.

Then, after a short conference with his mother and wife in private, he sent them back to Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volscians, who had not all the same sentiments of what had passed. Some blamed him; others, whose inclination were for peace, found no fault; others again, though they disliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought he was excusable in yielding to such powerful solicitations. However, none persumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue, than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances which the Roman people had been in by reason of the war, never appeared so strong as when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls that the Volscians were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice, as for some great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid the women, whom they both considered and declared the means of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed* that whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and satisfaction, the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to the FORTUNE OF WOMEN, the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of sacrifices, and such a solemn service as was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity, ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge†; but the women contributed their money notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which the Romans report, when it was set up in the temple, to have uttered these words: O WOMEN! MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE GODS IS THIS YOUR PIOUS GIFT.

They fabulously report that this voice was repeated twice, thus offering to our faith things that appear impossible. Indeed, we will not deny that images may have sweated, may have been covered with tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and stone often contract a scurf and mouldiness that produces moisture; and they not only exhibit many different colours themselves, but even receive

* It was decreed that an encomium of those matrons should be engraven on a public monument.

† It was erected in the Latin way, about four miles from Rome, on the place where Volumnia had overcome the obstinacy of her son. Valeria, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this temple, which was much frequented by the Roman women. *Dion. Halicar.* p. 479, 480. *Liv.* lib. ii. c. 40.

variety of tinctures from the ambient air; at the same time there is no reason why the Deity may not make use of these signs to anounce things to come. It is also very possible that a sound like that of a sigh or groan may proceed from a statue, by the rupture or voilent separation of some of the interior parts; but that an articulate voice and expression so clear, so full and perfect, should fall from a thing inanimate, is out of all bounds of possibility. For neither the soul of man, nor even God himself, can utter vocal sounds, and pronounce words, without an organized body, and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever, then, history asserts such things, and bears us down with the testimony of many credible witnesses, we must conclude that some impression, not unlike that of sense, influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real sensation; as in sleep we seem to hear what we hear not, and to see what we do not see. As for those persons who are possessed with such a strong sense of religion that they cannot reject any thing of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehensible power of God: for there is no manner of resemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his wisdom, his power, or his operations. If, therefore, he performs something which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impossible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reason; since, though he far excels us in every thing, yet the dissimilitude and distance between him and us appears most of all in the works which he hath wrought. But *much knowledge of things divine*, as Heraclitus affirms, *escapes us through want of faith.*

When Coriolanus returned, after this expedition, to Antium, Tullus, who both hated and feared him, resolved to assassinate him immediately; being persuaded that if he missed this he should not have such another opportunity. First, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volscians. Dreading the consequence of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had so great an interest with his countrymen, was in power, he made answer, that if the Volscians required it, he would give up his commission, and not otherwise, since he had taken it at their common request; but that he was ready to give an account of his behaviour even then, if the citizens of Antium would have it so. Hereupon they met in full assembly, and some of the orators that were prepared for it, endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to speak; the best part of the people of Antium, and those that were most inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence with equity: Tullus was then afraid that he would

make but too good a defence; for he was an eloquent man, and the former advantages which he had procured the nation outweighed his present offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the greatness of the benefits he had conferred upon them; for they would never have thought themselves injured in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude; and the boldest of their faction crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by the Volscians to act the tyrant, and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and killed him on the spot*; not one that was present lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident that this was not done with the general approbation; for they assembled from several cities to give his body an honourable burial†, and adorned his monument with arms and spoils, as became a distinguished warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they shewed no sign either of favour or resentment. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother; this being the longest term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius, as noticed in his life.

The Volscian affairs soon wanted the abilities of Marcius. For, first of all, in a dispute which they had with the Æqui, their friends and allies, which of the two nations should give a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded; and afterwards coming to a battle with the Romans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus, together with the flower of their army slain, they were forced to accept of very disgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to accept of such terms as the conquerors would allow them.

* Dionysious of Halicarnassus says, that they stoned him to death.

† They dressed him in his general's robes, and laid his corps on a magnificent bier, which was carried by such young officers as were most distinguished for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the spoils he had taken from the enemy, the crowns he had gained, and plans of the cities he had taken. In this order his body was laid on the pile, while several victims were slain in honour to his memory. When the pile was consumed, they gathered up his ashes, which they interred on the spot, and erected a magnificent monument there. Coriolanus was slain in the second year of the seventy-third Olympiad, and in the two hundred and sixty-sixth year of Rome, and eight years after his first campaign. According to this account, he died in the flower of his age; but Livy informs us from Fabius, a very ancient author, that he lived till he was very old; and that in the decline of life he was wont to say, that "a state of exile was always uncomfortable, but more so to an old man than to another." We cannot think, however, that Coriolanus grew old among the Volscians; had he done so, his counsels would have preserved them from ruin; and, after Tullus was slain, he would have restored their affairs, and have got them admitted to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, in the same manner as the Latins.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS

COMPARED.

HAVING now given a detail of all the actions of these two great men, that we thought worthy to be known and remembered, we may perceive at one glance, that, as to their military exploits, the balance is nearly even. For both gave extraordinary proofs of courage as soldiers, and of prudence and capacity as commanders-in-chief; though perhaps some may think Alcibiades the more complete general, on account of his many successful expeditions at sea as well as land. But this is common to both, that when they had the command, and fought in person, the affairs of their country infallibly prospered, and as infallibly declined when they went over to the enemy.

As to their behaviour in point of government, if the licentiousness of Alcibiades, and his compliances with the humour of the populace, were abhorred by the wise and sober part of the Athenians, the proud and forbidding manner of Coriolanus, and his excessive attachment to the patricians, were equally detested by the Roman people. In this respect, therefore, neither of them is to be commended; though he that avails himself of popular arts, and shows too much indulgence, is less blamable than he who, to avoid the imputation of obsequiousness, treats his people with severity. It is, indeed, a disgrace to attain to power by flattering them; but, on the other hand, to pursue it by acts of insolence and oppression, is not only shameful, but unjust.

That Coriolanus had an openness and simplicity of manners, is a point beyond dispute, whilst Alcibiades was crafty and dark in the proceedings of his administration. The latter has been most blamed for the trick which he put upon the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, as Thucydides tells us, and by which he renewed the war. Yet this stroke of policy, though it plunged Athens again in war, rendered the alliance with the Mantineans and Argives, which was brought about by Alcibiades, much stronger, and more respectable. But was not Coriolanus chargeable with a falsity too, when, as Dionysius informs us, he stirred up the Romans against the Volscians, by loading the latter with an infamous calumny, when they went to see the public games? The cause, too, makes this action the more criminal; for it was not by ambition or a rival spirit in politics, that he was influenced, as Alcibiades was; but he did it to gratify his anger, *a passion which*, as Dion says, *is ever ungrateful to its votaries*. By this means they disturbed all Italy; and, in his quarrel with his coun-

try, destroyed many cities which had never done him any injury. Alcibiades, indeed, was the author of many evils to the Athenians, but was easily reconciled to them when he found that they repented. Nay, when he was driven a second time into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the new generals, nor see with indifference the dangers to which they were exposed; but observed the same conduct which Aristides is so highly extolled for, with respect to Themistocles. He went in person to those generals, whom he knew were not his friends, and showed them what steps it was proper for them to take. Whereas Coriolanus directed his revenge against the whole commonwealth, though he had not been injured by the whole, but the best and most respectable part both suffered and sympathized with him. And afterwards, when the Romans endeavoured to make satisfaction for that single grievance by many embassies and much submission, he was not in the least pacified or won; but showed himself determined to prosecute a cruel war, not in order to procure his return to his native country, but to conquer and to ruin it. It may, indeed, be granted, that there was this difference in the case: Alcibiades returned to the Athenians when the Spartans, who both feared and hated him, intended to dispatch him privately. But it was not so honourable in Coriolanus to desert the Volscians, who had treated him with the utmost kindness, appointed him general with full authority, and reposed in him the highest confidence: very different in this respect from Alcibiades, who was abused to their own purposes, rather than employed and trusted by the Lacedæmonians; and who, after having been tossed about in their city and their camp, was at last obliged to put himself in the hands of Tissaphernes. But perhaps, he made his court to the Persian* in order to prevent the utter ruin of his country, to which he was desirous to return.

History informs us that Alcibiades often took bribes, which he lavished again with equal discredit upon his vicious pleasures; while Coriolanus refused to receive even what the generals he served under would have given him with honour. Hence the behaviour of the latter was the more detested by the people in the disputes about debts; since it was not with a view to advantage, but out of contempt, and by way of insult, as they thought, that he bore so hard upon them.

Antipater, in one of his epistles, where he speaks of the death of

* For he prevented Tissaphernes from assisting the Spartans with all his forces. Thus he served the Athenians and the Persians at the same time. For it was undoubtedly the interest of the Persians to preserve the two leading powers of Greece in a condition to annoy each other, and, in the mean time, to reap the advantage themselves.

Aristotle the philosopher, tells us, "That great man, besides his other extraordinay talents, had the art of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with." For want of this talent, the great actions and virtues of Coriolanus were odious even to those who received the benefit of them, and who, notwithstanding, could not endure *that austerity which*, as Plato says, *is the companion of solitude*. But as Alcibiades, on the other hand, knew how to treat those with whom he conversed with an engaging civility, it is no wonder if the glory of his exploits flourished in the favour and honourable regard of mankind, since his very faults had sometimes their grace and elegance. Hence it was, that though his conduct was often very prejudicial to Athens, yet he was frequently appointed commander-in-chief; while Coriolanus, after many great achievements, with the best pretentions, sued for the consulship, and lost it. The former deserved to be hated by his countrymen, and was not; the latter was not beloved, though at the same time he was admired.

We should, moreover, consider that Coriolanus performed no considerable services while he commanded the armies of his country, though for the enemy against his country he did; but that Alcibiades, both as a soldier and a general, did great things for the Athenians. When amongst his fellow-citizens, Alcibiades was superior to all the attemps of his enemies, though their calumnies prevailed against him in his absence; whereas Coriolanus was condemned by the Romans, though present to defend himself; and at length killed by the Volscians, against all rights indeed, whether human or divine; nevertheless, he afforded them a colour for what they did, by granting that peace to the entreaties of the women, which he had refused to the application of the ambassadors; by that means leaving the enmity between the two nations, and the grounds of the war entire, and losing a very favourable opportunity for the Volscians. For surely he would not have drawn off the forces without the consent of those that committed them to his conduct, if he had sufficiently regarded his duty to them.

But if, without considering the Volscians in the least, he consulted his resentment only in stirring up the war, and put a period to it again when that was satisfied, he should not have spared his country on his mother's account, but have spared her with it; for both his mother and wife made a part of his native city which he was besieging. But inhumanly to reject the application and entreaties of the ambassadors, and the petition of the priests, and then to consent to a retreat in favour of his mother, was not doing honour to his mother, but bringing disgrace upon his country; since, as if it was not worthy to be saved for its own sake, it appeared to be saved

only in compassion to a woman. For the favour was invidious, and so far from being engaging, that, in fact, it savoured of cruelty, and consequently was unacceptable to both parties. He retired without being won by the supplications of those he was at war with, and without consent of those for whom he undertook it. The cause of all which was, the austerity of his manners, his arrogance and inflexibility of mind, things hateful enough to the people at all times; but, when united with ambition, savage and intolerable. Persons of his temper, as if they had no need of honours, neglect to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, and yet are excessively chagrined when those are denied them. It is true, neither Metellus, nor Aristides, nor Epaminondas, were pliant to the people's humour, or could submit to flatter them; but then they had a thorough contempt of every thing that the people could either give or take away; and when they were banished, or, on any other occasion, miscarried in the suffrages, or were condemned in large fines, they nourished no anger against their ungrateful countrymen, but were satisfied with their repentance, and reconciled to them at their request. And, surely, he who is sparing in his assiduities to the people can but with an ill grace think of revenging any slight he may suffer; for extreme resentment in case of disappointment in a pursuit of honour must be the effect of an extreme desire of it.

Alcibiades, for his part, readily acknowledged that he was harmed with honours, and that he was very uneasy at being neglected; and therefore he endeavoured to recommend himself to those he had to do with by every engaging art. But the pride of Coriolanus would not permit him to make his court to those who were capable of conferring honours upon him; and at the same time his ambition filled him with regret and indignation, when they passed him by. This, then, is the blameable part of his character; all the rest is great and glorious. In point of temperance and disregard of riches, he is fit to be compared with the most illustrious examples of integrity in Greece, and not with Alcibiades, who, in this respect, was the most profligate of men, and had the least regard for decency and honour.

TIMOLEON.

THE affairs of the Syracusans, before Timoleon was sent into Sicily, were in this posture: Dion, having driven out Dionysius the tyrant, was soon assassinated; those that with him had been the

means of delivering Syracuse were divided among themselves; and the city, which only changed one tyrant for another, was oppressed with so many miseries that it was almost desolate*. As for the rest of Sicily, the wars had made part of it quite a desert, and most of the towns that remained were held by a confused mixture of barbarians and soldiers, who, having no regular pay, were ready for every change of government.

Such being the state of things, Dionysius, in the tenth year after his expulsion, having got together a body of foreigners, drove out Nysæus, then master of Syracuse, restored his own affairs, and re-established himself in his dominions. Thus he who had been unaccountably stripped by a small body of men of the greatest power that any tyrant ever possessed, still more unaccountably, of a beggarly fugitive, became the master of those who had expelled him. All, therefore, who remained in Syracuse, became slaves to a tyrant who at the best was of an ungentle nature, and at that time exasperated by his misfortunes to a degree of savage ferocity. But the best and most considerable of the citizens having retired to Icetes, prince of the Leontines, put themselves under his protection, and chose him for their general. Not that he was better than the most avowed tyrants, but they had no other resource; and they were willing to repose some confidence in him, as being of a Syracusan family, and having an army able to encounter that of Dionysius.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians appearing before Sicily with a great fleet, and being likely to avail themselves of the disordered state of the island, the Sicilians, struck with terror, determined to send an embassy into Greece, to beg assistance of the Corinthians; not only on account of their kindered to that people†, and the many services they had received from them on former occasions, but because they knew that Corinth was always a patroness of liberty, and an enemy to tyrants; and that she had engaged in many considerable wars, not from a motive of ambition or avarice, but to maintain the

* Upon Dion's death, his murderer Calippus usurped the supreme power; but after ten months he was driven out, and slain with the same dagger which he had planted in the breast of his friend. Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius, arriving with a numerous fleet, possessed himself of the city of Syracuse, and held it for the space of two years. Syracuse and all Sicily being thus divided into parties and factions, Dionysius the younger, who had been driven from the throne, taking advantage of these troubles, assembled some foreign troops; and having defeated Nysæus, who was then governor of Syracuse, reinstated himself in his dominions.

† The Syracusans were a colony from Corinth, founded by Archias the Corinthian in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, seven hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian era. Sicily had been planted with Phœnicians and other barbarous people, as the Grecians called them, above three hundred years before.

freedom and independency of Greece. Hereupon Icetes, whose intention in accepting the command was not so much to deliver Syracuse from its tyrants, as to set up himself there in the same capacity, treated privately with the Carthaginians, while in public he commended the design of the Syracusans, and dispatched ambassadors along with theirs into Peloponnesus. Not that he was desirous of succours from thence, but he hoped that if the Corinthians, on account of the troubles of Greece and their engagements at home, should, as it was likely enough, decline sending any, he might the more easily incline the balance to the side of the Carthaginians, and then make use of their alliance and their forces, either against the Syracusans or their present tyrant. That such were his views, a little time discovered.

When the ambassadors arrived, and their business was known, the Corinthians, always accustomed to give particular attention to the concerns of the colonies, and especially those of Syracuse, since by good fortune they had nothing to molest them in their own country, readily passed a vote that the succours should be granted. The next thing to be considered was, who should be general; when the magistrates put in nomination such as had endeavoured to distinguish themselves in the state; but one of the plebeians stood up and proposed Timoleon, the son of Timodemus, who as yet had no share in the business of the commonwealth, and was so far from hoping or wishing for such an appointment, that it seemed some god inspired him with the thought; with such indulgence did fortune immediately promote his election, and so much did her favour afterwards signalize his actions, and add lustre to his valour!

His parentage was noble on both sides, for both his father Timodemus and his mother Demariste were of the best families in Corinth. His love of his country was remarkable, and so was the mildness of his disposition, saving that he bore an extreme hatred to tyrants and wicked men. His natural abilities for war were so happily tempered, that as an extraordinary prudence was seen in the enterprises of his younger years, so an undaunted courage distinguished his declining age. He had an elder brother, named Timophanes, who resembled him in nothing; being rash and indiscreet of himself, and utterly corrupted besides by the passion for sovereignty infused into him by some of his profligate acquaintance, and certain foreign soldiers whom he had always about him. He appeared to be impetuous in war, and to court danger, which gave his countrymen such an opinion of his courage and activity, that they frequently intrusted him with the command of the army. And in these matters Timoleon much assisted him, by entirely concealing, or at least ex-

tenuating his faults, and magnifying the good qualties which nature had given him.

In a battle between the Corinthians and the troops of Argos and Cleone, Timoleon happened to serve among the infantry, when Timophanes, who was at the head of the cavalry, was brought into extreme danger; for his horse being wounded threw him amidst the enemy. Hereupon part of his companions were frightened, and presently dispersed; and the few that remained, having to fight with numbers, with difficulty stood their ground. Timoleon, seeing his brother in these circumstances, ran to his assistance, and covered him as he lay with his shield, and after having received abundance of darts and many strokes of the sword upon his body and his armour, by great efforts repulsed the enemy, and saved him.

Some time after this, the Corinthians, apprehensive that their city might be surprised through some treachery of their allies, as it had been before resolved to keep on foot four hundred mercenaries, gave the command of them to Timophanes. But he, having no regard to justice or honour, soon entered into measures to subject the city to himself, and having put to death a number of the principal inhabitants without form of trial, declared himself absolute prince of it. Timoleon, greatly concerned at this, and accounting the treacherous proceedings of his brother his own misfortune, went to expostulate with him, and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce this madness and unfortunate ambition, and to bethink himself how to make his fellow-citizens some amends for the crimes he had committed. But as he rejected his single admonition with disdain, he returned a few days after, taking with him a kinsman, named Æschylus, brother to the wife of Timophanes, and a certain soothsayer, a friend of his, whom Theopompus calls Satyrus, but Ephorus and Timæus mention by the name of Orthagoras. These three, standing round him, earnestly entreated him yet to listen to reason, and change his mind. Timophanes at first laughed at them, and afterwards gave way to a violent passion; upon which Timoleon stepped aside, and stood weeping, with his face covered, while the other two drew their swords, and dispatched him in a moment*.

The matter being soon generally known, the principal and most

* Diodorus, in the circumstances of this fact, differs from Plutarch. He tells us, that Timoleon having killed his brother in the market-place with his own hand, a great tumult arose among the citizens. To appease this tumult, an assembly was convened; and in the height of their debates the Syracusan ambassadors arrived, demanding a general: Whereupon they unanimously agreed to send Timoleon; but first let him know that if he discharged his duty there well, he should be considered as one who had killed a tyrant; if not, as the murderer of his brother. *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi. c. 10.

valuable part of the Corinthians extolled Timoleon's detestation of wickedness, and that greatness of soul which, notwithstanding the gentleness of his heart and his affection to his relations, led him to prefer his country to his family, and justice and honour to interest and advantage. While his brother fought valiantly for his country, he had saved him; and slain him when he had treacherously enslaved it. Those who knew not how to live in a democracy, and had been used to make their court to men in power, pretended indeed to rejoice at the tyrant's death; but, at the same time, reviling Timoleon as guilty of a horrible and impious deed, they created him great uneasiness. When he heard how heavily his mother bore it, and that she uttered the most dreadful wishes and imprecations against him, he went to excuse it, and console her; but she could not endure the thought of seeing him, and ordered the doors to be shut against him. He then became entirely a prey to sorrow, and attempted to put an end to his life by abstaining from all manner of food. In these unhappy circumstances, his friends did not abandon him. They even added force to their entreaties, till they prevailed on him to live. He determined, however, to live in solitude; and accordingly he withdrew from all public affairs, and for some years did not so much as approach the city, but wandered about the most gloomy parts of his grounds, and gave himself up to melancholy. Thus the judgment, if it borrows not from reason and philosophy sufficient strength and steadiness for action, is easily unsettled and depraved by any casual commendation or dispraise, and departs from its own purposes. For an action should not only be just and laudable in itself, but the principle from which it proceeds firm and immoveable, in order that our conduct may have the sanction of our own approbation; otherwise, upon the completion of any undertaking, we shall, through our own weakness, be filled with sorrow and remorse, and the splendid ideas of honour and virtue that led us to perform it will vanish, just as the glutton is soon cloyed and disgusted with the luscious viands which he had devoured with too keen an appetite. Repentance tarnishes the best actions; whereas the purposes that are grounded upon knowledge and reason never change, though they may happen to be disappointed of success. Hence it was that Phocion of Athens, having vigorously opposed the proceedings of Leosthenes*, which, notwithstanding, turned out much more happily than he expected; when he saw the Athenians offering sacrifice, and elated with their victory, told them, *he was glad of their success, but, if it was to do over again, he should give the same counsel.* Still stronger was the answer which Aristides the Locrian, one of

* See the life of Phocion.

Plato's intimate friends, gave to Dionysius the elder, when he demanded one of his daughters in marriage, *I had rather see the virgin in her grave than in the palace of a tyrant.* And when Dionysius soon after put his son to death, and then insolently asked him, *What he now thought as to the disposal of his daughter? I am sorry,* said he, *for what you have done, but I am not sorry for what I said.* However, it is only a superior and highly accomplished virtue that can attain such heights as these.

As for Timoleon's extreme dejection in consequence of the late fact, whether it proceeded from regret of his brother's fate, or the reverence he bore his mother, it so shattered and impaired his spirits, that for almost twenty years he was concerned in no important or public affair.

When, therefore, he was pitched upon for general, and accepted as such by the suffrages of the people, Teleclides, a man of the greatest power and reputation in Corinth, exhorted him to behave well, and to exert a generous valour in the execution of his commission: *For,* said he, *if your conduct be good, we shall consider you as the destroyer of a tyrant; if bad, as the murderer of your brother.*

While Timoleon was assembling his forces, and preparing to set sail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetes, which plainly discovered his revolt and treachery. For his ambassadors were no sooner set out for Corinth than he openly joined the Carthaginians, and acted in concert with them, in order to expel Dionysius from Syracuse, and usurp the tyranny himself. Fearing, moreover, lest he should lose his opportunity by the speedy arrival of the army from Corinth, he wrote to the Corinthians to acquaint them, "That there was no occasion for them to put themselves to trouble and expense, or to expose themselves to the dangers of a voyage to Sicily; particularly as the Carthaginians would oppose them, and were watching for their ships with a numerous fleet; and that indeed, on account of the slowness of their motions, he had been forced to engage those very Carthaginians to assist him against the tyrant."

If any of the Corinthians before were cold and indifferent as to the expedition, upon the reading of these letters they were one and all so incensed against Icetes, that they readily supplied Timoleon with whatever he wanted, and united their endeavours to expedite his sailing.

When the fleet was equipped, and the soldiers provided with all that was necessary, the priestesses of Proserpine had a dream, wherein that goddess and her mother Ceres appeared to them in a travelling garb, and told them, "That they intended to accompany Timo-

leon into Sicily." Hereupon the Corinthians equipped a sacred galley, which they called the *galley of the goddesses.* Timoleon himself went to Delphi, where he offered sacrifice to Apollo; and, upon his descending into the place where the oracles were delivered, was surprised with this wonderful occurence: A wreath, embroidered with crowns and images of victory, slipped down from among the offerings that were hung up there, and fell upon Timoleon's head, so that Apollo seemed to send him out crowned upon that enterprise.

He had seven ships of Corinth, two of Corcyra, and a tenth fitted out by the Leucadians, with which he put to sea. It was in the night that he set sail, and with a prosperous gale he was making his way, when, on a sudden, the heavens seemed to be rent asunder, and to pour upon his ship a bright and spreading flame, which soon formed itself into a torch, such as is used in the sacred mysteries, and, having conducted them through their whole course, brought them to that quarter of Italy for which they designed to steer. The soothsayer declared that this appearance perfectly agreed with the dream of the priestesses, and that by this light from heaven the goddesses showed themselves interested in the success of the expedition, particularly as Sicily was sacred to Proserpine; it being fabled that her rape happened there, and that the island was bestowed on her as a nuptial gift.

The fleet, thus encouraged with tokens of the divine favour, very soon crossed the sea, and made the coast of Italy. But the news brought thither from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon, and disheartened his forces. For Icetes having beaten Dionysius in a set battle*, and taken great part of Syracuse, had, by a line of circumvallation, shut up the tyrant in the citadel, and that part of the city which is called the *island*, and besieged him there. At the same time he ordered the Carthaginians to take care that Timoleon should not land in Sicily; hoping, when the Corinthians were driven off, without further opposition, to share the island with his new allies. The Carthaginians accordingly sent away twenty of their galleys to Rhegium, in which were ambassadors from Icetes to Timoleon, charged with proposals quite as captious as his proceedings themselves: for they were nothing but specious and artful words, invented to give a colour to his treacherous designs.—They were to make an offer, "That

* Icetes, finding himself in want provisions, withdrew from the siege of Syracuse towards his own country; whereupon Dionysius marched out and attacked his rear. But Icetes facing about, defeated him, killed three thousand of his men, and, pursuing him into the city, got possession of part of it. Our author observed, a little below, that Syracuse being divided by strong walls, was, as it were, an assemblage of cities.

Timoleon might, if he thought proper, go and assist Icetes with his counsel, and share in his successes: but that he must send back his ships and troops to Corinth, since the war was almost finished, and the Carthaginians were determined to prevent their passage, and ready to repel force with force."

The Corinthians, then, as soon as they arrived at Rhegium, meeting with this embassy, and seeing the Carthaginians riding at anchor near them, were vexed at the insult: a general indignation was expressed against Icetes, and fear for the Sicilians, whom they plainly saw left as a prize to reward Icetes for his treachery, and the Carthaginians for assisting in setting him up tyrant. And it seemed impossible for them to get the better either of the Barbarians, who were watching them with double the number of ships, or of the forces of Icetes, which they had expected would have joined them, and put themselves under their command.

Timoleon, on this occasion, coming to an interview with the ambassadors and the Carthagian commanders, mildly said, "He would submit to their proposals," for what could he gain by opposing them? "but he was desirous that they would give them in publicly before the people of Rhegium ere he quitted that place, since it was a Grecian city, and common friend to both parties. For that this tended to his security, and they themselves would stand more firmly to their engagements, if they took that people for witnesses to them."

This overture he made only to amuse them, intending all the while to steal a passage; and the magistrates of Rhegium entered heartily into his scheme: for they wished to see the affairs of Sicily in Corinthian hands, and dreaded the neighbourhood of the barbarians.—They summoned, therefore, an assembly, and shut the gates, lest the citizens should go about any other business. Being convened, they made long speeches, one of them taking up the argument where another laid it down, with no other view than to gain time for the Corinthian galleys to get under sail; and the Carthaginians were easily detained in the assembly, as having no suspicion, because Timoleon was present; and it was expected every moment that he would stand up and make his speech. But, upon secret notice that the other galleys had put to sea*, and his alone were left behind, by the help of the Rhegians, who pressed close to the *rostrum*, and concealed him amongst them, he slipped through the crowd, got down to the shore, and hoisted sail with all speed.

* The Carthaginians believed that the departure of those nine galleys for Corinth had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, and that the tenth was left behind to carry Timoleon to Icetes.

He soon arrived with all his vessels at Tauromenium, in Sicily, to which he had been invited some time before, and where he was now kindly received by Andromachus, lord of that city. This Andromachus was father to Timæus the historian; and being much the best of all the Sicilian princes of his time, he both governed his own people agreeably to the laws and principles of justice, and had ever avowed his aversion and enmity to tyrants. On this account he readily allowed Timoleon to make his city a place of arms, and persuaded his people to co-operate with the Corinthians with all their force, in restoring liberty to the whole island.

The Carthaginians at Rhegium, upon the breaking up of the assembly, seeing that Timoleon was gone, were vexed to find themselves outwitted; and it afforded no small diversion to the Rhegians, *that* Phœnicians *should complain of any thing affected by guile**. They dispatched, however, one of their galleys with an ambassador to Tauromenium, who represented the affair at large to Andromachus, insisting, with much insolence and barbaric pride, that he should immediately turn the Corinthians out of his town; and at last, showing him his hand with the palm upwards, and then turning it down again, told him, if he did not comply with that condition, the Carthaginians *would overturn his city, just as he had turned his hand.* Andromachus only smiled, and without making him any other answer, stretched out his hand, first with one side up, and then the other, and bade him *begone directly, if he did not choose to have his ship turned upside down in the same manner.*

Icetes, hearing that Timoleon had made good his passage, was much alarmed, and sent for a great number of the Carthaginian galleys. The Syracusans then began to despair of a deliverance; for they saw the Carthaginians masters of their harbour†, Icetes possessed of the city, and the citadel in the hands of Dionysius; while Timoleon held only by a small border of the skirts of Sicily, the little town of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and inconsiderable force, having no more than a thousand men, and provisions barely sufficient for them. Nor had the Sicilian states any confidence in him, plunged as they were in misfortunes, and exasperated against all that pretended to lead armies to their succour, particularly on account of the perfidy of Callippus and Pharax. The one was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedæmonian, and both came with professions to do great things for the liberty of Sicily, and for demolishing the tyrants; yet the Sicilians soon found that the reign of former oppressors was

* *Fraus Punica*, Phœnician *fraud*, had passed into a proverb.

† The Carthaginians had a hundred and fifty men of war, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred chariots.

comparatively a golden age, and reckoned those far more happy who died in servitude than such as lived to see so dismal a kind of freedom. Expecting, therefore, that this Corinthian deliverer would be no better than those before him, and that the deceitful hand of art would reach out to them the same bait of good hopes and fair promises to draw them into subjection to a new master, they all, except the people of Adranum, suspected the designs of the Corinthians, and declined their proposals. Adranum was a small city consecrated to the god *Adranus**, who was held in high veneration throughout all Sicily. Its inhabitants were at varience with each other; some calling in Icetes and the Carthaginians, and others applying to Timoleon. Both generals striving which should get there first, as fortune would have it, they arrived about the same time. But Icetes had five thousand men with him, and Timoleon twelve hundred at the most, whom he drew out of Tauromenium, which was forty-two miles and a half from Adranum. The first day he made but a short march, and pitched his tents in good time. The next day he marched forward at a great pace, though the road was very rugged, and towards evening was informed that Icetes had just reached the town, and was encamping before it. At the same time his officers made the foremost division halt to take some refreshment, that they might be the more vigorous in the ensuing engagement. This, however, was against the opinion of Timoleon, who entreated them to march forward as fast as possible, and to attack the enemy before they were put in order: it being probable, now they were just come off their march, that they were employed in pitching their tents and preparing their supper. He had no sooner given this order, than he took his buckler, and put himself at the head of them, as leading them on to undoubted victory.

His men, thus encouraged, followed him very cheerfully, being now not quite thirty furlongs from Adranum. As soon as they came up, they fell upon the enemy, who were in great confusion, and ready to fly at their first approach. For this reason, not many more than three hundred were killed, but twice as many were made prisoners, and the camp was taken.

Upon this the people of Adranum opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined his party, declaring, with terror and astonishment, that during the battle the sacred doors of the temple opened of their own accord, the spear of their god was seen to shake to the very point, and his face dropped with sweat. These things did not foreshow that victory only, but the future successes, to which this dispute was a

* This diety, by his *insignia* afterwards mentioned, should seem to be Mars. His temple was guarded by a hundred dogs.

fortunate prelude; for several cities, by their ambassadors, immediately joined in alliance with Timoleon; and Mamercus, sovereign of Catana, a warlike and wealthy prince, entered into the confederacy. But, what was still more material, Dionysius himself having bid adieu to hope, and unable to hold out much longer, despising Icetes, who was so shamefully beaten, and admiring the bravery of Timoleon, offered to deliver up to him and the Corinthians both himself and the citadel.

Timoleon accepted of this good fortune, so superior to his hopes, and sent Euclides and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers, into the citadel, as he did four hundred men besides, not altogether nor openly, for that was impossible, because the enemy were upon their guard, but by stealth, and few at a time. This corps, then, took possession of the citadel and the tyrant's moveables, with all that he had provided for carrying on the war, namely, a good number of horses, all manner of engines, and a vast quantity of darts. They found also arms for seventy thousand men, which had been laid up of old, and two thousand soldiers with Dionysius, whom he delivered up, along with the stores, to Timoleon. But the tyrant reserved his money to himself, and having got on board a ship, he sailed with a few of his friends, without being perceived by Icetes, and reached the camp of Timoleon.

Then it was that he first appeared in the humble figure of a private man*, and, as such, he was sent with one ship, and a very moderate sum of money, to Corinth; he that was born in a splendid court, and educated as heir to the most absolute monarchy that ever existed. He held it for ten years†; and for twelve more, from the time that Dion took up arms against him, he was exercised continually in wars and troubles; insomuch that the mischiefs caused by his tyranny were abundantly recompensed upon his own head in what he suffered. He saw his sons die in their youth, his daughters deflowered, and his sister, who was also his wife, exposed to the brutal lusts of his enemies, and then slaughtered with her children, and thrown into the sea, as we have related more particularly in the life of Dion.

When Dionysius arrived at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece who was not desirous to see him and discourse with him.

* Dionysius was born to absolute power, whereas most other tyrants, Dionysius the elder, for instance, had raised themselves to it, and some from a mean condition."

† For he began his reign in the first year of the hundred and third Olympiad, three hundred and sixty-six years before the Christian era. Dion took up arms against him in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad; and he delivered up the citadel to Timoleon, and was sent to Corinth, in the first year of the hundred and ninth.

Some hating the man, and rejoicing at his misfortunes, came for the pleasure of insulting him in his present distress: others, whose sentiments with respect to him were somewhat changed, and who were touched with compassion for his fate, plainly saw the influence of an invisible and divine power displayed in the affairs of feeble mortals; for neither nature nor art produced in those times any thing so remarkable as that work of fortune * which showed the man, who was lately sovereign of Sicily, now holding conversation in a butcher's shop at Corinth; or sitting whole days in a perfumer's; or drinking the diluted wine of taverns; or squabbling in the streets with lewd women; or directing female musicians in their singing, and disputing with them seriously about the harmony of certain airs that were sung in the theatre †.

Some were of opinion that he fell into these unworthy amusements as being naturally idle, effeminate, and dissolute: but others thought it was a stroke of policy, and that he rendered himself despicable to prevent his being feared by the Corinthians, contrary to his nature, affecting that meanness and stupidity, lest they should imagine the change of his circumstances sat heavy upon him, and that he aimed at establishing himself again.

Nevertheless, some sayings of his are recorded, by which it should seem that he did not bear his present misfortunes in an abject manner. When he arrived at Leucas, which was a Corinthian colony as well as Syracuse, he said, "He found himself in a situation like that of young men who had been guilty of some misdemeanors: for, as they converse cheerfully, notwithstanding, with their brothers, but are abashed at the thought of coming before their fathers; so he was ashamed of going to live in the mother city, and could pass his days much more to his satisfaction with them." Another time, when a certain stranger derided him at Corinth, in a very rude and scornful manner, for having, in the meridian of his power, taken pleasure in the discourse of philosophers, and at last asked him, "What he had got by the wisdom of Plato?" "Do you think," said he, "that we have reaped no advantage from Plato, when we bear in this manner such a change of fortune?" Aristoxenus the musician, and some others, having inquired "What was the ground of his displeasure against Plato?" he answered, "That absolute power abounded with evils; but had this great infelicity

* Plutarch adds, *nor art*, to give us to understand that the tragic poets had not represented so signal a catastrophe even in fable.

† Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced obliged him to open a school at Corinth, where he exercised that tyranny over children which he could no longer practice over men. *Sic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. iii.

above all the rest, that among the number of those who call themselves the friend of an arbitrary prince, there is not one who will speak his mind to him freely; and that by such false friends he had been deprived of the friendship of Plato."

Some one who had a mind to be arch, to make merry with Dionysius, shook his robe when he entered his apartment, as is usual when persons approach a tyrant; and he, returning the jest very well, bade him "Do the same when he went out, that he might not carry off some of the moveables."

One day, over their cups, Philip of Macedon, with a kind of sneer, introduced some discourse about the odes* and tragedies which Dionysius the elder left behind him, and pretended to doubt how he could find leisure for such works. Dionysius answered smartly enough, "They were written in the time which you and I, and other happy fellows, spend over the bowl."

Plato did not see Dionysius in Corinth, for he had now been dead some time. But Diogenes of Sinope, when he first met him, addressed him as follows:—"How little dost thou deserve to live!" Thus Dionysius answered: "It is kind in you to sympathize with me in my misfortunes." "Dost thou think then," said Diogenes, "that I have any pity for thee, and that I am not rather vexed that such a slave as thou art, and so fit to grow old and die like thy father on a tyrant's uneasy throne, should, instead of that, live with us here in mirth and pleasure?" So that when I compare with these words of the philosopher the doleful expressions of Philistus, in which he bewails the fate of the daughters of Leptines†, "That, from the great and splendid enjoyments of absolute power, they were reduced to a private and humble station," they appear to one the lamentations of a woman who regrets her perfumes, her purple robes, and golden trinkets. This account of the sayings of Dionysius seems to me neither foreign from biography, nor without its utility

* Dionysius the elder valued himself upon his poetry, but has been censured as the worst poet in the world. Philoxenus, who was himself an excellent poet, attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities, but was sent to the quarries for the liberty he took. However, the next day he was restored to favour, and Dionysius repeated to him some verses he had taken extraordinary pains with, expecting his approbation. But the poet, instead of giving it, looked round to the guards, and said to them very humorously, "Take me back to the quarries." Notwithstanding this, Dionysius disputed the prize of poetry at the Olympic games; but there he was hissed, and the rich pavilion he had sent torn in pieces. He had better success, however, at Athens; for he gained the prize of poetry at the celebrated feast of Bacchus. On this occasion he was in such raptures that he drank to excess, and the debauch threw him into violent pains; to allay which, he asked for a soporific, and his physicians gave him one that laid him asleep, out of which he never awoke.

† Leptines, as mentioned below, was tyrant of Apollonia.

to such readers as are not in a hurry, or taken up with other concerns.

If the ill fortune of Dionysius appeared surprising, the success of Timoleon was no less wonderful; for within fifty days after his landing in Sicily he was master of the citadel of Syracuse, and sent off Dionysius into Peloponnesus. The Corinthians, encouraged with these advantages, sent him a reinforcement of two thousand foot and two hundred horse. These got on their way as far as Thurium; but finding it impracticable to gain a passage from thence, because the sea was beset with a numerous fleet of Carthaginians, they were forced to stop there, and watch their opportunity. However, they employed their time in a very noble undertaking; for the Thurians, marching out of their city to war against the Brutians, left it in charge with these Corinthian strangers, who defended it with as much honour and integrity as if it had been their own.

Mean time, Icetes carried on the siege of the citadel with great vigour, and blocked it up so close that no provisions could be got in for the Corinthian garrison. He provided also two strangers to assassinate Timoleon, and sent them privately to Adranum. That general, who never kept any regular guards about him, lived then with the Adranites without any sort of precaution or suspicion, by reason of his confidence in their tutelary god. The assassins, being informed that he was going to offer sacrifice, went into the temple with their poniards under their clothes, and, mixing with those that stood round the altar, got nearer to him by little and little. They were just going to give each other the signal to begin, when somebody struck one of them on the head with his sword, and laid him at his feet.—Neither he that struck the blow kept his station, nor the companion of the dead man; the former, with his sword in his hand, fled to the top of a high rock, and the latter laid hold on the altar, entreating Timoleon to spare his life, on condition that he discovered the whole matter. Accordingly pardon was promised him, and he confessed that he and the person who lay dead were sent on purpose to kill him.

Whilst he was making this confession, the other man was brought down from the rock, and loudly protested that he was guilty of no injustice, for he only took righteous vengeance on the wretch who had murdered his father in the city of Leontium*. And for the truth of this he appealed to several that were there present, who all attested the same, and could not but admire the wonderful management of fortune, which, moving one thing by another, bringing to-

* History can hardly afford a stronger instance of an interfering PROVIDENCE.

gether the most distant incidents, and combining those that have no manner of relation, but rather the greatest dissimilarity, makes such use of them that the close of one process is always the beginning of another. The Corinthians rewarded the man with a present of ten *minæ*, because his hand had co-operated with the guardian genius of Timoleon, and he had reserved the satisfaction for his private wrongs to the time when fortune availed herself of it to save the general. This happy escape had effects beyond the present, for it inspired the Corinthians with high expectations of Timoleon, when they saw the Sicilians now reverence and guard him as a man whose person was sacred, and who was come, as minister of the gods, to avenge and deliver them.

When Icetes had failed in this attempt, and saw many of the Sicilians going over to Timoleon, he blamed himself for making use of the Carthaginians in small numbers only, and availing himself of their assistance as it were by stealth, and as if he were ashamed of it, when they had such immense forces at hand. He sent, therefore, for Mago their commander-in-chief, and his whole fleet; who, with terrible pomp, took possession of the harbour with a hundred and fifty ships, and landed an army of sixty thousand men, which encamped in the city of Syracuse; insomuch that every one imagined the inundation of barbarians, which had been announced and expected of old, was now come upon Sicily. For in the many wars which they had waged in that island, the Carthaginians had never before been able to take Syracuse; but Icetes then receiving them, and delivering up the city to them, the whole became a camp of barbarians.

The Corinthians, who still held the citadel, found themselves in very dangerous and difficult circumstances; for, besides that they were in want of provisions, because the port was guarded and blocked up, they were employed in sharp and continual disputes about the walls, which were attacked with all manner of machines and batteries, and for the defence of which they were obliged to divide themselves. Timoleon, however, found means to relieve them, by sending a supply of corn from Catana in small fishing-boats and little skiffs, which watched the opportunity to make their way through the enemy's fleet, when it happened to be separated by a storm. Mago and Icetes no sooner saw this, than they resolved to make themselves masters of Catana, from which provisions were sent to the besieged; and, taking with them the best of their troops, they sailed from Syracuse. Leo the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the top of it, that those of the

enemy who staid behind abated their vigilance, and kept but an indifferent guard, suddenly fell upon them as they were dispersed; and killing some, and putting the rest to flight, gained the quarter called *Achradina*, which was much the strongest, and had suffered the least from the enemy; for Syracuse is an assemblage, as it were, of towns*. Finding plenty of provisions and money there, he did not give up the acquisition, nor return into the citadel, but stood upon his defence in the *Achradina*, having fortified it quite round, and joined it by new works to the citadel. Mago and Icetes were now near Catana, when a horseman, dispatched from Syracuse, brought them tidings that the *Achradina* was taken; which struck them with such surprise, that they returned in great hurry, having neither taken the place which they went against, nor kept that which they had before.

Perhaps prudence and valour have as much right as fortune to lay claim to these successes; but the event that next ensued is wholly to be ascribed to the favour of fortune. The corps of Corinthians that were at Thurium, dreading the Carthaginian fleet, which, under the command of Hanno, observed their motions, and finding, at the same time, that the sea for many days was stormy and tempestuous, determined to march through the country of the Brutians; and, partly by persuasion, partly by force, they made good their passage through the territories of the barbarians, and came down to Rhegium, the sea still continuing rough as before.

The Carthaginian admiral, not expecting the Corinthians would venture out, thought it was in vain to sit still; and having persuaded himself that he had invented one of the finest stratagems in the world, ordered the mariners to crown themselves with garlands, and to dress up the galleys with Grecian and Phœnician bucklers, and, thus equipped, he sailed to Syracuse. When he came near the citadel, he hailed it with loud huzzas and expressions of triumph, declaring that he was just come from beating the Corinthian succours, whom he had met with at sea, as they were endeavouring at a passage. By this means he hoped to strike terror into the besieged. While he was acting this part, the Corinthians got down to Rhegium, and as the coast was clear, and the wind falling as it were miraculously, promised smooth water and a safe voyage, they immediately went aboard such barks and fishing-boats as they could find,

* There were four; the *Isle*, or the citadel, which was between the two ports; *Achradina*, at a little distance from the citadel; *Tyche*, so called from the temple of fortune; and *Neapolis*, or the new city. To these some eminent authors (and Plutarch is of the number) add a fifth, which they called *Epipolæ*.

and passed over into Sicily with so much safety, and in such a dead calm, that they even drew the horses by the reins, swimming by the side of the vessels.

When they were all landed, and had joined Timoleon, he soon took Messana*; and from thence he marched in good order to Syracuse, depending more upon his good fortune than his forces, for he had not above four thousand men with him. On the first news of his approach, Mago was greatly perplexed and alarmed, and his suspicions were increased on the following occasions: The marshes about Syracuse †, which receive a great deal of fresh water from the springs, and from the lakes and rivers that discharge themselves there into the sea, have such abundance of eels, that there is always plenty for those that choose to fish for them. The common soldiers of both sides amused themselves promiscuously with that sport at their vacant hours, and upon any cessation of arms. As they were all Greeks, and had no pretence for any private animosity against each other, they fought boldly when they met in battle, and in time of truce they mixed together, and conversed familiarly. Busied at one of these times in their common diversion of fishing, they fell into discourse, and expressed their admiration of the convenience of the sea, and the situation of the adjacent places. Whereupon one of the Corinthian soldiers thus addressed those that served under Icetes: "And can you, who are Greeks, readily consent to reduce this city, so spacious in itself, and blest with so many advantages, into the power of the barbarians, and to bring the Carthaginians, the most deceitful and bloody of them all, into our neighbourhood; when you ought to wish that between them and Greece there were many Sicilies? Or can you think that they have brought an armed force from the pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic Ocean, and braved the hazards of war, purely to erect a principality for Icetes, who, if he had had the prudence which becomes a general, would never have driven out his founders to call into his country the worst of its enemies, when he might have obtained of the Corinthians and Timoleon any proper degree of honour and power?"

The soldiers that were in pay with Icetes, repeating their discourses often in their camp, gave Mago, who had long wanted a pretence to be gone, room to suspect that he was betrayed. And

* *Messana* in the ancient Sicilian pronunciation; now *Messina*.

† There is one morass that is called *Lysimelia*, and another called *Syraco*. From this last the city took its name. These morasses make the air of Syracuse very unwholesome.

though Icetes entreated him to stay, and remonstrated upon their great superiority to the enemy, yet he weighed anchor, and sailed back to Africa, shamefully and unaccountably suffering Sicily to slip out of his hands.

Next day Timoleon drew up his men in order of battle before the place; but when he and his Corinthians were told that Mago was fled, and saw the harbour empty, they could not forbear laughing at his cowardice; and by way of mockery, they caused proclamation to be made about the city, promising a reward to any one who could give information where the Carthaginian fleet had gone to hide itself. Icetes, however, had still the spirit to stand a further shock, and would not let go his hold, but vigorously defended those quarters of the city which he occupied, and which appeared almost impregnable. Timoleon, therefore, divided his forces into three parts; and himself with one of them made his attack by the river Anapus, where he was likely to meet with the warmest reception; commanding the second, which was under Isias the Corinthian, to begin their operations from the *Achradina*, while Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the last reinforcement from Corinth, should attempt the *Epipolæ*: so that several impressions being made at the same time, and on every side, the soldiers of Icetes were overpowered, and put to flight. Now, that the city was taken by assault, and suddenly reduced, upon the flight of the enemy, we may justly impute to the bravery of the troops, and the ability of their general; but that not one Corinthian was either killed or wounded, the fortune of Timoleon claims entirely to herself, willing, as she seems, to maintain a dispute with his valour, and that those who read his story may rather admire his happy success than the merit of his actions. The fame of this great achievement soon overspread not only Sicily and Italy, but in a few days it resounded through Greece; so that the city of Corinth, which was in some doubt whether its fleet was arrived in Sicily, was informed by the same messengers that its forces had made good their passage, and were victorious. So well did their affairs prosper, and so much lustre did fortune add to the gallantry of their exploits, by the speediness of their execution.

Timoleon, thus master of the citadel, did not proceed like Dion, or spare the place for its beauty and magnificence; but guarding against the suspicions which first slandered and then destroyed that great man, he ordered the public crier to give notice, "That all the Syracusans who were willing to have a hand in the work should come with proper instruments to destroy the bulwarks of tyranny." Hereupon they came one and all, considering that proclamation and

that day as the surest commencement of their liberty; and they not only demolished the citadel, but levelled with the ground both the palaces and the monuments of the tyrants. Having soon cleared the place, he built a common hall there for the seat of judicature, at once to gratify the citizens, and to show that a popular government should be erected on the ruins of tyranny.

The city thus taken was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. Many had been slain in the wars and intestine broils, and many more had fled from the rage of the tyrants. Nay, so little frequented was the market-place of Syracuse, that it produced grass enough for the horses to pasture upon, and for the grooms to repose themselves by them. The other cities, except a very few, were entire deserts, full of deer and wild boars, and such as had leisure for it often hunted them in the suburbs and about the walls; while none of those that had possessed themselves of castles and strongholds could be persuaded to quit them, or come down into the city, for they looked with hatred and horror upon the tribunals, and other seats of government, as so many nurseries of tyrants. Timoleon and the Syracusans, therefore, thought proper to write to the Corinthians to send them a good number from Greece to people Syracuse, because the land must otherwise lie uncultivated, and because they expected a more formidable war from Africa, being informed that Mago had killed himself, and that the Carthaginians, provoked at his bad conduct in the expedition, had crucified his body, and were collecting great forces for the invasion of Sicily the ensuing summer.

These letters of Timoleon's being delivered, the Syracusan ambassadors attended at the same time, and begged of the Corinthians to take their city into their protection, and to become founders of it anew. They did not, however, hastily seize that advantage, or appropriate the city to themselves, but first sent to the sacred games, and the other great assemblies of Greece, and caused proclamation to be made by their heralds: "That the Corinthians having abolished arbitrary power in Syracuse, and expelled the tyrant, invited all Syracusans and other Sicilians to people that city, where they should enjoy their liberties and privileges, and have the lands divided by equal lots among them." Then they sent envoys into Asia, and the islands, where they were told the greatest part of the fugitives were dispersed, to exhort them all to come to Corinth, where they should be provided with vessels, commanders, and a convoy, at the expense of the Corinthians, to conduct them safe to Syracuse. Their intentions thus published, the Corinthians enjoyed the justest praise, and the most distinguished glory, having de-

livered a Grecian city from tyrants, saved it from the barbarians, and restored the citizens to their country. But the persons who met on this occasion at Corinth, not being a sufficient number, desired that they might take others along with them from Corinth and the rest of Greece, as new colonists; by which means having made up their number full ten thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. By this time great multitudes from Italy and Sicily had flocked in to Timoleon; who finding their number, as Athanis reports, amount to sixty thousand, freely divided the lands among them, but sold the houses for a thousand talents. By this contrivance he both left it in the power of the ancient inabitants to redeem their own, and took occasion also to raise a stock for the community, who had been so poor in all respects, and so little able to furnish the supplies for the war, that they had sold the very statues, after having formed a judicial process against each, and passed sentence upon them, as if they had been so many criminals. On this occasion, we are told, they spared one statue, when all the rest were condemned, namely, that of Gelon, one of their ancient kings, in honour of the man, and for the sake of the victory * which he gained over the Carthaginians at Himera.

Syracuse being thus revived, and replenished with such a number of inhabitants who flocked to it from all quarters, Timoleon was desirous to bestow the blessing of liberty on the other cities also, and once for all to extirpate arbitrary government out of Sicily. For this purpose, marching into the territories of the petty tyrants, he compelled Icetes to quit the interests of Carthage, to agree to demolish his castles, and to live among the Leontines as a private person. Leptines also, prince of Apollonia and several other little towns, finding himself in danger of being taken, surrendered, and had his life granted him, but was sent to Corinth; for Timoleon looked upon it as a glorious thing that the tyrants of Sicily should be forced to live as exiles in the city which had colonized that island, and should be seen by the Greeks in such an abject condition.

After this, he returned to Syracuse to settle the civil government, and to establish the most important and necessary laws †, along with

* He defeated Hamilcar, who landed in Sicily, with three hundred thousand men, in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.

† Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the Syracusans called the *Amphipolus* of Jupiter Olympius; thus giving him a kind of sacred character. The first *Amphipolus* was Commenes. Hence arose the customs among the Syracusans to compute their years by the respective governments of these magistrates; which custom continued in the time of Diodorus Siculus, that is, in the reign of Augustus, above three hundred years after the office of *Amphipolus* was first introduced. *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xvi. c. 12.

Cephalus and Dinarchus, lawgivers sent from Corinth. In the mean while, willing that the mercenaries should reap some advantage from the enemy's country, and be kept from inaction, he sent Dinarchus and Demaretus into the Carthaginian province. These drew several cities from the Punic interest, and not only lived in abundance themselves, but also raised money from the plunder for carrying on the war. While these matters were transacting, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum with seventy thousand land-forces, two hundred galleys, and a thousand other vessels, which carried machines of war, chariots, vast quantities of provisions, and all other stores; as if they were now determined not to carry on the war by piecemeal, but to drive the Greeks entirely out of Sicily: for their force was sufficient to effect this, even if the Sicilians had been united, and much more so, harassed as they were with mutual animosities. When the Carthaginians therefore found that their Sicilian territories were laid waste, they marched, under the command of Asdrubal and Hamilcar, in great fury against the Corinthians.

Information of this being brought directly to Syracuse, the inhabitants were struck with such terror by that prodigious armament, that scarce three thousand, out of ten times that number, took up arms, and ventured to follow Timoleon. The mercenaries were in number four thousand, and of them about a thousand gave way to their fears when upon their march, and turned back, crying out, "That Timoleon must be mad, or in his dotage, to go against an army of seventy thousand men with only five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and to draw his handful of men, too, eight days march from Syracuse; by which means there could be no refuge for those that fled, nor burial for those that fell in battle."

Timoleon considered it as an advantage that these cowards discovered themselves before the engagement; and having encouraged the rest, he led them hastily to the banks of the Crimesus, where he was told the Carthaginians were drawn together. But as he was ascending a hill, at the top of which the enemy's camp, and all their vast forces, would be in sight, he met some mules loaded with parsley, and his men took it into their heads that it was a bad omen, because we usually crown the sepulchres with parsley; and thence the proverb with respect to one that is dangerously ill, *Such a one has need of nothing but parsley.* To deliver them from this superstition, and to remove the panic, Timoleon ordered the troops to halt, and making a speech suitable to the occasion, observed, among other things, "That crowns were brought them before the victory, and offered themselves of their own accord." For the Corinthians from all antiquity having looked upon a wreath of parsley

as sacred, crowned the victors with it at the Isthmean games; in Timoleon's time it was still in use in those games, as it is now at the Neméan, and it is but lately that the pine-branch has taken its place. The general having addressed his army, as we have said, took a chaplet of parsley, and crowned himself with it first, and then his officers and the common soldiers did the same. At that instant the soothsayers observing two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a serpent, which he had pierced through with his talons, while the other advanced with a loud and animating noise, pointed them out to the army, who all betook themselves to prayer and invocation of the gods.

The summer was now begun, and the end of the month *Thargelion* brought on the solstice; the river then sending up a thick mist, the field was covered with it at first, so that nothing in the enemy's camp was discernible; only an inarticulate and confused noise, which reached the summit of the hill, showed that a great army lay at some distance. But when the Corinthians had reached the top, and laid down their shields to take breath, the sun had raised the vapours higher, so that the fog, being collected upon the summits, covered them only, while the places below were all visible The river Crimesus appeared clearly, and the enemy were seen crossing it, first with chariots drawn by four horses, and formidably provided for the combat, behind which there marched ten thousand men with white bucklers. These they conjectured to be Carthaginians, by the brightness of their armour, and the slowness and good order in which they moved. They were followed by the troops of other nations, who advanced in a confused and tumultuous manner.

Timoleon, observing that the river put it in his power to engage with what number of the enemy he pleased, bade his men take notice how the main body was divided by the stream, part having already got over, and part preparing to pass it, and ordered Demaretus with the cavalry to attack the Carthaginians, and put them in confusion, before they had time to range themselves in order of battle. Then he himself, descending into the plain with the infantry, formed the wings out of other Sicilians, intermingling a few strangers with them; but the natives of Syracuse, and the most warlike of the mercenaries, he placed about himself in the centre, and stopped awhile to see the success of the horse. When he saw that they could not come up to grapple with the Carthaginians, by reason of the chariots that ran to and fro before their army, and that they were obliged often to wheel about to avoid the danger of having their ranks broken, and then to rally again and return to the charge,

sometimes here sometimes there, he took his buckler, and called to the foot to follow him, and be of good courage, with an accent that seemed more than human, so much was it above his usual pitch; whether it was exalted by his ardour and enthusiasm, or whether, as many were of opinion, the voice of some god was joined to his own. His troops answering him with a loud shout, and pressing him to lead them on without delay, he sent orders to the cavalry to get beyond the line of chariots, and to take the enemy in flank, while himself thickening his first ranks, so as to join buckler to buckler, and causing the trumpet to sound, bore down upon the Carthaginians. They sustained the first shock with great spirit; for, being fortified with breast-plates of iron and helmets of brass, and covering themselves with large shields, they could easily repel the spears and javelins. But when the business came to a decision by the sword, where art is no less requisite than strength, all on a sudden there broke out dreadful thunders from the mountains, mingled with long trails of lightning; after which the black clouds, descending from the tops of the hills, fell upon the two armies in a storm of wind, rain, and hail. The tempest was on the backs of the Greeks, but beat upon the faces of the barbarians, and almost blinded them with the stormy showers, and the fire continually streaming from the clouds.

These things very much distressed the barbarians, particularly such of them as were not veterans. The greatest inconvenience seems to have been the roaring of the thunder, the clattering of the rain and hail upon their arms, which hindered them from hearing the orders of their officers. Besides, the Carthaginians not being light, but heavy-armed, as I said, the dirt was troublesome to them; and as the bosoms of their tunics were filled with water, they were very unwieldy in the combat, so that the Greeks could overturn them with ease, and when they were down, it was impossible for them, incumbered as they were with arms, to get up out of the mire; for the river Crimesus, swollen partly with the rains, and partly having its course stopped by the vast numbers that crossed it, had overflowed its banks. The adjacent field, having many cavities and low places in it, was filled with water, which settled there, and the Carthaginians falling into them, could not disengage themselves without extreme difficulty. In short, the storm continuing to beat upon them with great violence, and the Greeks having cut to pieces four hundred men, who composed their first ranks, their whole body was put to flight; great numbers were overtaken in the field, and put to the sword; many took to the river, and, jostling with those that were yet passing it, were carried down and drowned; the

major part, who endeavoured to gain the hills, were stopped by the light armed soldiers, and slain. Among the ten thousand that were killed, it is said there were three thousand natives of Carthage; a heavy loss to that city; for none of its citizens were superior to these, either in birth, fortune, or character; nor have we any account that so many Carthaginians ever fell before in one battle; for, as they mostly made use of Lybians, Spaniards, and Numidians in their wars, if they lost a victory, it was at the expense of the blood of strangers.

The Greeks discovered by the spoils the quality of the killed. Those that stripped the dead set no value upon brass or iron, such was the abundance of silver and gold; for they passed the river, and made themselves masters of the camp and baggage. Many of the prisoners were clandestinely sold by the soldiers, but five thousand were delivered in upon the public account, and two hundred chariots also were taken. The tent of Timoleon afforded the most beautiful and magnificent spectacle: in it were piled all manner of spoils, among which a thousand breastplates of exquisite workmanship, and ten thousand bucklers, were exposed to view. As there was but a small number to collect the spoils of such a multitude, and they found such immense riches, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect the trophy. With the first news of the victory, Timoleon sent to Corinth the handsomest of the arms he had taken, desirous that the world might admire and emulate his native city, when they saw the fairest temples adorned, not with Grecian spoils, nor with the unpleasing monuments of kindred blood and domestic ruin, but with the spoils of barbarians, which bore this honourable inscription, declaring the justice as well as valour of the conquerors, "That the people of Corinth, and Timoleon their general, having delivered the Greeks who dwelt in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, made this offering as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods."

After this, Timoleon left the mercenaries to lay waste the Carthaginian province, and returned to Syracuse. By an edict published there, he banished from Sicily the thousand hired soldiers who deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit Syracuse before the sun set. These wretches passed over into Italy, where they were treacherously slain by the Brutians. Such was the vengeance which Heaven took of their perfidiousness.

Nevertheless, Mamercus, prince of Catana, and Icetes, either moved with envy at the success of Timoleon, or dreading him as an implacable enemy, who thought no faith was to be kept with tyrants, entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and desired

them to send a new army and general, if they were not willing to lose Sicily entirely. Hereupon Gisco came with a fleet of seventy ships, and a body of Greeks whom he had taken into pay The Carthaginians had not employed any Greeks before, but now they considered them as the bravest and most invincible of men.

On this occasion, the inhabitants of Messana rising with one consent, slew four hundred of the foreign soldiers whom Timoleon had sent to their assistance; and, within the dependencies of Carthage, the mercenaries, commanded by Euthymus the Leucadian, were cut off by an ambush, at a place called Hieræ*. Hence the good fortune of Timoleon became still more famous: for these were some of the men, who, with Philodemus of Phocis, and Onomarchus, had broke into the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and were partakers with them in the sacrilege †. Shunned as execrable on this account, they wandered about Peloponnesus, where Timoleon, being in great want of men, took them into pay. When they came into Sicily, they were victorious in all the battles where he commanded in person; but after the great struggles of the war were over, being sent upon service where succours were required, they perished by little and little. Herein avenging justice seems to have been willing to make use of the prosperity of Timoleon as an apology for its delay; taking care as it did, that no harm might happen to the good from the punishment of the wicked; insomuch that the favour of the gods to that great man was no less discerned and admired in his very losses than in his greatest success.

Upon any of these little advantages, the tyrants took occasion to ridicule the Syracusans, at which they were highly incensed. Mamercus, for instance, who valued himself on his poems and tragedies, talked in a pompous manner of the victory he had gained over the mercenaries, and ordered this insolent inscription to be put upon the shields which he dedicated to the gods:

> These shields ‡ with gold and ivory gay
> To our plain bucklers lost the day.

Afterwards, when Timoleon was laying siege to Calauria, Icetes

* We do not find there was any place in Sicily called *Hieræ*: in all probability, therefore, it should be read *Hicetæ*: for Stephanus *de Urbib.* mentions a castle in Sicily of that name.

† The *sacred war* commenced on this occasion. The *Amphictyons* having condemned the people of Phocis in a heavy fine, for plundering the country of Cyrrha, which was dedicated to Apollo, and that people being unable to pay it, their whole country was judged forfeited to that god. Hereupon Philomelus, not Philodemus, called the people together, and advised them to seize the treasures in the temple of Delphi, to enable them to hire forces to defend themselves. This brought on a war that lasted six years; in the course of which most of the sacrilegious persons perished miserably.

‡ They were shields that had been taken out of the temple at Delphi.

took the opportunity to make an inroad into the territories of Syracuse, where he met with considerable booty; and having made great havock, he marched back by Calauria itself, in contempt of Timoleon and the slender force he had with him. Timoleon suffered him to pass, and then followed him with his cavalry and light-armed foot. When Icetes saw he was pursued, he crossed the Damyrias *, and stood in a posture to receive the enemy on the other side. What emboldened him to do this, was the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of the banks on both sides. But a strange dispute of jealousy and honour which arose among the officers of Timoleon, awhile delayed the combat: for there was not one that was willing to go after another, but every man wanted to be foremost in the attack; so that their fording was likely to be very tumultuous and disorderly, by their jostling each other, and pressing to get before. To remedy this, Timoleon ordered them to decide the matter by lot, and that each for this purpose should give him his ring. He took the rings, and shook them in the skirt of his robe, and the first that came up happening to have a trophy for the seal, the young officers received it with joy, and crying out that they would not wait for any other lot, made their way as fast as possible through the river, and fell upon the enemy, who, unable to sustain the shock, soon took to flight, throwing away their arms, and leaving a thousand of their men dead upon the spot.

A few days after this, Timoleon marched into the territory of the Leontines, where he took Icetes alive; and his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus, his general of horse, were brought to him bound by the soldiers. Icetes and his son were capitally punished, as tyrants and traitors to their country. Nor did Euthymus find mercy, though remarkably brave and bold in action, because he was accused of a severe sarcasm against the Corinthians. He had said, it seems, in a speech he made to the Leontines, upon the Corinthians taking the field, "That it was no formidable matter if the Corinthian dames were gone out to take the air." Thus the generality of men are more apt to resent a contemptuous word than an unjust action, and can bear any other injury better than disgrace. Every hostile deed is imputed to the necessity of war, but satirical and censorious expressions are considered as the effects of hatred or malignity.

When Timoleon was returned, the Syracusans brought the wife and daughters of Icetes to a public trial, who, being there condemned to die, were executed accordingly. This seems to be the most exceptionable part of Timoleon's conduct; for, if he had interposed, the women would not have suffered. But he appears to

* Or the Lamyrias.

have connived at it, and given them up to the resentment of the people, who were willing to make some satisfaction to the *manes* of Dion, who expelled Dionysius. For Icetes was the man that threw Arete, the wife of Dion, his sister Aristomache, and his son, who was yet a child, alive into the sea, as we have related in the life of Dion*.

Timoleon then marched to Catana against Mamercus, who waited for him in order of battle, upon the banks of the Abolus †. Mamercus was defeated and put to flight, with the loss of above two thousand men, no small part of which consisted of the Punic succours sent by Gisco. Hereupon the Carthaginians desired him to grant them peace, which he did on the following conditions: "that they should hold only the lands within the Lycus ‡; that they should permit all who desired it to remove out of their province, with their families and goods, and to settle at Syracuse; and that they should renounce all friendship and alliance with the tyrants." Mamercus, reduced by this treaty to despair, set sail for Italy, with an intent to bring the Lucanians against Timoleon and the Syracusans. But, instead of that, the crews tacking about with the galleys, and returning to Sicily, delivered up Catana to Timoleon; which obliged Mamercus to take refuge at Messana with Hippo, the prince of that city. Timoleon coming upon them, and investing the place both by sea and land, Hippo got on board a ship, and attempted to make his escape, but was taken by the Messanians themselves, who exposed him in the theatre, and calling their children out of the schools, as to the finest spectacle in the world, the punishment of a tyrant, they first scourged him, and then put him to death.

Upon this Mamercus surrendered himself to Timoleon, agreeing to take his trial at Syracuse, on condition that Timoleon himself would not be his accuser. Being conducted to Syracuse, and brought before the people, he attempted to pronounce an oration, which he had composed long before for such an occasion; but being received with noise and clamour, he perceived that the assembly were determined to show him no favour. He therefore threw off

* From this passage, and another before, it seems as if the life of Dion was written before this. And yet, in the life of Dion, Plutarch speaks as if this was written first. For there, he says, *As we have written in the life of Timoleon.* In one of them, therefore, if not in both, those references must have been made by the librarians, according to the different order in which these lives were placed.

† Ptolemy and others call this river *Alabus*, *Alabis*, or *Alabon*. It is near Hybla, between Catana and Syracuse.

‡ Plutarch probably took the name of this river as he found it in Diodorus; but other historians call it the Halycus. Indeed, the Carthaginians might possibly give it the oriental aspirate *ha*, which signifies no more than the particle *the*.

his upper garment, ran through the theatre, and dashed his head violently against one of the steps, with a design to kill himself; but did not succeed according to his wish, for he was taken up alive, and suffered the punishment of thieves and robbers.

In this manner did Timoleon extirpate tyranny, and put a period to their wars. He found the whole island turned almost wild and savage with its misfortunes, so that its very inhabitants could hardly endure it, and yet he so civilized it again, and rendered it so desireable, that strangers came to settle in the country, from which its own people had lately fled. The great cities of Agrigentum and Gelaa, which, after the Athenian war, had been sacked and left desolate by the Carthaginians, were now peopled again; the former by Megellus and Pheristus from Elea, and the latter by Gorgus from the isle of Ceos, who also collected and brought with him some of the old citizens. Timoleon not only assured them of his protection and of peaceful days to settle in, after the tempests of such a war, but cordially entered into their necessities, and supplied them with every thing, so that he was even beloved by them as if he had been their founder. Nay, to that degree did he enjoy the affections of the Sicilians in general, that no war seemed concluded, no laws enacted, no lands divided, no political regulation made in a proper manner, except it was revised and touched by him: he was the master-builder, who put the last hand to the work, and bestowed upon it a happy elegance and perfection.—Though at that time Greece boasted a number of great men, whose achievements were highly distinguished, Timotheus (for instance), Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, the last of whom Timoleon principally vied with in the course of glory, yet we may discern in their actions a certain labour and straining which diminishes their lustre; and some of them have afforded room for censure, and been followed with repentance; whereas there is not one action of Timoleon (if we except the extremities he proceeded to in the case of his brother) to which we may not, with Timæus, apply that passage of Sophocles,

> ..... What *Venus*, or what *Love*,
> Plac'd the fair parts in this harmonious whole.

For as the poetry of Antimachus * and the portraits of Dionysius†, both of them Colophonians, with all the nerves and strength one

* Antimachus was an epic poet, who flourished in the days of Socrates and Plato. He wrote a poem called the *Thebaid*. Quintilian (x. 1.) says, he had a force and solidity, together with an elevation of style, and had the second place given him by the grammarians after Homer; but as he failed in the passions, in the disposition of his fable, and in the ease and elegance of manner, though he was second, he was far from coming near the first.

† Dionysius was a portrait-painter. *Plin.* xxxv. 10.

finds in them, appear to be too much laboured, and smell too much of the lamp; whereas the paintings of Nicomachus * and the verses of Homer, beside their other excellencies and graces, seem to have been struck off with readiness and ease: so, if we compare the exploits of Epaminondas and Agesilaus, performed with infinite pains and difficulty, with those of Timoleon, which, glorious as they were, had a great deal of freedom and ease in them, when we consider the case well, we shall conclude the latter not to have been the work of fortune indeed, but the effects of fortunate virtue.

He himself, it is true, ascribed all his successes to fortune. For when he wrote to his friends at Corinth, or addressed the Syracusans, he often said, he was highly indebted to that goddess, when she was resolved to save Sicily, for doing it under his name. In his house he built a chapel, and offered sacrifices to *Chance* †, and dedicated the house itself to *Fortune;* for the Syracusans had given him one of the best houses in the city, as a reward for his services, and besides, provided him a very elegant and agreeable retreat in the country. In the country it was that he spent most of his time with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth; for he never returned home; he took no part in the troubles of Greece, nor exposed himself to public envy, the rock which great generals commonly split upon in their insatiable pursuits of honour and power, but he remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings he had established; and of which the greatest of all was, to see so many cities, and so many thousands of people, happy through his means.

But since, according to the comparison of Simonides, every republic must have some impudent slanderer, just as every lark must have a crest on its head, so it was at Syracuse; for Timoleon was attacked by two demagogues, Laphystius and Demænetus. The first of these having demanded of him sureties that he would answer to an indictment which was to be brought against him, the people began to rise, declaring they would not suffer him to proceed. But Timoleon stilled the tumult, by representing, "That he had voluntarily undergone so many labours and dangers on purpose that the

* Pliny tells us, "Nicomachus painted with a swift as well as masterly hand; and that his pieces sold for as much as a town was worth." Aristratus, the tyrant of Sicyon, having agreed with him for a piece of work which seemed to require a considerable time, Nicomachus did not appear till within a few days of that on which he had agreed to finish it. Hereupon the tyrant talked of punishing him; but in those few days he completed the thing in an admirable manner, and entirely to his satisfaction.

† When the ancients ascribe any event to *fortune*, they did not mean to deny the operation of the Deity in it, but only to exclude all human contrivance and power. And in events ascribed to *chance*, they might possibly mean to exclude the agency of all rational beings, whether human or divine.

meanest Syracusan might have recourse, when he pleased, to the laws." And when Demænetes in full assembly, alleged many articles against his behaviour in command, he did not vouchsafe him any answer; he only said, "He could not sufficiently express his gratitude to the gods for granting his request, in permitting him to see all the Syracusans enjoy the liberty of saying what they thought fit."

Having then confessedly performed greater things than any Grecian of his time, and been the only man that realized those glorious achievements, to which the orators of Greece were constantly exhorting their countrymen in the general assemblies of the states, fortune happily placed him at a distance from the calamities in which the mother country was involved, and kept his hands unstained with its blood. He made his courage and conduct appear in his dealings with the barbarians, and with tyrants, as well as his justice and moderation, wherever the Greeks or their friends were concerned. Very few of his trophies cost his fellow-citizens a tear, or put any of them in mourning; and yet in less than eight years, he delivered Sicily from its intestine miseries and distempers, and restored it to the native inhabitants.

After so much prosperity, when he was well advanced in years, his eyes began to fail him, and the defect increased so fast, that he entirely lost his sight. Not that he had done any thing to occasion it, nor was it to be imputed to the caprice of fortune *, but it seems to have been owing to a family weakness and disorder, which operated together with the course of time: for several of his relations are said to have lost their sight in the same manner, having it graudally impaired by years. But Athanias tells us, notwithstanding, that during the war with Hippo and Mamercus, and while he lay before Millæ, a white speck appeared on his eye, which was a plain indication that blindness was coming on. However, this did not hinder him from continuing the siege and prosecting the war, until he got the tyrants in his power. But, when he was returned to Syracuse, he laid down the command immediately, and excused himself to the people from any further service, as he had brought their affairs to a happy conclusion.

It is not to be wondered that he bore his misfortune without repining; but it was realy admirable to observe the honour and respect which the Syracusans paid him when blind. They not only visited

* Plutarch here hints at an opinion which was very prevalent among the Pagans that if any person was signally favoured with success, there would some misfortune happen, to counterbalance it. This they imputed to the envy of some malignan demon.

him constantly themselves, but brought all strangers who spent some time amongst them to his house in the town, or to that in the country, that they, too, might have the pleasure of seeing the deliverer of Syracuse. And it was their joy and their pride that he chose to spend his days with them, and despised the splendid reception which Greece was prepared to give him, on account of his great success. Among the many votes that were passed, and things that were done in honour of him, one of the most striking was that decree of the people of Syracuse, "That whenever they should be at war with a foreign nation, they would employ a Corinthian general."—Their method of proceeding, too, in their assemblies, did honour to Timoleon; for they decided smaller matters by themselves, but consulted him in the more difficult and important cases. On these occasions he was conveyed in a litter through the market-place to the theatre; and when he was caried in, the people saluted him with one voice as he sat. He returned the civility, and having paused a while to give time for their acclamations, took cognizance of the affair, and delivered his opinion. The assembly gave their sanction to it, and then his servants carried the litter back through the theatre; and the people having conducted him out with loud applauses, dispatched the rest of the public business without him.

With as much respect and kindness was the old age of Timoleon cherished, as that of a common father! and at last he died of a slight illness, co-operating with length of years*. Some time being given the Syracusans to prepare for his funeral, and for the neighbouring inhabitants and strangers to assemble, the whole was conducted with great magnificence. The bier, sumptuously adorned, was carried by young men, selected by the people, over the ground where the palace and castle of the tyrants stood before they were demolished. It was followed by many thousands of men and women, in the most pompous solemnity, crowned with garlands, and clothed in white. The lamentations and tears, mingled with the praises of the deceased, showed that the honour now paid him was not a matter of course, or compliance with a duty enjoined, but the testimony of real sorrow and sincere affection. At last, the bier being placed upon the funeral pile, Demetrius, who had the loudest voice of all their heralds, was directed to make proclamation as follows: "The people of Syracuse inter Timoleon the Corinthian, the son of Timodemus, at the expence of two hundred *minæ*; they honour him, moreover, through all time, with annual games, to be celebrated with performances in music, horse-racing, and wrestling, as the man

* He died the last year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, three hundred and thirty-five years before the Christian era.

who destroyed tyrants, subdued barbarians, repeopled great cities which lay desolate, and restored to the Sicilians their laws and privileges."

The body was interred, and a monument erected for him in the market-place, which they afterwards surrounded with porticoes, and other buildings suitable to the purpose, and then made it a place of exercise for their youth, under the name of *Timoleontéum*. They continued to make use of the form of government and the laws that he established, and this ensured their happiness for a long course of years*.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

WHEN I first applied myself to the writing of these lives, it was for the sake of others; but I pursue that study for my own sake, availing myself of history as of a miror, from which I learn to adjust and regulate my own conduct: for it is like living and conversing with these illustrious men, when I invite, as it were, and receive them, one after another, under my roof; when I consider *how great and wonderful they were*, and select from their actions the most memorable and glorious.

> Ye gods! what greater pleasure?
> What HAPPIER ROAD TO VIRTUE?

Democritus has a position in his philosophy†, utterly false indeed, and leading to endless superstitions, that there are phantasms, or images, continually floating in the air, some propitious and some unlucky, and advises us to pray that such may strike upon our senses as are agreeable to, and perfective of our nature, and not such as have a tendency to vice and error. For my part, instead of this, I fill my mind with the sublime images of the best and greatest men, by attention to history and biography; and if I contract any blemish or ill custom from other company which I am unavoidably

* This prosperity was interrupted about thirty years after by the cruelties of Agathocles.

† Democritus held that visible objects produced their image in the ambient air, which image produced a second, and the second a third still less than the former, and so on, till the last produced its counter part in the eye. This he supposed the process of the act of vision. But he went on to what is infinitely more absurd. He maintained that thought was formed, according as those images struck upon the imagination; that of these there were some good, and some evil; that the good produced virtuous thoughts in us, and the evil the contrary.

engaged in, I correct and expel them, by calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts to these excellent examples. For the same purpose, I now put in your hands the life of Timoleon the Corinthian, and that of Æmilius Paulus, men famous not only for their virtues, but their success, insomuch that they have left room to doubt whether their great achievements were not more owing to their good fortune than their prudence.

Most writers agree that the Æmilian family was one of the most ancient among the Roman nobility; and it is asserted that the founder of it, who also left it his surname, was Mamercus*, the son of Pythagoras the philosopher†, who, for the peculiar charms and gracefulness of his elocution, was called Æmilius; such, at least, is the opinion of those who say that Numa was educated under Pythagoras.

Those of this family that distinguished themselves ‡ found their attachment to virtue generally blessed with success. And notwithstanding the ill fortune of Lucius Paulus at Cannæ, he showed on that occasion both his prudence and his valour. For when he could not dissuade his colleague from fighting, he joined him in the combat, though much against his will, but did not partake with him in his flight; on the contrary, when he who plunged them in the danger deserted the field, Paulus stood his ground, and fell bravely amidst the enemy, with his sword in his hand.

This Paulus had a daughter named Æmilia, who was married to Scipio the Great, and a son called Paulus, whose history I am now writing.

At the time he made his appearance in the world, Rome abounded in men who were celebrated for their virtues and other excellent accomplishments §; and even among these Æmilius made a distinguished figure, without pursuing the same studies, or setting out in the same track with the young nobility of that age: for he did not exercise himself in pleading causes, nor could he stoop to salute, to solicit, and caress the people, which was the method that most men took who aimed at popularity. Not but that he had talents

* See the life of Numa.

† He is called Pythagoras the philosopher, to distinguish him from Pythagoras the famed wrestler.

‡ From Lucius Æmilius, who was consul in the year of Rome two hundred and seventy, and overcame the Volscians, to Lucius Paulus, who was father to Paulus Æmilius, and who fell at Cannæ, in the year of Rome five hundred and thirty seven, there were many of those Æmilii renowned for their victories and triumphs.

§ In that period we find the Sempronii, the Albini, the Fabii Maximi, the Marcelli, the Scipios, the Fulvii, the Sulpitii, Cethegi, Metelli; and other great and excellent men.

from nature to acquit himself well in either of these respects, but he reckoned the honour that flows from valour, from justice and probity, preferable to both; and in these virtues he soon surpassed all the young men of his time.

The first of the great offices of state for which he was a candidate, was that of *ædile*, and he carried it against twelve competitors, who, we are told, were all afterwards consuls. And when he was appointed one of the *augurs*, whom the Romans employ in the inspection and care of divination by the flight of birds, and by prodigies in the air, he studied so attentively the usages of his country, and acquainted himself so perfectly with the ancient ceremonies of religion, that what before was only considered as an honour, and sought for on account of the authority annexed to it*, appeared in his hands to be one of the principal arts. Thus he confirmed the definition which is given by some philosophers, *That religion is the science of worshipping the gods.* He did every thing with skill and application; he laid aside all other concerns while he attended to this, and made not the least omission or innovation, but disputed with his colleagues about the smallest article, and insisted, that though the Deity might be supposed to be merciful, and willing to overlook some neglect, yet it was dangerous for the state to connive at and pass by such things. *For no man ever began his attempts against government with an enormous crime; and the relaxing in the smallest matters breaks down the fences of the greatest.*

Nor was he less exact in requiring and observing the Roman military discipline. He did not study to be popular in command, nor endeavour, like the generality, to make one commission the foundation for another, by humouring and indulging the soldiery†; but as a priest instructs the initiated with care in the sacred ceremonies, so he explained to those that were under him the rules and customs of war; and being inexorable at the same time to those that transgressed them, he re-established his country in its former glory. Indeed, with him, the beating of an enemy was a matter of much less account than the bringing of his countrymen to strict discipline; the one seeming to be the necessary consequence of the other.

During the war which the Romans were engaged in with Antio-

* Under pretence that the auspices were favourable or otherwise, the *augurs* had it in their power to promote or put a stop to any public affair whatever.

† The Roman soldiers were, at the same time, citizens, who had votes for the great employments, both civil and military.

chus the Great * in the east, and in which their most experienced officers were employed †, another broke out in the west. There was a general revolt in Spain ‡, and thither Æmilius was sent, not with six *lictors* only, like other *prætors*, but with twice the number, which seemed to raise his dignity to an equality with the consular. He beat the barbarians in two pitched battles ‖, and killed thirty thousand of them; which success appears to have been owing to his generalship in choosing his ground, and attacking the enemy while they were passing a river; for by these means his army gained an easy victory. He made himself master of two hundred and fifty cities, which voluntarily opened their gates; and having established peace throughout the province, and secured its allegiance, he returned to Rome, not a *drachma* richer than he went out. He never, indeed, was desirous to enrich himself, but lived in a generous manner on his own estate, which was so far from being large, that, after his death, it was hardly sufficient to answer his wife's dowry.

His first wife was Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Maso, a man of consular dignity. After he had lived with her a long time in wedlock, he divorced her, though she had brought him very fine children; for she was mother to the illustrious Scipio and to Fabius Maximus. History does not acquaint us with the reason of this separation; but, with respect to divorces in general, the account which a certain Roman, who put away his wife, gave of his own case, seems to be a just one. When his friends remonstrated, and asked him, *Was she not chaste? Was she not fair? Was she not fruitful?* he held out his shoe, and said, *Is it not handsome? Is it not new? Yet none knows whether it wrings him, but he that wears it.* Certain it is, that men usually repudiate their wives for great and visible faults; yet sometimes also a peevishness of temper, or incompliance of manners, small and frequent distastes, though not discerned by the world, produce the most incurable aversions in a married life §.

* The war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, began about the year of Rome five hundred and sixty-one, twenty-four years after the battle of Cannæ.

† The consul Glabrio, and after him the two Scipios; the elder of whom was content to serve as lieutenant under his brother.—*Liv.* lib. xxxvii.

‡ Spain had been reduced by Scipio Nasica.

‖ Livy, xxxvii. 57. speaks only of one battle, in which Paulus Æmilius forced the intrenchments of the Spaniards, killed eighteen thousand of them, and made three hundred prisoners.

§ The very ingenious Dr. Robertson mentions this frequency of divorces as one of the necessary reasons for introducing the Christian religion at that period of time when it was published to the world. "Divorces," says he, "on very slight pretences, were

Æmilius, thus separated from Papiria, married a second wife, by whom he had also two sons. These he brought up in his own house; the sons of Papiria being adopted into the greatest and most noble families in Rome, the elder by Fabius Maximus, who was five times consul, and the younger by his cousin-german, the son of Scipio Africanus, who gave him the name of Scipio. One of his daughters was married to the son of Cato, and the other to Ælius Tubero, a man of superior integrity, and who, of all the Romans, knew best how to bear poverty. There were no less than sixteen of the Ælian family and name who had only a small house and one farm amongst them; and in this house they all lived, with their wives and many children. Here dwelt the daughter of Æmilius, who had been twice consul, and had triumphed twice, not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admiring that virtue which kept him poor. Very different is the behaviour of brothers and other near relations in these days; who, if their possessions be not separated by extensive countries, or at least rivers and bulwarks, are perpetually at variance about them. So much instruction does history suggest to the consideration of those who are willing to profit by it.

When Æmilius was created consul *, he went upon an expedition against the Ligurians, whose country lies at the foot of the Alps, and who are also called Ligustines, a bold and martial people, that learned the art of war of the Romans by means of their vicinity: for they dwelt in the extremities of Italy, bordering upon that part of the Alps which is washed by the Tuscan sea, just opposite to

permitted both by the Greek and Roman legislators. And though the pure manners of those republics restrained for some time the operation of such a pernicious institution; though the virtue of private persons seldom abused the indulgence that the legislature allowed them, yet no sooner had the establishment of arbitrary power and the progress of luxury vitiated the taste of men, than the law with regard to divorces was found to be one of the worst corruptions that prevailed in that abandoned age. The facility of separations rendered married persons careless of practising or obtaining those virtues which render domestic life easy and delightful. The education of their children, as the parents were not mutually endeared or inseparably connected, was generally disregarded, as each parent considered it but a partial care, which might with equal justice devolve on the other. Marriage, instead of restraining, added to the violence of irregular desire, and under a legal title became the vilest and most shameless prostitution. From all these causes the marriage state fell into disreputation and contempt, and it became necessary to force men by penal laws into a society where they expected no secure or lasting happiness. Among the Romans domestic corruption grew of a sudden to an incredible height. And perhaps in the history of mankind we can find no parallel to the undisguised impurity and licentiousness of that age. It was in good time, therefore," &c. &c.

* It was the year following that he went against the Ligurians.

Africa, and were mixed with the Gauls and Spaniards who inhabited the coast. At that time they had likewise some strength at sea, and their corsairs plundered and destroyed the merchant ships as far as the pillars of Hercules. They had an army of forty thousand men to receive Æmilius, who came but with eight thousand at the most. He engaged them, however, though five times his number, routed them entirely, and shut them up within their walled towns. When they were in these circumstances, he offered them reasonable and moderate terms: for the Romans did not choose utterly to cut off the people of Liguria, whom they considered as a bulwark against the Gauls, who were always hovering over Italy. The Ligurians, confiding in Æmilius, delivered up their ships and their towns. He only razed the fortifications, and then delivered the cities to them again: but he carried off their shipping, leaving them not a vessel bigger than those with three banks of oars; and he set at liberty a number of prisoners whom they had made both at sea and land, as well Romans as strangers.

Such were the memorable actions of his first consulship. After which he often expressed his desire of being appointed again to the same high office, and even stood candidate for it; but, meeting with a repulse, he solicited it no more. Instead of that, he applied himself to the discharge of his function as *augur*, and to the education of his sons, not only in such arts as had been taught in Rome, and those that he had learned himself, but also in the genteeler arts of Greece. To this purpose, he not only entertained masters who could teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but sculpture also, and painting, together with such as were skilled in breaking and teaching horses and dogs, and were to instruct them in riding and hunting. When no public affairs hindered him, he himself always attended their studies and exercises. In short, he was the most indulgent parent in Rome.

As to public affairs, the Romans were then engaged in a war with Perseus *, king of the Macedonians, and they imputed it either to the incapacity or cowardice of their generals †, that the advantage was on the enemy's side. For they who had forced Antiochus the Great to quit the rest of Asia ‡, driven him beyond Mount Taurus

* This second Macedonian war with Perseus began in the year of Rome five hundred and eighty-two, a hundred and sixty-nine years before the Christian era.

† Those generals were P. Lacinius Crassus, after him A. Hostilius Mancinus, and then Q. Martius Philippus, who dragged the war heavily on during the three years of their consulship.

‡ Seventeen years before.

confined him to Syria, and made him think himself happy if he could purchase his peace with fifteen thousand talents *; they who had lately vanquished king Philip in Thessaly †, and delivered the Greeks from the Macedonian yoke; in short, they who had subdued Hannibal, to whom no king could be compared either for valour or power, thought it an intolerable thing to be obliged to contend with Perseus upon equal terms, as if *he* could be an adversary able to cope with them, who only brought into the field the poor remains of his father's routed forces. In this, however, the Romans were deceived; for they knew not that Philip, after his defeat, had raised a much more numerous and better disciplined army than he had before. It may not be amiss to explain this in a few words, beginning at the fountain-head. Antigonus ‡, the most powerful among the generals and successors of Alexander, having gained for himself and his descendants the title of king, had a son named Demetrius, who was father to Antigonus, surnamed *Gonatus*. *Gonatus* had a son named Demetrius, who, after a short reign, left a young son called *Philip*. The Macedonian nobility, dreading the confusion often consequent upon a minority, set up Antigonus, cousin to the deceased king, and gave him his widow, the mother of Philip, to wife. At first they made him only regent and general, but afterwards finding that he was a moderate and public-spirited man, they declared him king. He it was that had the name of *Doson* ‖, because he was always promising, but never performed what he promised. After him, Philip mounted the throne, and, though yet but a youth, soon showed himself equal to the greatest of kings, so that it was believed he would restore the crown of Macedon to its ancient dignity, and be the only man that could stop the progress of the Roman power, which was now extending itself over all the world. But being beaten at Scotusa by Titus Flaminius, his courage sunk for the present, and promising to receive such terms as the Romans should impose, he was glad to come off with a moderate fine; but, recollecting himself afterwards, he could not brook the dishonour. To reign by the courtesy of the Romans,

* Livy says twelve thousand, which were to be paid in twelve years, by a thousand talents a-year.

† This service was performed by Quinctius Flaminius, who defeated Philip in Thessaly, killed eight thousand of his men upon the spot, took five thousand prisoners, and after his victory caused proclamation to be made by a herald at the Isthmean games, that Greece was free.

‡ This Antigonus killed Eumenes, and took Babylon from Seleucus; and when his son Demetrius had overthrown Ptolemy's fleet at Cyprus, he, the first of all Alexander's successors, presumed to wear a diadem, and assumed the title of king.

‖ *Doson* signifies *will-give*.

appeared to him more suitable to a slave who minds nothing but his pleasures, than to a man who has any dignity of sentiment, and therefore he turned his thoughts to war, but made his preparations with great privacy and caution; for suffering the towns that were near the great roads and by the sea to run to decay, and to become half desolate, in order that he might be held in contempt by the enemy, he collected a great force in the higher provinces; and filling the inland places, the towns and castles, with arms, money, and men fit for service, without making any show of war, he had his troops always in readiness for it, like so many wrestlers trained and exercised in secret. For he had in his arsenal arms for thirty thousand men, in his garrisons eight millions of measures of wheat, and money in his coffers to defray the charge of maintaining ten thousand mercenaries for ten years, to defend his country. But he had not the satisfaction of putting these designs in execution; for he died of grief and a broken heart, on discovering that he had unjustly put Demetrius, his more worthy son, to death*, in consequence of an accusation preferred by his other son Perseus.

Perseus, who survived him, inherited, together with the crown, his father's enmity to the Romans; but he was not equal to such a burthen, on account of the littleness of his capacity, and the meanness of his manners; avarice being the principal of the many passions that reigned in his distempered heart. It is even said that he was not the son of Philip, but that the wife of that prince took him, as soon as he was born, from his mother, who was a sempstress of Argos, named Gnathænia, and passed him upon her husband as her own. And the chief reason of his compassing the death of his brother seemed to have been his fear that the royal house having a lawful heir, might prove him to be supposititious. But though he was of such an abject and ungenerous disposition, yet, elated with the prosperous situation of his affairs, he engaged in war with the Romans, and maintained the conflict a long while, repulsing several of their fleets and armies commanded by men of consular dignity, and even beating some of them. Publius Licinius was the first that invaded Macedonia, and him he defeated in an engagement of the cavalry †, killed two thousand five hundred of his best men, and took six hundred prisoners. He surprised the Roman fleet which

* This story is finely embellished in Dr. Young's tragedy of *the Brothers*.

† Livy has given us a description of this action at the end of his forty-second book. Perseus offered peace to those he had beaten upon as easy conditions as if he himself had been overthrown, but the Romans refused it. They made it a rule, indeed, never to make peace when beaten. The rule proved a wise one for that people, but can never be universally adopted.

lay at anchor at Ormeum, took twenty of their store-ships, sunk the rest that were loaded with wheat, and made himself master, besides, of four galleys which had each five benches of oars. He fought also another battle, by which he drove back the consul Hostilius, who was attempting to enter his kingdom by Elimia; and when the same general was stealing in by the way of Thessaly, he presented himself before him, but the Roman did not choose to stand an encounter. And as if this war did not sufficiently employ him, or the Romans alone were not an enemy respectable enough, he went upon an expedition against the Dardanians, in which he cut in pieces ten thousand of them, and brought off much booty. At the same time, he privately solicited the Gauls, who dwell near the Danube, and who are called Bastarnæ.—These were a warlike people, and strong in cavalry. He tried the Illyrians too, hoping to bring them to join him by means of Gentius their king; and it was reported that the barbarians had taken his money, under promise of making an inroad into Italy, by the lower Gaul, along the coast of the Adriatic *.

When this news was brought to Rome, the people thought proper to lay aside all regard to interest and solicitation in the choice of their generals, and to call to the command a man of understanding, fit for the direction of great affairs. Such was Paulus Æmilius, a man advanced in years indeed (for he was about threescore), but still in his full strength, and surrounded with young sons and sons-in-law, and a number of other considerable relations and friends, who all persuaded him to listen to the people that called him to the consulship. At first he received the offer of the citizens very coldly, though they went so far as to court and even to entreat him; for he was now no longer ambitious of that honour: but as they daily attended at his gate, and loudly called upon him to make his appearance in the *forum*, he was at length prevailed upon. When he put himself among the candidates, he looked not like a man who sued for the consulship, but as one who brought success along with him; and when, at the request of the citizens, he went down into the *Campus Martius*, they all received him with so entire a confidence, and such a cordial regard, that upon their creating him consul the second time, they would not suffer the lots to be cast for the

* He practised also with Eumenes king of Bithynia, and caused representations to be made to Antiochus king of Syria, that the Romans were equally enemies to all kings: but Eumenes demanding fifteen hundred talents, a stop was put to the negotiation. The very treating, however, with Perseus, occasioned an inveterate hatred between the Romans and their old friend Eumenes; but that hatred was of no service to Perseus.

provinces *, as usual, but voted him immediately the direction of the war in Macedonia. It is said, that after the people had appointed him commander-in-chief against Perseus, and conducted him home in a very splendid manner, he found his daughter Tertia, who was yet but a child, in tears. Upon this he took her in his arms, and asked her, "Why she wept?" The girl embracing and kissing him, said, "Know you not then, father, that Perseus is dead?" meaning a little dog of that name, which she had brought up. To which Æmilius replied, it is a lucky incident, child; I accept the omen." This particular is related by Cicero in his Treatise on *Divination*.

It was the custom for those that were appointed to the consulship to make their acknowledgment to the people in an agreeable speech from the *rostrum*. Æmilius having assembled the citizens on this occasion, told them, "He had applied for his former consulship, because he wanted a command; but in this they had applied to him, because they wanted a commander; and therefore, at present, he did not hold himself obliged to them. If they could have the war better directed by another, he would readily quit the employment; but if they placed their confidence in him, he expected they would not interfere with his orders, or propagate idle reports, but provide in silence what was necessary for the war; for, if they wanted to command their commanders, their expeditions would be more ridiculous than ever." It is not easy to express how much reverence this speech procured him from the citizens, and what high expectations it produced of the event. They rejoiced that they had passed by the smooth-tongued candidates, and made choice of a general who had so much freedom of speech, and such dignity of manner. Thus the Romans submitted, like servants, to reason and virtue, in order that they might one day rule and become masters of the world.

That Paulus Æmilius, when he went upon the Macedonian expedition, had a prosperous voyage and journey, and arrived with speed and safety in the camp, I impute to his good fortune; but when I consider how the war was conducted, and see that the greatness of his courage, the excellence of his counsels, the attachment of his friends, his presence of mind and happiness in expedients in times of danger, all contributed to his success, I cannot place his great and distinguished actions to any account but his own. Indeed, the avarice of Perseus may possibly be looked upon as a fortunate circumstance for Æmilius, since it blasted and ruined the great

* Livy says the contrary.

preparations and elevated hopes of the Macedonians, by a mean regard to money. For the Bastarnæ came, at his request, with a body of ten thousand horse *, each of which had a foot-soldier by his side, and they all fought for hire; men they were that knew not how to till the ground, to feed cattle, or to navigate ships, but whose sole profession and employment was to fight and to conquer. When these pitched their tents in Medica, and mingled with the king's forces, who beheld them tall in their persons, ready beyond expression at their exercises, lofty and full of menaces against the enemy, the Macedonians were inspired with fresh courage, and a strong opinion that the Romans would not be able to stand against these mercenaries, but be terrified both at their looks and at their strange and astonishing motions.

After Perseus had filled his people with such spirits and hopes, the barbarians demanded of him a thousand pieces of gold for every officer; but the thoughts of parting with such a sum almost turned his brain, and in the narrowness of his heart he refused it, and broke off the alliance; as if he had not been at war with the Romans, but a steward for them, who was to give an exact account of his whole expenses to those whom he was acting against. At the same time, the example of the enemy pointed out to him better things; for, besides their other preparations, they had a hundred thousand men collected and ready for their use; and yet he, having to oppose a considerable force, and an armament that was maintained at such an extraordinary expense, counted his gold and sealed his bags, as much afraid to touch them as if they had belonged to another. And yet he was not descended from any Lydian or Phœnician merchant, but allied to Alexander and Philip, whose maxim it was, *to procure empire with money, and not money by empire*, and who, by pursuing that maxim, conquered the world: for it was a common saying, "That it was not Philip, but Philip's gold, that took the cities of Greece." As for Alexander, when he went upon the Indian expedition, and saw the Macedonians dragging after them a heavy and unwieldy load of Persian wealth, he first set fire to the royal carriages, and then persuaded the rest to do the same to theirs, that

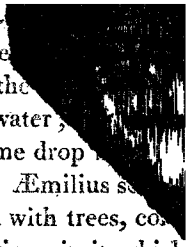
* Livy (xliv. 26.) has well described this horseman and his foot-soldiers. He says, "There came ten thousand horse, and as many foot, who kept pace with the horse, and when any of the cavalry were unhorsed, they mounted, and went into the ranks." They were the same people with those described by Cæsar in the first book of his Commentaries, where he is giving an account of Ariovistus's army. As soon as Perseus had intelligence of the approach of the Bastarnæ, he sent Antigonus to congratulate Clondicus their king. Clondicus made answer, that the Gauls could not march a step farther without money; which Perseus in his avarice and bad policy refused to advance.

they might move forward to the war light and unincumbered; whereas Perseus, though he and his children and his kingdom overflowed with wealth, would not purchase his preservation at the expense of a small part of it, but was carried a wealthy captive to Rome, and showed that people what immense sums he had saved and laid up for them.

Nay, he not only deceived and sent away the Gauls, but also imposed upon Gentius, king of the Illyrians, whom he prevailed upon to join him, in consideration of a subsidy of three hundred talents. He went so far as to order the money to be counted before that prince's envoys, and suffered them to put their seal upon it. Gentius, thinking his demands were answered, in violation of all the laws of honour and justice, seized and imprisoned the Roman ambassadors who were at his court. Perseus now concluded that there was no need of money to draw his ally into the war, since he had unavoidably plunged himself into it, by an open instance of violence, and an act of hostility which would admit of no excuse, and therefore he defrauded the unhappy man of the three hundred talents, and without the least concern beheld him, his wife and children, in a short time after dragged from their kingdom by the prætor Lucius Anicius, who was sent at the head of an army against Gentius.

Æmilius, having to do with such an adversary as Perseus, despised, indeed, the man, yet could not but admire his preparations and his strength; for he had four thousand horse, and near forty thousand foot, who composed the *phalanx;* and being encamped by the sea-side, at the foot of Mount Olympus, in a place that was perfectly inaccessible, and strengthened on every side with fortifications of wood, he lay free from all apprehensions, persusded that he should wear out the consul by protracting the time, and exhausting his treasures. But Æmilius, always vigilant and attentive, weighed every expedient and method of attack; and perceiving that the soldiers, through the want of discipline in time past, were impatient of delay, and ready to dictate to their general things impossible to be executed, he reproved them with great severity, ordering them not to intermeddle with, or give attention to, any thing but their own persons and their swords, that they might be in readiness to use them as became Romans, when their commander should give them an opportunity. He ordered also the centinels to keep watch without their pikes*, that they might guard the better against sleep,

* Livy says, *without their shields,* the reason of which was this, the Roman shields being long, they might rest their heads upon them, and sleep standing. Æmilius, however, made one order in favour of the soldiers upon guard; for he ordered them to be relieved at noon, whereas before they used to be upon duty all day.



when they were sensible that they had nothing to de[fend] with against the enemy, who might attack them in the[ir] But his men complained the most for want of water; [the] little, and that but indifferent, flowed, or rather came drop[ping] from some springs near the sea. In this extremity, Æmilius s[aw] Mount Olympus before him, very high and covered with trees, co[n]jectured from their verdure, that there must be springs in it which would discharge themselves at the bottom, and therefore caused several pits and wells to be dug at the foot of it. These were soon filled with clear water, which ran into them, with the greater force and rapidity, because it had been confined before.

Some, however, deny that there are any hidden sources constantly provided with water in the places from which it flows; nor will they allow the discharge to be owing to the opening of a vein; but they will have it, that the water is formed instantaneously from the condensation of vapours, and that by the coldness and pressure of the earth a moist vapour is rendered fluid. For as the breasts of women are not, like vessels, stored with milk always ready to flow, but prepare and change the nutriment that is in them into milk, so the cold and springy places of the ground have not a quantity of water hid within them, which, as from reservoirs always full, can be sufficient to supply large streams and rivers; but by compressing and condensing the vapours and the air, they convert them into water; and such places being opened, afford that element freely, just as the breasts of women do milk from their being sucked, by compressing and liquifying the vapour; whereas the earth that remains idle and undug cannot produce any water, because it wants that motion which alone is the true cause of it.

But those that teach this doctrine give occasion to the sceptical to observe, that by parity of reason there is no blood in animals, but that the wound produces it, by a change in the flesh and spirits, which that impression renders fluid. Besides, that doctrine is refuted by those who, digging deep in the earth to undermine some fortification, or to search for metals, meet with deep rivers, not collected by little and little, which would be the case if they were produced at the instant the earth was opened, but rushing upon them at once in great abundance. And it often happens, upon the breaking of a great rock, that a quantity of water issues out, which as suddenly ceases. So much for springs.

Æmilius sat still for some days, and it is said that there never were two great armies so near each other that remained so quiet. But trying and considering every thing, he got information that there was one way only left unguarded, which lay through Perrhæbia, by

[redacted]etra; and conceiving greater hopes from the de-[redacted]tion of the place, than fear from its rugged and dif-[redacted]rance, he ordered the matter to be considered in council. [redacted], surnamed Nasica, son-in-law to Scipio Africanus, who [redacted]ards was a leading man in the senate, was the first that offered [redacted]ead the troops in taking this circuit to come at the enemy; and after Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Æmilius, though he was yet but a youth, expressed his readiness to undertake the enterprise. Æmilius, delighted with this circumstance, gave them a detachment, not so large indeed as Polybius gives account of, but the number that Nasica mentions in a short letter, wherein he describes this action to a certain king. They had three thousand Italians, who were not Romans, and five thousand men besides, who composed the left wing. To these Nasica added a hundred and twenty horse, and two hundred Thracians and Cretans intermixed, who were of the troops of Herpalus.

With this detachment he began to march towards the sea, and encamped at Heracleum *, as if he intended to sail round, and come upon the enemy's camp behind; but when his soldiers had supped, and night came on, he explained to the officers his real design, and directed them to take a different route. Pursuing this without loss of time, he arrived at Pythium, where he ordered his men to take some rest. At this place Olympus is ten furlongs and ninety-six feet in height, as it is signified in the inscription made by Xenagoras the son of Eumelus, the man that measured it. The geometricians, indeed, affirm that there is no mountain in the world more than ten furlongs high, nor sea above that depth, yet it appears that Xenagoras did not take the height in a careless manner, but regularly and with proper instruments.

Nasica passed the night there. Perseus, for his part, seeing Æmilius lie quiet in his camp, had not the least thought of the danger that threatened him; but a Cretan deserter, who slipped from Scipio by the way, came and informed him of the circuit the Romans were taking in order to surprise him. This news put him in great confusion, yet he did not remove his camp; he only sent ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under Milo with orders to possess themselves of the heights with all possible expedition. Polybius relates that the Romans fell upon them while they were asleep, but Nasica tells us there was a sharp and

* The consul gave out that they were to go on board the fleet which, under the command of Octavius the prætor, lay upon the coast, in order to waste the maritime parts of Macedonia, and so to draw Perseus from his camp.

dangerous conflict for the heights; that he himself killed a Thracian mercenary who engaged him, by piercing him through the breast with his spear; and that the enemy being routed, and Milo put to a shameful flight without his arms, and in his under garment only, he pursued them without any sort of hazard, and led his party down into the plain. Perseus, terrified at this disaster, and disappointed in his hopes, decamped and retired. Yet he was under a necessity of stopping before Pydna, and risking a battle, if he did not choose to divide his army to garrison his towns*, and there expect the enemy, who, when once entered into his country, could not be driven out without great slaughter and bloodshed.

His friends represented to him that his army was still superior in numbers, and that they would fight with great resolution in defence of their wives, and children, and in sight of their king, who was a partner in their danger. Encouraged by this representation, he fixed his camp there; he prepared for battle, viewed the country, and assigned each officer his post, as intending to meet the Romans when they came off their march. The field where he encamped was fit for the *phalanx*, which required plain and even ground to act in; near it was a chain of little hills, proper for the light-armed to retreat to, and to wheel about from the attack; and through the middle ran the rivers Æson and Leucus, which, though not very deep, because it was the latter end of summer, were likely to give the Romans some trouble.

Æmilius, having joined Nasica, marched in good order against the enemy. But when he saw the disposition and number of their forces, he was astonished, and stood still to consider what was proper to be done.—Hereupon the young officers, eager for the engagement, and particularly Nasica, flushed with his success at Mount Olympus, pressed up to him, and begged of him to lead them forward without delay. Æmilius only smiled and said, "My friend, if I was of your age, I should certainly do so; but the many victories I have gained have made me observe the errors of the vanquished, and forbid me to give battle, immediately after a march, to an army well drawn up, and every way prepared."

Then he ordered the foremost ranks, who were in sight of the enemy, to present a front as if they were ready to engage, and the rear in the mean time to mark out a camp, and throw up intrenchments;

* His best friends advised him to garrison his strongest cities with his best troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having shewn that the Macedonians were better able to defend cities, than the Romans were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected, from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged.

after which, he made the battalions wheel off by degrees, beginning with those next the soldiers at work, so that their disposition was insensibly changed, and his whole army encamped without noise.

When they had supped, and were thinking of nothing but going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and very high, began to be darkened, and, after changing into various colours, was at last totally eclipsed*. The Romans, according to their custom, made a great noise by striking upon vessels of brass, and held up lighted faggots and torches in the air, in order to recal her light; but the Macedonians did no such thing, horror and astonishment seized their whole camp, and a whisper passed among the multitude that this appearance portended the fall of the king. As for Æmilius, he was not entirely unacquainted with this matter; he had heard of the ecliptic inequalities which bring the moon, at certain periods, under the shadow of the earth, and darken her till she has passed that quarter of obscurity, and receives light from the sun again. Nevertheless, as he was wont to ascribe most events to the Deity, was a religious observer of sacrifices and of the art of divination, he offered up to the moon eleven heifers, as soon as he saw her regain her former lustre. At break of day, he also sacrificed oxen to Hercules, to the number of twenty, without any auspicious sign; but, in the twenty-first, the desired tokens appeared, and he announced victory to his troops, provided they stood upon the defensive†. At the same time he vowed a hecatomb and solemn games in honour of that god, and then commanded the officers to put the army in order of battle; staying, however, till the sun should decline, and get round to the west, lest, if they came to action in the morning, it should dazzle the eyes of his soldiers: he sat down in the mean time in his tent, which was open towards the field and the enemy's camp.

Some say, that towards evening he availed himself of an artifice to make the enemy begin the fight. It seems he turned a horse

* Livy tells us, that Sulpitius Gallus, one of the Roman tribunes, foretold this eclipse, first to the consul, and then with his leave to the army; whereby that terror which eclipses were wont to breed in ignorant minds was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom, and of such general knowledge.

† Here we see Æmilius availed himself of augury to bring his troops the more readily to comply with what he knew was most prudent.—He was sensible of their eagerness and impetuosity, but he was sensible at the same time that coolness and calm valour were more necessary to be exerted against the Macedonian phalanx, which was not inferior in courage and discipline to the Romans, and there he told them that the gods enjoined them to stand upon the defensive, if they desired to be victorious. Another reason why Æmilius deferred the fight was, as Plutarch says, because the morning sun was full in the eyes of his soldiers.

loose without a bridle, and sent out some Romans to catch him, who were attacked while they were pursuing him, and so the engagement began. Others say, that the Thracians, commanded by one Alexander, attacked a Roman convoy; that seven hundred Ligurians making up to its assistance, a sharp skirmish ensued, and that larger reinforcements being sent to both parties, at last the main bodies were engaged. Æmilius, like a wise pilot, foreseeing, by the agitation of both armies, the violence of the impending storm, came out of his tent, passed through the ranks, and encouraged his men. In the mean time, Nasica, who rode up to the place where the skirmish began, saw the whole of the enemy's army advancing to the charge.

First of all marched the Thracians, whose very aspect struck the beholders with terror. They were men of a prodigious size; their shields were white and glistering; their vests were black, their legs armed with greaves; and as they moved, their long pikes, heavy-shod with iron, shook on their right shoulders. Next came the mercenaries, variously armed, according to the manner of their respective countries: with these were mixed the Pæonians. In the third place moved forward the battalions of Macedon, the flower of its youth, and the bravest of its sons: their new purple vests and gilded arms made a splendid appearance. As these took their post, the *Chalchespides* moved out of their camp; the fields gleamed with the polished steel and the brazen shields which they bore, and the mountains re-echoed to their *cheers*. In this order they advanced, and that with so much boldness and speed, that the first of their slain* fell only two furlongs from the Roman camp.

As soon as the attack was begun, Æmilius, advancing to the first ranks, found that the foremost of the Macedonians had struck the heads of their pikes into the shields of the Romans, so that it was impossible for his men to reach their adversaries with their swords. And when he saw the rest of the Macedonians take their bucklers from their shoulders, join them close together, and with one motion present their pikes against his legions, the strength of such a rampart, and the formidable appearance of such a front, struck him with terror and amazement: he never, indeed, saw a more dreadful spectacle, and he often mentioned afterwards the impression it made upon him. However, he took care to shew a pleasant and cheerful countenance to his men, and even rode about without either helmet or breastplate. But the king of Macedon, as Polybius tells us, as soon as the engagement was begun, gave way to his fears, and withdrew into the town, under pretence of sacrificing to Hercules, a god that accepts not the timid offerings of cowards, nor favours any unjust

* The light-armed.

vows. And surely it is not just that the man who never shoots should bear away the prize; that he who deserts his post should conquer; that he who is despicably indolent should be successful; or that a bad man should be happy. But the god attended to the prayers of Æmilius; for he begged for victory and success with his sword in his hand, and fought while he implored the divine aid. Yet one Posidonius*, who says he lived in those times, and was present at that action, in the history of Perseus, which he wrote in several books, affirms that it was not out of cowardice, nor under pretence of offering sacrifice, that he quitted the field, but because the day before the fight he received a hurt on his leg from the kick of a horse; that when the battle came on, though very much indisposed, and dissuaded by his friends, he commanded one of his horses to be brought, mounted him, and charged without a breastplate at the head of the *phalanx;* and that, amidst the shower of missive weapons of all kinds, he was struck with a javelin of iron, not indeed with the point, but it glanced in such a manner upon his left side, that it not only rent his clothes, but gave him a bruise in the flesh, the mark of which remained a long time.—This is what Posidonius says in defence of Perseus.

The Romans who engaged the *phalanx* being unable to break it, Salius, a Pelignian officer, snatched the ensign of his company, and threw it among the enemy. Hereupon the Pelignians rushing forward to recover it, for the Italians look upon it as a great crime and disgrace to abandon their standard, a dreadful conflict and slaughter on both sides ensued. The Romans attempted to cut the pikes of the Macedonians asunder with their swords, to beat them back with their shields, or to put them by with their hands; but the Macedonians holding them steady with both hands, pierced their adversaries through their armour, for neither shield nor corslet was proof against the pike†. The Pelignians and Marrucinians were thrown headlong down, who, without any sort of discretion, or rather with a brutal fury, had exposed themselves to wounds, and run upon certain death. The first line thus cut in pieces, those that were behind were forced to give back, and though they did not fly, yet they retreated towards Mount Olocrus. Æmilius, seeing this, rent his clothes, as Posidonius

* This could not be Posidonius of Apamea, who wrote a continuation of Polybius's history; for that Posidonius went to Rome during the consulship of Marcellus, a hundred and eighteen years after this battle. Plutarch, indeed, seems to have taken him either for a counterfeit, or a writer of no account, when he calls him *one* Posidonius, *who tells us he lived at that time.*

† This shows the advantage which the pike has over the broad-sword; and the bayonet is still better, because it gives the soldier the free use of his musket, without being encumbered with a pike, and, when screwed to the musket, supplies the place of a pike.

tells us. He was reduced almost to despair to find that part of his men had retired, and that the rest declined the combat with a *phalanx* which, by reason of the pikes that defended it on all sides like a rampart, appeared impenetrable and invincible. But as the unevenness of the ground, and the large extent of the front, would not permit the bucklers to be joined through the whole, he observed several interstices and openings in the Macedonian line, as it happens in great armies, according to the different efforts of the combatants, who in one part press forward, and in another are forced to give back. For this reason, he divided his troops with all possible expedition into platoons, which he ordered to throw themselves into the void spaces of the enemy's front; and so not to engage with the whole at once, but to make many impressions at the same time in different parts. These orders being given by Æmilius to the officers, and by the officers to the soldiers, they immediately made their way between the pikes wherever there was an opening*, which was no sooner done than some took the enemy in flank, where they were quite exposed, while others fetched a compass, and attacked them in the rear; thus was the *phalanx* soon broken, and its strength, which depended upon one united effort, was no more. When they came to fight man with man, and party with party, the Macedonians had only short swords to strike the long shields of the Romans, that reached from head to foot, and slight bucklers to oppose the Roman swords, which, by reason of their weight, and the force with which they were managed, pierced through all their armour to the bodies, so that they maintained their ground with difficulty, and in the end were entirely routed.

It was here, however, that the greatest efforts were made on both sides; and here Marcus, the son of Cato, and son-in-law to Æmilius, after surprising acts of valour, unfortunately lost his sword. As he was a youth who had received all the advantages of education, and who owed to so illustrious a father extraordinary instances of virtue, he was persuaded that he had better die than leave such a spoil in the hands of his enemies. He therefore flew through the ranks, and wherever he happened to see any of his friends or acquaintance, he told them his misfortune, and begged their assistance. A number of brave young men was thus collected, who, following their leader with equal ardour, soon traversed their own army, and fell upon the Macedonians. After a sharp conflict and dreadful car-

* On the first appearance of this, Perseus should have charged the Romans very briskly with his horse, and by that means have given his infantry time to recover themselves; but, instead of this, they basely provided for their own safety by a precipitate flight.

nage, the enemy was driven back, and the ground being left vacant, the Romans sought for the sword, which with much difficulty was found under a heap of arms and dead bodies. Transported with this success, they charged those that remained unbroken with still greater eagerness and shouts of triumph. The three thousand Macedonians, who were all select men, kept their station, and maintained the fight, but at last were entirely cut off. The rest fled, and terrible was the slaughter of those. The field and the sides of the hills were covered with the dead, and the river Leucus, which the Romans crossed the day after the battle, was even then mixed with blood: for it is said, that about twenty-five thousand were killed on the Macedonian side; whereas the Romans, according to Posidonius, lost but one hundred: Nasica says, only fourscore*.

This great battle was soon decided, for it began at the ninth hour†, and victory declared herself before the tenth. The remainder of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was continued for the space of a hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was far in the night when they returned. The servants went with torches to meet their masters, and conducted them with shouts of joy to their tents, which they had illuminated, and adorned with crowns of ivy and laurel ‡.

But the general himself was overwhelmed with grief; for, of the two sons that served under him, the youngest, whom he most loved, and who, of all the brothers, was most happily formed for virtue, was not to be found. He was naturally brave and ambitious of honour, and withal very young ‖; he concluded that his inexperience had engaged him too far in the hottest of the battle, and that he certainly was killed. The whole army was sensible of his sorrow and distress; and, leaving their supper, they went out with torches, some to the general's tent, and some out of the trenches, to seek him among the first of the slain. A profound melancholy reigned in the camp, while the field resounded with the cries of those that called upon Scipio. For so admirably had nature tempered him, that he was very early marked out by the world as a person, beyond the rest of the youth, likely to excel in the arts both of war and of civil government.

* Utterly impossible! if the circumstances of the fight are considered; but Livy's account is lost. † Three in the afternoon.

‡ The laurel was sacred to Apollo, and the ivy to Bacchus. Bacchus, who is sometimes supposed to be the same with Hercules, was a warrior, and we read of his expedition into India. But the Roman custom of adorning the tents of the victors with ivy, the plant of Bacchus, might arise from a more simple cause: Cæsar, in his third book of the Civil Wars, says, that in Pompey's camp he found the tent of Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy, so sure had they made themselves of the victory.

‖ He was then in his seventeenth year.

It was now very late, and he was almost given up, when he returned from the pursuit with two or three friends, covered with the fresh blood of the foe, like a generous young hound carried too far by the charms of the chace. This is that Scipio who afterwards destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and was incomparably the first, both in virtue and power of the Romans of his time. Thus fortune did not choose at present to make Æmilius pay for the favour she did him, but deferred it to another opportunity; and therefore he enjoyed this victory with full satisfaction.

As for Perseus, he fled from Pydna to Pella with his cavalry, which had suffered no loss. When the foot overtook them, they reproached them as cowards and traitors, pulled them off their horses, and wounded several of them; so that the king, dreading the consequences of the tumult, turned his horse out of the common road, and, lest he should be known, wrapped up his purple robe, and put it before him; he also took off his diadem and carried it in his hand; and, that he might converse the more conveniently with his friends, he alighted from his horse, and led him. But they all slunk away from him by degrees: one under pretence of tying his shoe, another of watering his horse, and a third of being thirsty himself: not that they were so much afraid of the enemy, as of the cruelty of Perseus, who, exasperated with his misfortunes, sought to lay the blame of his miscarriage on any body but himself. He entered Pella in the night, where he killed, with his own poniard, Euctus and Eudæus, two of his treasurers, who, when they waited upon him, had found fault with some of his proceedings, and provoked him by an unseasonable liberty of admonition. Hereupon every body forsook him, except Evander the Cretan, Archidamus the Ætolian, and Neon the Bœotian; nor did any of his soldiers follow him but the Cretans, who were not attached to his person, but to his money, as bees are to the honeycomb; for he carried great treasure along with him, and suffered them to take out of it cups and bowls, and other vessels of gold and silver*, to the value of fifty talents. But when he came to Amphipolis, and from thence to Alepsus†, his fears a little abating, he sunk again into his old and inborn distemper of avarice; he lamented to his friends that he had inadvertently given up to the Cretans some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great; and he applied to those that had it, and even begged of them with tears, to return it him for the value in money. Those who knew him well easily discovered that

* He was afraid to give it them, lest the Macedonians out of spite should take all the rest.

† A manuscript copy has it Galepsus, probably upon the authority of Livy.

he was *playing the Cretan with the Cretans**, but such as were prevailed upon to give up the plate, lost all, for he never paid the money. Thus he got thirty talents from his friends, which soon after were to come into the hands of his enemies, and with these he sailed to Samothrace, where he took refuge at the altar of Castor and Pollux †.

The Macedonians have always had the character of being lovers of their kings‡; but now, as if the chief bulwark of their constitution was broken down, and all were fallen with it, they submitted to Æmilius, and in two days he was master of all Macedonia. This seems to give some countenance to those who impute these events to fortune. A prodigy which happened at Amphipolis testified also the favour of the gods. The consul was offering sacrifice there, and the sacred ceremonies were begun, when a flash of lightning fell upon the altar, and at once consumed and consecrated the victim. But the share which fame had in this affair exceeds both that prodigy and what they tell us of his good fortune: for, on the fourth day after Perseus was beaten at Pydna, as the people were at the equestrian games in Rome, a report was suddenly spread in the first seats of the theatre, that Æmilius had gained a great battle over Perseus, and overturned the kingdom of Macedon. The news was made public in a moment, the multitude clapped their hands, and set up great acclamations, and it passed current that day in the city. Afterwards, when it appeared that it had no good foundation, the story dropped for the present; but when, a few days after, it was confirmed beyond dispute§, they could not but admire the report which was its harbinger, and the fiction which turned to truth.

In like manner it is said, that an account of the battle of the Italians near the river Sagra was carried to Peloponnesus the same day it was fought; and of the defeat of the Persians at Mycale, with equal ex-

* It was an ancient proverb, *The Cretans are always liars.* St. Paul has quoted it from Callimachus. † He carried with him two thousand talents.

‡ When Perseus was at Amphipolis, being afraid that the inhabitants would take him and deliver him up to the Romans, he came out with Philip, the only child he had with him, and, having mounted the tribunal, began to speak; but his tears flowed so fast, that, after several trials, he found it impracticable to proceed. Descending again from the tribunal, he spoke to Evander, who then went up to supply his place, and began to speak; but the people, who hated him, refused to hear him, crying out, "Begone, begone; we are resolved not to expose ourselves, our wives, and our children, for your sakes. Fly, therefore, and leave us to make the best terms we can with the conquerors." Evander had been the principal actor in the assassination of Eumenes, and was afterwards dispatched in Samothrace by order of Perseus, who was afraid that Evander would accuse him as the author of that murder.

§ It was confirmed by the arrival of Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of Æmilius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who had been sent express by Æmilius, and reached Rome the twentieth day after the action.

pedition, to Platæa; and that, very soon after the battle which the Romans gained over the Tarquins and the people of Latium, that fought under their banners, two young men of uncommon size and beauty, who were conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, arrived at Rome from the army with the news of it. The first man they met with, by the fountain in the market-place, as they were refreshing their horses that foamed with sweat, expressed his surprise at their account of the victory; whereupon they are said to have smiled, and to have stroked his beard, which immediately turned from black to yellow. This circumstance gained credit to his report, and got him the surname of *Ænobarbus*, or *yellow-beard*.

All these stories are confirmed by that which happened in our times: for, when Lucius Antonius rebelled against Domitian, Rome was much alarmed, and expected a bloody war in Germany, but on a sudden, and of their own proper motion, the people raised a report, and spread it over the city, that Antonius was vanquished and slain, that his army was cut in pieces, and not one man had escaped. Such a run had the news, and such was the credit given to it, that many of the magistrates offered sacrifice on the occasion. But when the author of it was sought after, they were referred from one to another, all their inquiries were eluded, and at last the news was lost in the immense crowd, as in a vast ocean. Thus the report, appearing to have no solid foundation, immediately vanished. But as Domitian was marching his forces to chastise the rebels, messengers and letters met him on the road, which brought an account of the victory. Then they found that it was won the same day the report was propagated, though the field of battle was more than twenty thousand furlongs from Rome. This is a fact which none can be unacquainted with.

But to return to the story of Perseus: Cneius Octavius, who was joined in command with Æmilius, came with his fleet to Samothrace, where, out of reverence to the gods*, he permitted Perseus to enjoy

* The gods of Samothrace were dreaded by all nations. The Pagans carried their prejudices so far in favour of those pretended deities, that they were struck with awe upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in use among the ancients, that by these gods was deemed the most sacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have observad this oath were looked upon as the curse of mankind, and persons devoted to destruction. Diodorus (lib. v.) tells us, that these gods were always present, and never failed to assist those that were initiated, and called upon them in any sudden and unexpected danger; and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies without being amply rewarded for their piety. No wonder, then, if the places of refuge in this island were very highly revered. Besides the temple of Castor and Pollux, to which Perseus fled, there was also a wood, esteemed such, where those who were admitted to the holy rites of the *Cabiri* used to meet.

the protection of the asylum, but watched the coasts, and guarded against his escape. Perseus, however, found means privately to engage one Orandes, a Cretan, to take him and his treasure into his vessel, and carry them off He, like a true Cretan, took in the treasure, and advised Perseus to come in the night, with his wife and children, and necessary attendants, to the port called Demetrium; but, before this, he had set sail. Miserable was the condition of Perseus, compelled as he was to escape through a narrow window, and to let himself down by the wall, with his wife and children, who had little experienced such fatigue and hardship, but still more pitiable were his groans, when, as he wandered by the shore, one told him that he had seen Orandes a good way off at sea. By this time it was day, and, destitute of all other hope, he fled back to the wall. He was not, indeed, undiscovered, yet he reached the place of refuge, with his wife, before the Romans could take measures to prevent it. His children he put into the hands of Ion, who had been his favourite, but now was his betrayer, for he delivered them up to the Romans; and so, by the strongest necessity with which nature can be bound, obliged him, as beasts do when their young are taken, to yield himself to those who had his children in their power.

He had the greatest confidence in Nasica, and for him he inquired; but, as he was not there, he bewailed his fate, and, sensible of the necessity he lay under, he surrendered himself to Octavius. Then it appeared more plain than ever that he laboured under a more despicable disease than avarice itself—I mean the fear of death, and this deprived him of pity, the only consolation of which fortune does not rob the distressed; for when he desired to be conducted to Æmilius*, the consul rose from his seat, and, accompanied with his friends, went to receive him with tears in his eyes, as a great man unhappily fallen through the displeasure of the gods. But Perseus behaved in the vilest manner; he bowed down with his face to the earth, he embraced the Roman's knees; his expressions were so mean, and his entreaties so abject, that Æmilius could not endure them; but regarding him with an eye of regret and indignation, "Why dost thou, wretched man!" said he, "acquit fortune of

* Octavius, as soon as he had the king in his power, put him on board the admiral-galley, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the Roman fleet weighed and stood for Amphipolis. An express was dispatched from thence to acquaint Æmilius with what had happened, who sent Tubero his son-in-law, with several persons of distinction, to meet Perseus. The consul ordered sacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings as if a new victory had been obtained. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, who, covered with a mourning cloak, walked alone to the tent of Æmilius.

what might seem her greatest crime, by a behaviour which makes it appear that thou deservest her frowns, and that thou art, not only now, but hast been long, unworthy the protection of that goddess? Why dost thou tarnish my laurels, and detract from my achievements, by showing thyself a mean adversary, and unfit to cope with a Roman? Courage in the unfortunate is highly revered, even by an enemy; and cowardice, though it meets with success, is held in great contempt among the Romans."

Notwithstanding this severe rebuke, he raised him up, gave him his hand, and delivered him into the custody of Tubero. Then taking his sons, his sons-in-law, and the principal officers, particularly the younger sort, back with him into his tent, he sat a long time silent, to the astonishment of the whole company. At last he began to speak of the vicissitudes of fortune, and of human affairs. "Is it fit then," said he, "that a mortal should be elated by prosperity, and plume himself upon the overturning a city or a kingdom?—Should we not rather attend to the instructions of fortune, who, by such visible marks of her instability, and of the weakness of human power, teaches every one that goes to war to expect from her nothing solid and permanent? what time for confidence can there be for man, when, in the very instant of victory, he must necessarily dread the power of fortune, and the very joy of success must be mingled with anxiety, from a reflection on the course of unsparing fate, which humbles one man to-day, and to-morrow another? When one short hour has been sufficient to overthrow the house of Alexander, who arrived at such a pitch of glory, and extended his empire over great part of the world; when you see princes, who were lately at the head of immense armies, receive their provisions for the day from the hands of their enemies; shall you dare to flatter yourselves that fortune has firmly settled your prosperity, or that it is proof against the attacks of time? Shall you not rather, my young friends, quit this elation of heart, and the vain raptures of victory, and humble yourselves in the thought of what may happen hereafter, in the expectation that the gods will send some misfortune to counterbalance the present success?" Æmilius, they tell us, having said a great deal to this purpose, dismissed the young men seasonably chastised with this grave discourse, and restrained in their natural inclination to arrogance.

When this was done, he put his army in quarters while he went to take a view of Greece. This progress was attended both with honour to himself, and advantage to the Greeks; for he redressed the people's grievances, he reformed their civil government, and gave them gratuities, to some wheat, and to others oil, out of the royal stores;

in which such vast quantities are said to have been found, that the number of those that asked and received was too small to exhaust the whole. Finding a great square pedestal of white marble at Delphi, designed for a golden statue of Perseus, he ordered his own to be put upon it*; alleging, that it was but just that the conquered should give place to the conqueror. At Olympia, we are told, he uttered that celebrated saying, "This Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer."

Upon the arrival of the ten commissioners† from Rome for settling the affairs of Macedonia, he declared the lands and cities of the Macedonians free, and ordered that they should be governed by their own laws, only reserving a tribute to the Romans of a hundred talents, which was not half what their kings imposed.

After this, he exhibited various games and spectacles, offered sacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments; for all which he found an abundant supply in the treasures of the king. And he showed so just a discernment in the ordering, the placing, and saluting of his guests, and in distinguishing what degree of civility was due to every man's rank and quality, that the Greeks were amazed at his knowledge of matters of mere politeness, and that, amidst his great actions, even trifles did not escape his attention, but were conducted with the greatest decorum. That which afforded him the highest satisfaction was, that, notwithstanding the magnificence and variety of his preparations, he himself gave the greatest pleasure to those he entertained. And to those that expressed their admiration of his management on these occasions, he said, "That it required the same genius to draw up an army, and to order an entertainment‡; that the one might be most formidable to the enemy, and the other most agreeable to the company."

Among his other good qualities, his disinterestedness and magnanimity stood foremost in the esteem of the world: for he would not so much as look upon the immense quantity of silver and gold that was collected out of the royal palaces, but delivered it to the

* This was not quite so consistent with his humiliating discourse on the vicissitudes of fortune.

† These ten legates were all men of consular dignity, who came to assist Æmilius in settling a new form of government. The Macedonians were not much charmed with the promise of liberty, because they could not well comprehend what that liberty was. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it spoke of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them was a division of their kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were separated and disjointed from each other.

‡ To these two particulars, of drawing up an army, and ordering an entertainment, Henry IV. of France added—the making love.

quæstors, to be carried into the public treasury. He reserved only the books of the king's library for his sons, who were men of letters; and in distributing rewards to those that had distinguished themselves in the battle, he gave a silver cup of five pounds weight to his son-in-law, Ælius Tubero. This is that Tubero who, as we have already mentioned, was one of the sixteen relations that lived together, and were all supported by one small farm; and this piece of plate, acquired by virtue and honour, is affirmed to be the first that was in the family of the Ælians, neither they nor their wives having, before this, either used or wanted any vessels of silver or gold.

After he had made every proper regulation*, taken his leave of the Greeks, and exhorted the Macedonians to remember the liberty which the Romans had bestowed on them†, and to preserve it by good laws and the happiest harmony, he marched into Epirus. The senate had made a decree that the soldiers who had fought under him against Perseus should have the spoil of the cities of Epirus. In order, therefore, that they might fall upon them unexpectedly, he sent for ten of the principal inhabitants of each city, and fixed a day for them to bring in whatever gold and silver could be found in their houses and temples. With each of these he sent a centurian and guard of soldiers, under pretence of searching for and receiving the precious metal, and as for this purpose only: but when the day came, they rushed upon all the inhabitants, and began to seize and plunder them. Thus, in one hour, a hundred and fifty thousand persons were made slaves, and seventy cities sacked. Yet, from this general ruin and desolation, each soldier had no more than eleven drachmas to his share. How shocking was such a destruction for the sake of such advantage!

Æmilius, having executed this commission so contrary to his mildness and humanity, went down to Oricum, where he embarked his forces, and passed over into Italy. He sailed up the Tyber in the king's galley, which had sixteen banks of oars, and was richly adorned

* At the close of these proceedings, Andronicus the Ætolian, and Neo the Bœotian, because they had always been friends to Perseus, and had not deserted him even now, were condemned, and lost their heads. So unjust amidst all the specious appearance of justice were the conquerors.

† This boasted favour of the Romans to the people of Macedon was certainly nothing extraordinary. Their country being now divided into four districts, it was declared unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or sell any lands to any one who was not an inhabitant of his own district. They were prohibited to import any salt, or to sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarian nations. All the nobility, and their children, exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves into Italy: and the supreme power in Macedon was vested in certain Roman senators.

with arms taken from the enemy, and with cloth of scarlet and purple; and the banks of the river being covered with multitudes that came to see the ship as it sailed slowly against the stream, the Romans in some measure anticipated his triumph.

But the soldiers, who looked with longing eyes on the wealth of Perseus, when they found their expectations disappointed, indulged a secret resentment, and were ill-affected to Æmilius. In public they alledged another cause: they said he had behaved in command in a severe and imperious manner, and therefore they did not meet his wishes for a triumph. Servius Galba, who had served under Æmilius as a tribune, and who had a personal enmity to him, observing this, pulled off the mask, and declared that no triumph ought to be allowed him. Having spread among the soldiery several calumnies against the general, and sharpened the resentment which they had already conceived, Galba requested another day of the tribunes of the people; because the remaining four hours, he said, were not sufficient for the intended impeachment. But as the tribunes ordered him to speak then, if he had any thing to say, he began a long harangue, full of injurious and false allegations, and spun it out to the end of the day. When it was dark, the tribunes dismissed the assembly. The soldiers, now more insolent than ever, thronged about Galba, and animating each other, before it was light, took their stand again in the capitol, where the tribunes had ordered the assembly to be held.

As soon as the day appeared, it was put to the vote, and the first tribe gave it against the triumph. When this was understood by the rest of the assembly and the senate, the commonalty expressed great concern at the injury done to Æmilius, but their words had no effect; the principal senators insisted that it was an unsufferable attempt, and encouraged each other to repress the bold and licentious spirit of the soldiers, who would in time stick at no instance of injustice and violence*, if something was not done to prevent their depriving Æmilius of the honours of his victory. They pushed, therefore, through the crowd, and coming up in a body, demanded that the tribunes would put a stop to the suffrages, until they had delivered what they had to say to the people. The poll being stopped accordingly, and silence made, Marcus Servilius, a man of consular dignity, who had killed three-and-twenty enemies in single combat, stood up, and spoke as follows:

"I am now sensible, more than ever, how great a general Paulus Æmilius is, when, with so mutinous and disorderly an army he has performed such great and honourable achievements; but I am sur-

* This was sadly verified in the times of the Roman emperors.

prised at the inconsistency of the Roman people, if, after rejoicing in triumphs over the Illyrians and Ligurians, they envy themselves the pleasure of seeng the king of Macedon brought alive, and all the glory of Alexander and Philip led captive by the Roman arms. For is it not a strange thing for you, who, upon a slight rumour of the victory brought hither some time since, offered sacrifices, and made your requests to the gods, that you might soon see that account verified, now the consul is returned with a real victory, to rob the gods of their due honour, and yourselves of the satisfaction, as if you were afraid to behold the greatness of the conquest, or were willing to spare the king? though, indeed, it would be much better to refuse the triumph out of mercy to him, than envy to your general. But to such excess is your malignity arrived, that a man who never received a wound, a man shining in delicacy, and fattened in the shade, dares discourse about the conduct of the war, and the right to a triumph to you, who, at the expense of so much blood, have learned how to judge of the valour or misbehaviour of your commanders."

At the same time, baring his breast, he shewed an incredible number of scars upon it, and then turning his back, he uncovered some parts which it is reckoned indecent to expose; and addressing himself to Galba, he said, "Thou laughest at this; but I glory in these marks before my fellow citizens; for I got them by being on horseback day and night in their service. But go on to collect the votes; I will attend the whole business, and mark those cowardly and ungrateful men, who would rather have their own inclinations indulged in war, than be properly commanded." This speech, they tell us, so humbled the soldiery, and effected such an alteration in them, that the triumph was voted to Æmilius by every tribe.

The triumph is said to have been ordered after this manner: In every theatre, or, as they call it, *Circus*, where equestrian games used to be held, in the *forum*, and other parts of the city, which were convenient for seeing the procession, the people erected scaffolds, and on the day of the triumph were all dressed in white. The temples were set open, adorned with garlands, and smoking with incense. Many *lictors* and other officers compelled the disorderly crowd to make way, and opened a clear passage. The triumph took up three days. On the first, which was scarce sufficient for the show, were exhibited the images, paintings, and colossal statues, taken from the enemy, and now carried in two hundred and fifty chariots. Next day, the richest and most beautiful of the Macedonian arms, were brought up in a great number of waggons. These glittered with new furbished brass and polished steel; and, though they were piled with great art and judgment, yet seemed to be thrown together promiscu-

ously; helmets being placed upon sheilds, breast-plates upon greaves, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows huddled among horses' bits, with the points of naked swords and long pikes appearing through on every side. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that room was left for them to clatter as they were drawn along; and the clank of them was so harsh and terrible, that they were not seen without dread, though among the spoils of the conquered. After the carriages loaded with arms walked three thousand men, who carried the silver money in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which contained three talents, and was borne by four men. Others brought bowls, horns, goblets, and cups, all of silver, disposed in such order as would make the best show, and valuable not only for their size, but the depth of the basso relievo.—On the third day, early in the morning, first came up the trumpets, not with such airs as are used in a procession of solemn entry, but with such as the Romans sound when they animate their troops to the charge. These were followed by a hundred and twenty fat oxen, with their horns gilded, and set off with ribbons and garlands. The young men that led these victims were girded with belts of curious workmanship; and after them came the boys who carried the gold and silver vessels for the sacrifice. Next went the persons who carried the gold coin*, in vessels which held three talents each, like those that contained the silver, and which were to the number of seventy-seven. Then followed those that bore the consecrated bowl†, of ten talents weight, which Æmilius had caused to be made of gold, and adorned with precious stones; and those that exposed to view the cups of Antigonus, of Seleucus, and such as were of the make of the famed artist Shericles, together with the gold plate that had been used at Perseus's table. Immediately after was to be seen the chariot of that prince, with his armour upon it, and his diadem upon that; at a little distance his children were led captive, attended by a great number of governors, masters, and preceptors, all in tears, who stretched out their hands by way of supplication to the spectators, and taught the children to do the same. There were two sons and one daughter, all so young, that they were not much affected with the greatness of their misfortunes. This insensibility of theirs rendered

* According to Plutarch's account, there were 2250 talents of silver coin, and 231 of gold coin. According to Valerius Antias, it amounted to somewhat more; but Livy thinks his computation too small; and Velleius Paterculus makes it almost twice as much. The account which Paterculus gives of it is probably right, since the money now brought from Macedonia set the Romans free from all taxes for the space of one hundred and twenty-five years.

† This bowl weighed six hundred pounds; for the talent weighed sixty pounds. It was consecrated to Jupiter.

the change of their condition more pitiable; insomuch, that Perseus passed on almost without notice. So fixed were the eyes of the Romans upon the children, from pity for their fate, that many of them shed tears, and none tasted the joy of the triumph without a mixture of pain till they were gone by. Behind the children and their train, walked Perseus himself, clad all in black, and wearing sandals of the fashion of his country. He had the appearance of a man that was overwhelmed with terror, and whose reason was almost staggered with the weight of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favourites, whose countenances were oppressed with sorrow, and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, testified to the spectators that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. He had sent, indeed, to Æmilius, to desire that he might be excused from being led in triumph, and being made a public spectacle.—But Æmilius, despising his cowardice and attachment to life, by way of derision, it seems, sent him word, "That it had been in his own power to prevent it, and still was, if he were so disposed;" hinting, that he should prefer death to disgrace. But he had not the courage to strike the blow; and the vigour of his mind being destroyed by vain hopes, he became a part of his own spoils. Next were carried four hundred coronets of gold, which the cities had sent Æmilius, along with their embassies, as compliments on his victory. Then came the consul himself, riding in a magnificent chariot; a man, exclusive of the pomp of power, worthy to be seen and admired: but his good mein was now set off with a purple robe interwoven with gold, and he held a branch of laurel in his right hand. The whole army also carried boughs of laurel, and, divided into bands and companies, followed the general's chariot; some singing satirical songs usual on such occasions, and some chanting odes of victory, and the glorious exploits of Æmilius, who was revered and admired by all, and whom no good man could envy.

But, perhaps, there is some superior Being whose office it is to cast a shade upon any great and eminent prosperity, and so to mingle the lot of human life, that it may not be perfectly free from calamity; but those, as Homer says*, may think themselves most happy, to whom

* Plutarch here refers to a passage in the speech of Achilles to Priam in the last Iliad, which is thus translated by Pope:

> Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever stood,
> The source of evil one, and one of good.
> From thence the cup of mortal man he fills,
> Blessings to these, to those distributes ills;

fortune gives an equal share of good and evil. For Æmilius having four sons, two of which, namely, Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into other families, and two others by his second wife, as yet but young, whom he brought up in his own house; one of these died at fourteen years of age, five days before his father's triumph, and the other at twelve, three days after. There was not a man among the Romans who did not sympathize with him in this affliction. All were shocked at the cruelty of fortune*, who scrupled not to introduce such deep distress into a house that was full of pleasure, of joy, and festal sacrifices, and to mix the songs of victory and triumph with the mournful dirges of death.

Æmilius, however, rightly considering that mankind have need of courage and fortitude, not only against swords and spears, but against every attack of fortune, so tempered and qualified the present emergencies, as to overbalance the evil by the good, and his private misfortunes by the public prosperity; that nothing might appear to lessen the importance, or tarnish the glory of his victory. For, soon after the burial of the first of his sons, he made, his triumphal entry, and upon the death of the second, soon after the triumph, he assembled the people of Rome, and made a speech to them, not like a man that wanted consolation himself, but like one who could alleviate the grief which his fellow-citizens felt for his misfortunes.

"Though I have never," said he, "feared any thing human, yet among things divine I have always had a dread of fortune, as the most faithless and variable of beings; and because in the course of this war she prospered every measure of mine, the rather did I expect that some tempest would follow so favourable a gale. For in one

> To most he mingles both: the wretch decreed
> To taste the bad, unmixed, is curs'd indeed.
> The happiest taste not happiness sincere,
> But find the cordial draught is dash'd with care.

Plato has censured it as an impiety to say that God gives evil. God is not the author of evil. Moral evil is the result of the abuse of free agency; natural evil is the consequence of the imperfection of matter: and the Deity stands justified in his creating beings liable to both, because natural imperfection was necessary to a progressive existence, moral imperfection was necessary to virtue, and virtue was necessary to happiness. However, Homer's allegory seems borrowed from the eastern manner of speaking. Thus in the Psalms: "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and he poureth out of the same; as for the dregs thereof, all the ungodly of the earth shall drink them.—Ps. lxxv. 8.

* Or, more properly, the just and visible interposition of Providence, to punish, in some measure, that general havoc of the human species which the Roman pride and avarice had so recently made in Greece. For though God is not the author of evil, it is no impeachment of his goodness to suppose, that, by particular punishments, he chastises particular crimes.

day I passed the Ionian sea from Brundusium to Corcyra: whence in five days I reached Delphi, and sacrificed to Apollo. In five days more, I took upon me the command of the army in Macedonia; and as soon as I had offered the usual sacrifices for purifying it, I proceeded to action; and in the space of fifteen days from that time, put a glorious period to the war. Distrusting the fickle goddess on account of such a run of success, and now being secure and free from all danger with respect to the enemy, I was most apprehensive of a change of fortune in my passage home; having such a great and victorious army to conduct, together with the spoils and royal prisoners. Nay, when I arrived safe among my countrymen, and beheld the city full of joy, festivity, and gratitude, still I suspected fortune, knowing that she grants us no great favour without some mixture of uneasiness or tribute of pain. Thus, full of anxious thoughts for what might happen to the commonwealth, my fears did not quit me till this calamity visited my house, and I had my two promising sons, the only heirs I had left myself, to bury one after the other, on the very days sacred to triumph. Now, therefore, I am secure as to the greatest danger, and I trust, and am fully persuaded, that fortune will continue kind and constant to us, since she has taken sufficient usury for her favours of me and mine; for the man who led the triumph is as great an instance of the weakness of human power as he who was led captive; there is only this difference, that the sons of Perseus, who was vanquished, are alive, and those of Æmilius, who conquered, are no more."

Such was the generous speech which Æmilius made to the people, from a spirit of magnanimity that was perfectly free from artifice.

Though he pitied the fate of Perseus, and was well inclined to serve him, yet all he could do for him was to get him removed from the common prison to a cleaner apartment, and better diet. In that confinement, according to most writers, he starved himself to death.—But some say, the manner of his death was very strange and peculiar. The soldiers, they tell us, who were his keepers, being on some account provoked at him, and determined to wreak their malice, when they could find no other means of doing it, kept him from sleep, taking turns to watch him, and using such extreme diligence to keep him from rest, that at last he was quite wearied out and died*. Two of his sons also died; and the third, named Alexander, is said to have been distinguished for his art in turning and other small work; and,

* This account we have from Diodorus Siculus, *ap. Phot. Biblioth.* Philip is said to have died before his father, but how or where cannot be collected, because the books of Livy, and of Diodorus Siculus, which treat of those times, are lost.

having learned perfectly to speak and write the Roman language, he was employed by the magistrates as a clerk*, in which capacity he shewed himself very serviceable and ingenious.

Of the acts of Æmilius with regard to Macedonia, the most acceptable to the Romans was, that of his bringing from thence so much money into the public treasury, that the people had no occasion to pay any taxes till the times of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls in the first war between Antony and Cæsar. Æmilius had also the uncommon and peculiar happiness to be highly honoured and caressed by the people, at the same time that he remained attached to the patrician party, and did nothing to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, but ever acted in concert with men of the first rank, in matters of government. This conduct of his was afterwards alleged by way of reproach against Scipio Africanus by Appius. These two, being then the most considerable men in Rome, stood for the censorship: the one having the senate and nobility on his side, for the Appian family were always in that interest, and the other not only great in himself, but ever greatly in favour with the people. When, therefore, Appius saw Scipio come into the *forum* attended by a crowd of mean persons, and many who had been slaves, but who were able to cabal, to influence the multitude, and to carry all before them, either by solicitation or clamour, he cried out, "O Paulus Æmilius! groan, groan from beneath the earth, to think that Æmilius the crier, and Licinius the rioter, conduct thy son to the censorship!" It is no wonder if the cause of Scipio was espoused by the people, since he was continually heaping favours upon them. But Æmilius, though he ranged himself on the side of the nobility, was as much beloved by the populace as the most insinuating of their demagogues. This appeared in their bestowing upon him, among other honours, that of the censorship, which is the most sacred of all offices, and which has great authority annexed to it, as in other respects, so particularly in the power of inquiring into the morals of the citizens. For the censors could expel from the senate any member that acted in a manner unworthy of his station, and enrol a man of character in that body; and they could disgrace one of the equestrian order who behaved licentiously, by taking away his horse. They also took account of the value of each man's estate, and registered the number of the people. The number of citizens which Æmilius took, was three hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-two. He declared

* Here was a remarkable instance of the pride of the Roman senate, to have the son of a vanquished king for their clerk; while Nicomedes, the son of Prusias, king of Bithynia, was educated by them with all imaginable pomp and splendour, because the father had put him under the care of the republic.

Marcus Æmilius Lepidus first senator, who had already four times arrived at that dignity. He expelled only three senators, who were men of no note; and with equal moderation both he and his colleague Marcius Philippus behaved in examining into the conduct of the knights.

Having settled many important affairs while he bore this office, he fell into a distemper, which at first appeared very dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it still was troublesome and difficult to be cured. By the advice, therefore, of his physicians, he sailed to Velia*, where he remained a long time near the sea, in a very retired and quiet situation. In the mean time, the Romans greatly regretted his absence, and, by frequent exclamations in the theatres, testified their extreme desire to see him again. At last, a public sacrifice coming on, which necessarily required his attendance, Æmilius, seeming now sufficiently recovered, returned to Rome, and offered that sacrifice, with the assistance of the other priests, amidst a prodigious multitude of people, who expressed their joy for his return. Next day he sacrificed again to the gods for his recovery. Having finished these rites, he returned home and went to bed; when he suddenly fell into a delirium, in which he died the third day, having attained to every thing that is supposed to contribute to the happiness of man.

His funeral was conducted with wonderful solemnity; the cordial regard of the public did honour to his virtue, by the best and happiest obsequies. These did not consist in the pomp of gold, of ivory, or other expense and parade, but in esteem, in love, in veneration, expressed not only by his countrymen, but by his very enemies. For as many of the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians †, as happened to be then at Rome, and were young and robust, assisted in carrying his bier; while the aged followed it, calling Æmilius their benefactor, and the preserver of their countries. For he not only, at the time he conquered them, gained the character of humanity, but continued to do them services, and to take care of them, as if they had been his friends and relations.

The estate he left behind him scarcely amounted to the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand *denarii*, of which he appointed

* Plutarch here writes Elea instead of Velia, and calls it a town in Italy, to distinguish it from one of that name in Greece.

† These were some of the Macedonian nobility, who were then at Rome. Valerius Maximus says, it was like a second triumph to Æmilius, to have these persons assist in supporting his bier, which was adorned with representations of his conquest of their country. In fact, it was more honourable than the triumph he had led up, because this bore witness to his humanity, and the other only to his valour.

his sons joint heirs; but Scipio, the younger son, who was adopted into the opulent house of Africanus, gave up his part to his brother. Such is the account we have of the life and character of Paulus Æmilius*.

TIMOLEON AND PAULUS ÆMILIUS COMPARED.

IF we consider these two great men as history has represented them, we shall find no striking difference between them in the comparison. Both carried on wars with very respectable enemies; the one with the Macedonians, the other with the Carthaginians; and both with extraordinary success. One of them conquered Macedon, and crushed the house of Antigonus, which had flourished in a succession of seven kings; the other expelled tyranny out of Sicily, and restored that island to its ancient liberty. It may be in favour of Æmilius, that he had to do with Perseus when in his full strength, and when he had beaten the Romans, and Timoleon with Dionysius, when reduced to very desperate circumstances; as, on the other hand, it may be observed to the advantage of Timoleon, that he subdued many tyrants, and defeated a great army of Carthaginians, with such forces as he happened to pick up, who were not veteran and experienced troops, like those of Æmilius, but mercenaries and undisciplined men, who had been accustomed to fight only at their own pleasure. For equal exploits, with unequal means and preparations, reflect the greater glory on the general who performs them.

Both paid a strict regard to justice and integrity in their employments. Æmilius was prepared from the first to behave so by the laws and manners of his country; but Timoleon's probity was owing entirely to himself. A proof of this is, that in the time of Æmilius, good order universally prevailed among the Romans, through a spirit of obedience to their laws and usages, and a reverence to their fellow-citizens; whereas, not one of the Grecian generals who commanded in Sicily kept himself uncorrupted, except Dion; and many entertained a jealousy that even he affected monarchy, and dreamed of setting up such a regal authority as that in Lacedæmon. Timæus informs us, that the Syracusans sent away Gylippus loaded with infamy, for his insatiable avarice and rapacity, while he had the command; and many writers give account of the misdemeanors and breach of articles which Pharax the Spartan, and Callippus the Athe-

* A saying of his to his son Scipio is worth mentioning; *A good general never gives battle, but when he is led to it, either by the last necessity, or by a very favourable occasion.*

nian, were guilty of, in hopes of gaining the sovereignty of Sicily.—But what were these men, and on what power did they build such hopes? Pharax was a follower of Dionysius, who was already expelled, and Callippus was an officer in the foreign troops in the service of Dion. But Timoleon was sent to be general of the Syracusans at their earnest request; he had not an army to provide, but found one ready formed, which cheerfully obeyed his orders; and yet he employed this power for no other end than the destruction of their oppressive masters.

Yet, again, it was to be admired in Æmilius, that though he subdued so opulent a kingdom, he did not add one *drachma* to his substance. He would not touch, nor even look upon the money himself, though he gave many liberal gifts to others. I do not, however, blame Timoleon for accepting of a handsome house and lands; for it is no disgrace to take something out of so much; but to take nothing at all is better; and that is the most consummate virtue which shows that it is above pecuniary considerations, even when it has the best claim to them.

As some bodies are able to bear heat, and others cold, but those are the strongest which are equally fit to endure either; so the vigour and firmness of those minds is the greatest, which are neither elated by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity. And in this respect Æmilius appears to have been superior; for, in the great and severe misfortune of the loss of his sons, he kept up the same dignity of carriage as in the midst of the happiest success. But Timoleon, when he had acted as a patriot should, with regard to his brother, did not let his reason support him against his grief; but, becoming a prey to sorrow and remorse, for the space of twenty years he could not so much as look upon the place where the public business was transacted, much less take a part in it. A man should, indeed, be afraid and ashamed of what is really shameful, but to shrink under every reflection upon his character, though it speaks a delicacy of temper, has nothing in it of true greatness of mind.

PELOPIDAS.

CATO the elder, hearing somebody commend a man who was rashly and indiscreetly daring in war, made this just observation, that *there was a great difference between a due regard to valour, and a contempt of life.* To this purpose there is a story of one of the soldiers of Antigonus, who was astonishingly brave, but of an unhealthy complexion and bad habit of body. The king asked him

the cause of his paleness, and he acknowledged that he had a private infirmity. He therefore gave his physicians a strict charge, that if any remedy could be found, they should apply it with the utmost care. Thus the man was cured; but then he no longer courted danger, nor risked his person as before. Antigonus questioned him about it, and could not forbear to express his wonder at the change. The soldier did not conceal the real cause; "You, Sir," said he, "have made me less bold, by delivering me from that misery which made my life of no account to me." From the same way of arguing it was that a certain Sybarite* said of the Spartans, "It was no wonder if they ventured their lives freely in battle, since death was a deliverance to them from such a train of labours, and from such wretched diet." It was natural for the Sybarites, who were dissolved in luxury and pleasure, to think that they who despised death did it not from a love of virtue and honour, but because they were weary of life. But, in fact, the Lacedæmonians thought it a pleasure either to live or to die, as virtue and right reason directed: and so this epitaph testifies,

> Not life nor death, they deem'd the happier state,
> But life that's glorious, or a death that's great.

For neither is the avoiding of death to be found fault with, if a man is not dishonourably fond of life; nor is the meeting it with courage to be commended, if he is disgusted with life. Hence it is that Homer leads out the boldest and bravest of his warriors to battle, always well armed: and the Grecian lawgivers punish him who throws away his shield, not him who loses his sword or spear; thus instructing us, that the first care of every man, especially of every governor of a city, or commander of an army, should be to defend himself, and after that he is to think of annoying the enemy; for if, according to the comparison made by Iphicrates, the light-armed resemble the hands, the cavalry the feet, the main body of infantry the breast, and the general the head; then that general who suffers himself to be carried away by his impetuosity, so as to expose himself to needless hazards, not only endangers his own life, but the lives of his whole army, whose safety depends upon his. Callicratidas, therefore, though otherwise a great man, did not answer the soothsayer well, who desired him not to expose himself to danger, because the entrails of the victim threatened his life. "Sparta," said he, "is not bound up in one man:" for in battle he was indeed but one, when acting un-

* The Sybarites were a colony of Greeks, who settled in ancient times on the gulf of Tarentum. The felicity of their situation, their wealth and power, drew them into luxury, which was remarkable to a proverb. But one cannot credit the extravagant things which Athenæus relates of them. Their chief city, which at first was called Sybaris, from a river of that name, was afterwards named Thurium, or Thurii.

der the orders of another, whether at sea or land; but when he had the command, he virtually comprehended the whole force in himself; so that he was no longer a single person, when such numbers must perish with him. Much better was the saying of old Antigonus when he was going to engage in a sea-fight near the island of Andros. Somebody observed to him, that the enemy's fleet was much larger than his: "For how many ships then dost thou reckon me?" He represented the importance of the commander great, as in fact it is, when he is a man of experience and valour; and the first duty of such a one is to preserve him who preserves the whole.

On the same account, we must allow that Timotheus expressed himself happily, when Chares showed the Athenians the wounds he had received when their general, and his shield pierced with a spear: "I, for my part," said he, "was much ashamed when, at the siege of Samos, a javelin fell near me, as if I had behaved too like a young man, and not as became the commander of so great an armament." For where the scale of the whole action turns upon the general's risking his own person, there he is to stand the combat, and to brave the greatest danger, without regarding those who say that a good general should die of old age, or, at least, an old man: but when the advantage to be reaped from his personal bravery is but small, and all is lost in case of a miscarriage, no one then expects that the general should be endangered by exerting too much of the soldier.

Thus much I thought proper to premise before the lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, who were both great men, and both perished by their rashness. Both were excellent soldiers, did honour to their country by the greatest exploits, and had the most formidable adversaries to deal with; for the one defeated Hannibal, until that time invincible, and the other conquered the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both by sea and land; and yet, at last, they both threw away their lives, and spilt their blood without any sort of discretion, when the times most required such men and such generals. From this resemblance between them we have drawn their parallel.

Pelopidas, the son of Hippoclus, was of an illustrious family in Thebes, as was also Epaminondas, brought up in affluence, and coming in his youth to a great estate, he applied himself to relieve such necessitous persons as deserved his bounty, to show that he was really master of his riches, not their slave; for the greatest part of men, as Aristotle says, either through covetousness, make no use of their wealth, or else abuse it through prodigality; and these live perpetual slaves to their pleasures, as those do to care and toil. The Thebans, with grateful hearts, enjoyed the liberality and munificence

of Pelopidas. Epaminondas alone could not be persuaded to share in it. Pelopidas, however, partook in the poverty of his friend, glorying in a plainness of dress and slenderness of diet, indefatigable in labour, and plain and open in his conduct, in the highest posts. In short, he was like Capaneus in Euripides,

> ..... Whose opulence was great,
> And yet his heart was not elated.

He looked upon it as a disgrace to expend more upon his own person than the poorest Theban. As for Epaminondas, poverty was his inheritance, and consequently familiar to him, but he made it still more light and easy by philosophy, and by the uniform simplicity of his life.

Pelopidas married into a noble family, and had several children, but setting no greater value on money than before, and devoting all his time to the concerns of the commonwealth, he impaired his substance. And when his friends admonished him that *money, which he neglected, was a very necessary thing: It is necessary, indeed, said he, for Nicodemus there,* pointing to a man that was both lame and blind.

Epaminondas and he were both equally inclined to every virtue, but Pelopidas delighted more in the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas in the improvement of the mind; and the one diverted himself in the wrestling-ring or in hunting, while the other spent his hours of leisure in hearing or reading something in philosophy. Among the many things that reflected glory upon both, there was nothing which men of sense so much admired as that strict and inviolable friendship which subsisted between them from first to last, in all the high posts which they held, both military and civil; for if we consider the administration of Aristides and Themistoeles, of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, how much the common concern was injured by their dissension, their envy and jealousy of each other, and then cast our eyes upon the mutual kindness and esteem which Pelopidas and Epaminondas inviolably preserved, we may justly call these colleagues in civil government and military command, and not those whose study it was to get the better of each other rather than of the enemy. The true cause of the difference was, the virtue of these Thebans, which led them not so seek, in any of their measures, their own honour and wealth, the pursuit of which is always attended with envy and strife; but being both inspired from the first with a divine ardour to raise their country to the summit of glory, for this purpose they availed themselves of the achievements of each other, as if they had been their own.

But many are of opinion that their extraordinary friendship took its rise from the campaign which they made at Mantinea*, among the succours which the Thebans had sent the Lacedæmonians, who as yet were their allies: for, being placed together among the heavy-armed infantry, and fighting with the Arcadians, that wing of the Lacedæmonians in which they were gave way, and was broken; whereupon Pelopidas and Epaminondas locked their shields together, and repulsed all that attacked them, till at last Pelopidas, having received seven large wounds, fell upon a heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together. Epaminondas, though he thought there was no life left in him, yet stood forward to defend his body and his arms, and being determined to die rather than leave his companion in the power of his enemies, he engaged with numbers at once. He was now in extreme danger, being wounded in the breast with a spear, and in the arm with a sword, when Agesipolis, king of the Lacedæmonians, brought succours from the other wing, and, beyond all expectation, delivered them both.

After this, the Spartans, in appearance, treated the Thebans as friends and allies†, but, in reality, they were suspicious of their spirit and power; particularly they hated the party of Ismenias and Androclides, in which Pelopidas was, as attached to liberty and a popular government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, men inclined to an oligarchy, and rich withal, and ambitious, persuaded Phœbidas the Lacedæmonian, who was marching by Thebes with a body of troops‡, to seize the castle called Cadmea, to drive the opposite party out of the city, and to put the administration into the hands of the nobility, subject to the inspection of the Lacedæmonians. Phœbidas listened to the proposal, and coming upon the

* We must take care not to confound this with the famous battle at Mantinea, in which Epaminondas was slain. For that battle was fought against the Lacedæmonians, and this for them. The action here spoken of was probably about the third year of the ninety eighth Olympiad.

† During the whole Peloponnesian war, Sparta found a very faithful ally in the Thebans: and under the countenance of Sparta, the Thebans recovered the government of Bœotia, of which they had been deprived on account of their defection to the Persians. However, at length they grew so powerful and headstrong, that when the peace of Antalcidas came to be subscribed to, they refused to come into it, and were with no small difficulty overawed and forced into it by the confederates. We learn, indeed, from Polybius, that though the Lacedæmonians, at that peace, declared all the Grecian cities free, they did not withdraw their garrisons from any one of them.

‡ Phœbidas was marching against Olynthus, when Leontidas, or Leontiades, one of the two polemarchs, betrayed to him the town and citadel of Thebes. This happened in the third year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, three hundred and seventy-four years before the Christian era.

Thebans unexpectedly, during the feast of the *Thesmophoria**, he made himself master of the citadel, and seized Ismenias, and carried him to Lacedæmon, where he was put to death soon after. Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclides, with many others that fled, were sentenced to banishment. But Epaminondas remained upon the spot, being despised for his philosophy, as a man who would not intermeddle with affairs, and for his poverty, as a man of no power.

Though the Lacedæmonians took the command of the army from Phœbidas, and fined him in a hundred thousand drachmas, yet they kept a garrison in the Cadmea notwithstanding. All the rest of Greece were surprised at this absurdity of theirs, in punishing the actor, and yet authorizing the action. As for the Thebans, who had lost their ancient form of government, and were brought into subjection by Archias and Leontidas, there was no room for them to hope to be delivered from the tyranny, which was supported in such a manner by the power of the Spartans, that it could not be pulled down, unless those Spartans could be deprived of their dominion both by sea and land.

Nevertheless, Leontidas having got intelligence that the exiles were at Athens, and that they were treated there with great regard by the people, and no less respected by the nobility, formed secret designs against their lives. For this purpose he employed certain unknown assassins, who took off Androclides; but all the rest escaped. Letters were also sent to the Athenians from Sparta, insisting that they should not harbour or encourage exiles, but drive them out as persons declared by the confederates to be common enemies; but the Athenians, agreeable to their usual and natural humanity, as well as in gratitude to the city of Thebes, would not suffer the least injury to be done the exiles. For the Thebans had greatly assisted in restoring the democracy at Athens, having made a decree that if any Athenian should march armed through Bœotia against the tyrants, he should not meet with the least hinderance or molestation in that country.

Pelopidas, though he was one of the youngest†, applied to each exile in particular, as well as harangued them in a body, urging "That it was both dishonourable and impious to leave their native city enslaved and garrisoned by an enemy; and, meanly contented with their own lives and safety, to wait for the decrees of the Athe-

* The women were celebrating this feast in the Cadmea.

† Xenophon, in the account which he gives of this transaction, does not so much as mention Pelopidas. His silence in this respect was probably owing to his partiality to his hero Agesilaus, whose glory he might think would be eclipsed by that of Pelopidas and his worthy colleague Epaminondas; for of the latter, too, he speaks very sparingly.

nians, and to make their court to the popular orators; but that they ought to run every hazard in so glorious a cause, imitating the courage and patriotism of Thrasybulus; for, as he advanced from Thebes to crush the tyrants in Athens, so should they march from Athens to deliver Thebes."

Thus persuaded to accept his proposal, they sent privately to their friends who were left behind in Thebes, to acquaint them with their resolution, which was highly approved of; and Charon, a person of the first rank, offered his house for their reception. Philidas found means to be appointed secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then *polemarchs;* and as for Epaminondas, he had taken pains all along to inspire the youth with sentiments of bravery. For he desired them in the public exercises to try the Lacedæmonians at wrestling, and when he saw them elated with success, he used to tell them by way of reproof. "That they should rather be ashamed of their meanness of spirit, in remaining subject to those to whom, in strength, they were so much superior."

A day being fixed for putting their design in execution, it was agreed among the exiles that Pherenicus, with the rest, should stay at Thriasium, while a few of the youngest should attempt to get entrance first into the city; and that if these happened to be surprised by the enemy, the others should take care to provide for their children and their parents. Pelopidas was the first that offered to be of this party, and then Melon, Democlides, and Theopompus, all men of noble blood, who were united to each other by the most faithful friendship, and who never had any contest but which should be foremost in the race of glory and valour.—These adventurers, who were twelve in number, having embraced those that staid behind, and sent a messenger before them to Charon, set out in their under-garments with dogs and hunting poles, that none who met them might have any suspicion of what they were about, and that they might seem to be only hunters beating about for game.

When their messenger came to Charon, and acquainted him that they were on their way to Thebes, the near approach of danger changed not his resolution: he behaved like a man of honour, and made preparations to receive them, Hipposthenidas, who was also in the secret, was not by any means a bad man, but rather a friend to his country and to the exiles; yet he wanted that firmness which the present emergency and the hazardous point of execution required. He grew giddy as it were at the thought of the great danger they were about to plunge in, and at last opened his eyes enough to see that they were attempting to shake the Lacedæmonian government, and to free themselves from that power, without any other depen-

dence than that of a few indigent persons and exiles. He therefore went to his own house without saying a word, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprise for the present, to return to Athens, and to wait till a more favourable opportunity offered.

Chlidon, for that was the name of the man sent upon this business, went home in all haste, took his horse out of the stable, and called for the bridle. His wife being at a loss, and not able to find it, said she had lent it to a neighbour. Upon this words arose, and mutual reproaches followed: the woman venting bitter imprecations, and wishing that the journey might be fatal both to him and those that sent him.* So that Chlidon, having spent great part of the day in this squabble, and looking upon what had happened as ominous, laid aside all thoughts of the journey, and went elsewhere. So near was this great and glorious undertaking to being disconcerted at the very entrance.

Pelopidas and his company, now in the dress of peasants, divided and entered the town at different quarters, whilst it was yet day. And, as the cold weather was setting in*, there happened to be a sharp wind and a shower of snow, which concealed them the better, most people retiring into their houses to avoid the inclemency of the weather. But those that were concerned in the affair received them as they came, and conducted them immediately to Charon's house; the exiles and others making up the number of forty-eight.

As for the affairs of the tyrants, they stood thus: Philidas, their secretary, knew (as we said) the whole design of the exiles, and omitted nothing that might contribute to its success. He had invited Archias and Philip some time before to an entertainment at his house on that day, and promised to introduce to them some women, in order that those who were to attack them might find them dissolved in wine and pleasure. They had not yet drank very freely when a report reached them, which, though not false, seemed uncertain and obscure, that the exiles were concealed somewhere in the city. And though Philidas endeavoured to turn the discourse, Archias sent an officer to Charon to command his immediate attendance. By this time it was grown dark, and Pelopidas and his companions were preparing for action, having already put on their breastplates and girt their swords, when suddenly there was a knocking at the door; whereupon one ran to it, and asked what the person's business was? and having learned from the officer that he was

* The Spartans seized on the Cadmea about the middle of summer, in the year already mentioned, and it was taken from them in the beginning of winter, in the first year of the hundredth Olympiad.

sent by the polemarchs to fetch Charon, he brought in the news in great confusion. They were unanimous in their opinion that the affair was discovered, and that every man of them was lost, before they had performed any thing which became their valour. Nevertheless, they thought it proper that Charon should obey the order, and go boldly to the tyrants. Charon was a man of great intrepidity and courage in dangers that threatened only himself, but then he was much affected on account of his friends, and afraid that he should lie under some suspicion of treachery, if so many brave citizens should perish. Therefore, as he was ready to depart, he took his son, who was yet a child, but of a beauty and strength beyond those of his years, out of the women's apartment, and put him in the hands of Pelopidas; desiring, "That if he found him a traitor, he would treat that child as an enemy, and not spare its life." Many of them shed tears when they saw the concern and magnanimity of Charon; and all expressed their uneasiness at his thinking any of them so dastardly and so much disconcerted with the present danger, as to be capable of suspecting or blaming him in the least. They begged of him, therefore, not to leave his son with them, but to remove him out of the reach of what might possibly happen, to some place where, safe from the tyrants, he might be brought up to be an avenger of his country and his friends. But Charon refused to remove him, "For what life," said he, "or what deliverance could I wish him that would be more glorious than his falling honourably with his father and so many of his friends?" Then he addressed himself in prayer to the gods, and having embraced and encouraged them all, he went out; endeavouring by the way to compose himself, to form his countenance, and to assume a tone of voice very different from the real state of his mind.

When he was come to the door of the house, Archias and Philidas went out to him, and said, "What persons are these, Charon, who, as we are informed, are lately come into the town, and are concealed and countenanced by some of the citizens?" Charon was a little fluttered at first, but soon recovering himself, he asked, "Who these persons they spoke of were, and by whom harboured?" And, finding that Archias had no clear account of the matter, concluded from thence that his information came not from any person that was privy to the design, and therefore said, "Take care that you do not disturb yourselves with vain rumours. However, I will make the best inquiry I can; for, perhaps, nothing of this kind ought to be disregarded." Philidas, who was by, commended his prudence, and conducting Archias in again, plied him strongly with liquor, and prolonged the carousal by keeping up their expectation of the women.

When Charon was returned home, he found his friends prepared to conquer or not to preserve their lives, but to sell them dear, and fall gloriously. He told Pelopidas the truth, but concealed it from the rest, pretending that Archias had discoursed with him about other matters*.

The first storm was scarce blown over when fortune raised a second; for there arrived an express from Athens with a letter from Archias, high-priest there, to Archias, his namesake and particular friend, not filled with vain and groundless surmises, but containing a clear narrative of the whole affair, as was found afterwards. The messenger being admitted to Archias now almost intoxicated, as he delivered the letter, said, "The person who sent this desired that it might be read immediately, for it contains business of great importance." But Archias receiving it, said smiling, *Business to-morrow.* Then he put it under the bolster of his couch, and resumed the conversation with Philidas. This saying, *business to-morrow*, passed into a proverb, and continues so among the Greeks to this day.

A good opportunity now offering for the execution of their purpose, the friends of liberty divided themselves into two bodies, and sallied out. Pelopidas and Damoclidas went against Leontidas and Hypates†, who were neighbours; and Charon and Melon against Archias and Philip. Charon and his company put women's clothes over their armour, and wore thick wreaths of pine and poplar upon their heads to shadow their faces. As soon as they came to the door of the room where the guests were, the company shouted and clapped their hands, believing them to be the women whom they had so long expected. When the pretended women had looked round the room, and distinctly surveyed all the guests, they drew their swords; and making at Archias and Philip across the table, they showed who they were. A small part of the company were persuaded by Philidas not to intermeddle: the rest engaged in the combat, and stood up for the *polemarchs*, but, being disordered with wine, were easily dispatched.

Pelopidas and his party had a more difficult affair of it. They had to do with Leontidas, a sober and valiant man. They found the door made fast, for he was gone to bed, and they knocked a long time be-

* There appears no necessity for this artifice; and indeed Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the genius of Socrates, says, that Charon came back to the little band of patriots with a pleasant countenance, and gave them all an account of what had passed, without the least disguise.

† These were not invited to the entertainment, because Archias, expecting to meet a woman of great distinction, did not choose that Leontidas should be there.

fore any body heard. At last a servant perceived it, and came down and removed the bar; which he had no sooner done than they pushed open the door, and rushing in, threw the man down, and ran to the bed-chamber.—Leontidas, conjecturing by the noise and trampling what the matter was, leaped from his bed and seized his sword; but he forgot to put out the lamps, which had he done, it would have left them to fall foul on each other in the dark. Being, therefore, fully exposed to view, he met them at the door, and with one stroke laid Cephisodorus, who was the first man that attempted to enter, dead at his feet. He encountered Pelopidas next, and the narrowness of the door, together with the dead body of Cephisodorus lying in the way, made the dispute long and doubtful. At last Pelopidas prevailed, and having slain Leontidas, he marched immediately with his little band against Hypates.—They got into his house in the same manner as they did into the other; but he quickly perceived them, made his escape into a neighbour's house, whither they followed and dispatched him.

This affair being over, they joined Melon, and sent for the exiles they had left in Attica. They proclaimed liberty to all the Thebans *, and armed such as came over to them, taking down the spoils that were suspended upon the porticoes, and the arms out of the shops of the armourers and sword-cutlers. Epaminondas † and Gorgidas came to their assistance with a considerable body of young men, and a select number of the old, whom they had collected and armed.

The whole city was now in great terror and confusion; the houses were filled with lights, and the streets with men running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet assemble; but being astonished at what had happened, and knowing nothing with certainty, they waited with impatience for the day. It seems, therefore, to have been a great error in the Spartan officers that they did not immediately sally out and fall upon them; for their garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, and they were joined besides by many people from the city. But, terrified at the shouts, the lights, the hurry and confusion that were on every side, they contented themselves with preserving the citadel.

As soon as it was day, the exiles from Attica came in armed; the people complied with the summons to assemble; and Epaminondas and Gorgidas presented to them Pelopidas and his party, sur-

* Pelopidas also sent Philidas to all the gaols in the city to release those brave Thebans whom the tyrannic Spartans kept in fetters.

† Epaminondas did not join them sooner, because he was afraid that too much innocent blood would be shed with the guilty.

rounded by the priests, who carried garlands in their hands, and called upon the citizens to exert themselves for their gods and their country. Excited by this appearance, the whole assembly stood up, and received them with great acclamations, as their benefactors and deliverers.

Pelopidas, then elected governor of Bœotia, together with Melon and Charon, immediately blocked up and attacked the citadel, hastening to drive out the Lacedæmonians, and to recover the *Cadmea* before succours could arrive from Sparta. And indeed he was but a little beforehand with them; for they had but just surrendered the place, and were returning home, according to capitulation, when they met Cleombrotus at Megara, marching towards Thebes with a great army*. The Spartans called to account the three *harmostea*, officers who had commanded in the *Cadmea*, and signed the capitulation. Hermippidas and Arcissus were executed for it, and the third, named Dysaoridas, was so severely fined, that he was forced to quit Peloponnesus†.

This action of Pelopidas‡ was called, by the Greeks, sister to that of Thrasybulus, on account of their near resemblance, not only in respect of the great virtues of the men, and the difficulties they had to combat, but the success with which fortune crowned them. For it is not easy to find another instance so remarkable, of the few overcoming the many, and the weak the strong, merely by dint of courage and conduct, and procuring by these means such great advantages to their country. But the change of affairs which followed upon this action rendered it still more glorious. For the war which humbled the pride of the Spartans, and deprived them of their empire both by sea and land, took its rise from that night, when Pelopidas, without taking town or castle, but being only one out of twelve who entered a private house, loosened and broke to pieces (if we may express truth by a metaphor) the chains of the Spartan government, until then esteemed indissoluble.

* As it is not probable that the regaining so strong a place should be the work of a day, or have been effected with so small a force as Pelopidas then had, we must have recourse to Diodorus Siculus and Xenophon, who tell us that the Athenians, early on the next morning after the seizing on the city, sent the Theban general five thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and that several other bodies of troops came in from the cities of Bœotia, to the number of about seven thousand more; that Pelopidas besieged the place in form with them, and that it held out several days, and surrendered at length for want of provisions. *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xv. *Xenoph.* l. v.

† It was a maxim with the Spartans to die sword in hand in defence of a place committed to their care.

‡ M. Dacier gives a parallel between the conduct of this action, and that of the prince of Monaco, in driving a Spanish garrison out of his town.

The Lacedæmonians soon entering Bœotia with a powerful army, the Athenians were struck with terror; and renouncing their alliance with the Thebans, they took cognizance in a judicial way of all that continued in the interest of that people; some they put to death, some they banished, and upon others they laid heavy fines. The Thebans being thus deserted by their allies, their affairs seemed to be in a desperate situation: but Pelopidas and Gorgidas, who then had the command in Bœotia, sought means to embroil the Athenians again with the Spartans; and they availed themselves of this stratagem. There was a Spartan named Sphodrias, a man of great reputation as a soldier, but of no sound judgment, sanguine in his hopes, and indiscreet in his ambition. This man was left with some troops at Thespia, to receive and protect such of the Bœotians as might come over to the Spartans. To him Pelopidas privately sent a merchant in whom he could confide*, well provided with money, and with proposals that were more likely to prevail than the money: "That it became him to undertake some noble enterprise—to surprise the Piræus for instance, by falling suddenly upon the Athenians, who were not provided to receive him: for that nothing could be so agreeable to the Spartans as to be masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, now incensed against the Athenians, and considering them as traitors, would lend them no manner of assistance."

Sphodrias, suffering himself at last to be persuaded, marched into Attica by night, and advanced as far as Eleusis †. There the hearts of his soldiers began to fail, and, finding his design discovered, he returned to Thespia, after he had thus brought upon the Lacedæmonians a long and dangerous war. For upon this the Athenians readily united with the Thebans; and having fitted out a large fleet, they sailed round Greece, engaging and receiving such as were inclined to shake off the Spartan yoke.

Meantime the Thebans, by themselves, frequently came to action with the Lacedæmonians in Bœotia, not in set battles indeed, but in such as were of considerable service and improvement to them; for their spirits were raised, their bodies inured to labour, and, by being used to these rencounters, they gained both experience and cou-

* This is more probable than what Diodorus Siculus says; namely, that Cleombrotus, without any order from the *Ephori*, persuaded Sphodrias to surprise the Piræus.

† They hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but found, when the day appeared, that they were got no farther than Eleusis.—Sphodrias, perceiving that he was discovered, in his return plundered the Athenian territories. The Lacedæmonians recalled Sphodrias, and the *Ephori* proceeded against him; but Agesilaus, influenced by his son, who was a friend of the son of Sphodrias, brought him off.

rage. Hence it was that Antalcidas the Spartan said to Agesilaus, when he returned from Bœotia wounded, *Truly you are well paid for the instruction you have given the Thebans, and for teaching them the art of war against their will.* Though, to speak properly, Agesilaus was not their instructor, but those prudent generals who made choice of fit opportunities to let loose the Thebans like so many young hounds upon the enemy; and when they had tasted of victory, satisfied with the ardour they had shown, brought them off again safe. The chief honour of this was due to Pelopidas: for, from the time of his being first chosen general, until his death, there was not a year that he was out of employment, but he was constantly either captain of the sacred band, or governor of Bœotia. And, while he was employed, the Lacedæmonians were several times defeated by the Thebans, particularly at Platæa, and at Thespia, where Phœbidas, who had surprised the *Cadmea,* was killed; and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas beat a considerable body, and slew, with his own hand, their general Panthoides.

But these combats, though they served to animate and encourage the victors, did not quite dishearten the vanquished. For they were not pitched battles, nor regular engagements, but rather advantages gained of the enemy by well-timed skirmishes, in which the Thebans sometimes pursued, and sometimes retreated.

But the battle of Tegyræ, which was a sort of prelude to that of Leuctra, lifted the character of Pelopidas very high; for none of the other commanders could lay claim to any share of the honour of the day, nor had the enemy any pretext to cover the shame of their defeat.

He kept a strict eye upon the city of Orchomenus*, which had adopted the Spartan interest, and received two companies of foot for its defence, and watched for an opportunity to make himself master of it. Being informed that the garrison were gone upon an expedition into Locris, he hoped to take the town with ease, now it was destitute of soldiers, and therefore hastened thither with the *sacred band,* and a small party of horse. But finding, when he was near the town, that other troops were coming from Sparta to supply the place of those that were marched out, he led his forces back again by Tegyræ, along the sides of the mountains, which was the only way he could pass; for all the flat country was overflowed by the river Melas, which, from its very source, spreading itself into marshes and navigable pieces of water, made the lower roads impracticable.

* This was one of the largest and most considerable towns in Bœotia, and still garrisoned by the Lacedæmonians.

A little below these marshes stands the temple of Apollo *Tegyræus*, whose oracle there has not been long silent. It flourished most in the Persian wars, while Echerates was high-priest. Here they report that Apollo was born; and at the foot of the neighbouring mountain called Delos, the Melas returns into its channel.—Behind the temple rise two copious springs, whose waters are admirable for their coolness and agreeable taste. The one is called *Palm*, and the other *Olive*, to this day; so that Latona seems to have been delivered not between two trees, but two fountains of that name. Ptoum too is just by, from whence, it is said, a boar suddenly rushed out and frightened her; and the stories of Python and Tityus, the scene of which lies here, agree with their opinion who say Apollo was born in this place. The other proofs of this matter I omit: for tradition does not reckon this deity among those who were born mortal, and afterwards were changed into demigods; of which number were Hercules and Bacchus, who, by their virtues, were raised from a frail and perishable being to immortality; but he is one of those eternal deities who were never born, if we may give credit to those ancient sages that have treated of these high points.

The Thebans then retreating from Orchomenus towards Tegyræ, the Lacedæmonians who were returning from Locris met them on the road. As soon as they were perceived to be passing the straits, one ran and told Pelopidas, *we are fallen into the enemy's hands: And why not they*, said he, *into ours?* At the same time he ordered the cavalry to advance from the rear to the front, that they might be ready for the attack; and the infantry, who were but three hundred*, he drew up in a close body, hoping that, wherever they charged, they would break through the enemy, though superior in numbers.

The Spartans had two battalions. Ephorus says, their battalion consisted of five hundred men, but Callisthenes makes it seven hundred, and Polybius and others nine hundred. Their *polemarchs*, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, pushed boldly on against the Thebans. The shock began in the quarter where the generals fought in person on both sides, and was very violent and furious. The Spar-

* This small body was, however, the flower of the Theban army, and was dignified by the names of the *sacred battalion*, and the *band of lovers* (as mentioned below), being equally famed for their fidelity to the Theban state, and affection for each other. Some fabulous things are related of them, from which we can only infer that they were a brave resolute set of young men, who had vowed perpetual friendship to each other, and had bound themselves, by the strongest ties, to stand by one another to the last drop of their blood; and were, therefore, the fittest to be employed in such private and dangerous expeditions.

tan commanders, who attacked Pelopidas, were among the first that were slain; and all that were near them being either killed or put to flight, the whole army was so terrified, that they opened a lane for the Thebans, through which they might have passed safely, and continued their route, if they had pleased. But Pelopidas, disdaining to make his escape so, charged those who yet stood their ground, and made such havoc among them, that they fled in great confusion. The pursuit was not continued very far, for the Thebans were afraid of the Orchomenians, who were near the place of battle, and of the forces just arrived from Lacedæmon. They were satisfied with beating them in fair combat, and making their retreat through a dispersed and defeated army.

Having therefore erected a trophy, and gathered the spoils of the slain, they returned home not a little elated. For it seems that in all their former wars, both with the Greeks and barbarians, the Lacedæmonians had never been beaten, the greater number by the less, nor even by equal numbers in a pitched battle. Thus their courage seemed irresistible, and their renown so much intimidated their adversaries, that they did not care to hazard an engagement with them on equal terms. This battle first taught the Greeks that it is not the Eurotas, nor the space between Babyce and Cnacion, which alone produces brave warriors; but wherever the youth are ashamed of what is base, resolute in a good cause, and more inclined to avoid disgrace than danger, there are the men who are terrible to their enemies.

Gorgidas, as some say, first formed the *sacred band*, consisting of three hundred select men, who were quartered in the *Cadmea*, and maintained and exercised at the public expense. They were called the *city-bands*, for citadels in those days were called cities.

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But Gorgidas, by disposing those that belonged to this sacred band here and there in the first ranks, and covering the front of his infantry with them, gave them but little opportunity to distinguish themselves, or effectually to serve the common cause; thus divided as they were, and mixed with other troops more in number, and of inferior resolution. But when their valour appeared with so much lustre at Tegyræ, where they fought together, and close to the person of their general, Pelopidas would never part them afterwards, but kept them in a body, and constantly charged at the head of them in the most dangerous attacks: for, as horses go faster when harnessed together in a chariot than they do when driven single, not because their united force more easily breaks the air, but because their spirits are raised higher by emulation; so he thought the courage of

brave men would be more irresistible when they were acting together, and contending with each other which should most excel.

But when the Lacedæmonians had made peace with the rest of the Greeks, and continued the war against the Thebans only, and when king Cleombrotus had entered their country with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, they were not only threatened with the common dangers of war, as before, but even with total extirpation, which spread the utmost terror over all Bœotia. As Pelopidas on this occasion was departing for the army, his wife, who followed him to the door, besought him with tears to take care of himself, he answered, *My dear, private persons are to be advised to take care of themselves, but persons in a public character to take care of others.*

When he came to the army, and found the general officers differing in opinion, he was the first to close in with that of Epaminondas, who proposed that they should give the enemy battle. He was not indeed then one of those that commanded in chief, but he was captain of the *sacred band;* and they had that confidence in him which was due to a man who had given his country such pledges of his regard for liberty.

The resolution thus taken to hazard a battle, and the two armies in sight at Leuctra, Pelopidas had a dream which gave him no small trouble. In that field lie the bodies of the daughters of Scedasus, who are called *Leuctridæ*, from the place; for a rape having been committed upon them by some Spartans whom they had hospitably received into their house, they had killed themselves, and were buried there. Upon this their father went to Lacedæmon, and demanded that justice should be done upon the persons who had committed so detestable and atrocious a crime; and, as he could not obtain it, he vented bitter imprecations against the Spartans, and then killed himself upon the tomb of his daughters. From that time many prophecies and oracles forewarned the Spartans to beware of the vengeance of Leuctra: the true intent of which but few understood; for they were in doubt as to the place that was meant, there being a little maritime town called Leuctrum in Laconia, and another of the same name near Megalopolis in Arcadia. Besides, that injury was done to the daughters of Scedasus long before the battle of Leuctra.

Pelopidas then, as he slept in his tent, thought he saw these young women weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with imprecations, while their father ordered him to sacrifice a red-haired young virgin to the damsels, if he desired to be victorious in the ensuing engagement. This order appearing to him cruel and unjust, he rose and communicated it to the soothsayers and the generals.

Some were of opinion that it should not be neglected or disobeyed, alleging to the purpose the ancient stories of Menœceus the son of Creon*, and Macaria the daughter of Hercules; and the more modern instances of Pherecydes the philosopher, who was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, and whose skin was preserved by their kings, pursuant to the direction of some oracle; of Leonidas, who, by order of the oracle too, sacrificed himself, as it were, for the sake of Greece; and lastly, of the human victims offered by Themistocles to Bacchus Omestes, before the sea-fight at Salamis; to all which sacrifices the ensuing success gave a sanction. They observed also that Agesilaus setting sail from the same place that Agamemnon did, and against the same enemies, and seeing, moreover, at Aulis, the same vision of the goddess† demanding his daughter in sacrifice, through an ill-timed tenderness for his child, refused it; the consequence of which was, that his expedition proved unsuccessful.

Those that were of the contrary opinion argued, that so barbarous and unjust an offering could not possibly be acceptable to any superior being; that no *Typhons* or giants, but the father of gods and men, governed the world; that it was absurd to suppose that the gods delighted in human sacrifices; and that, if any of them did, they ought to be disregarded as impotent beings, since such strange and corrupt desires could not exist but in weak and vicious minds.

While the principal officers were engaged on this subject, and Pelopidas was more perplexed than all the rest, on a sudden a she-colt quitted the herd, and ran through the camp; and, when she came to the place where they were assembled, she stood still. The officers, for their part, only admired her colour, which was a shining red, the stateliness of her form, the vigour of her motions, and the sprightliness of her neighings; but Theocritus the diviner, understanding the thing better, cried out to Pelopidas, "Here comes the victim, fortunate man that thou art! wait for no other virgin, but sacrifice that which heaven hath sent thee." They then took the colt, and led her to the tomb of the virgins, where, after the usual prayers, and the ceremony of crowning her, they offered her up with joy, not for

* Menœceus devoted himself to death for the benefit of his country; as did also Macaria for the benefit of the Heraclidæ. For an account of the former see the *Phœnissa*, and for the latter, the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides.

† Xenophon, in the seventh book of the Grecian history, acquaints us, that Pelopidas, when he went upon an embassy to the king of Persia, represented to him, that the hatred which the Lacedæmonians bore the Thebans was owing to their not following Agesilaus when he went to make war upon Persia, and to their hindering him from sacrificing his daughter at Aulis, when Diana demanded her; a compliance with which demand would have ensured his success; such, at least, was the doctrine of the heathen theology.

getting to publish the vision of Pelopidas, and the sacrifice required, to the whole army.

The day of battle being come, Epaminondas drew up the infantry of his left wing in an oblique form, that the right wing of the Spartans being obliged to divide from the other Greeks, he might fall with all his force upon Cleombrotus, who commanded them, and break them with the greater ease. But the enemy perceiving his intention, began to change their order of battle, and to extend their right wing, and wheel about, with a design to surround Epaminondas. In the mean time Pelopidas came briskly up with his band of three hundred; and before Cleombrotus could extend his wing as he desired, or reduce it to its former disposition, fell upon the Spartans, disordered as they were with the imperfect movement. And though the Spartans, who were excellent masters in the art of war, laboured no point so much as to keep their men from confusion, and from dispersing when their ranks happened to be broken; insomuch that the private men were as able as the officers to knit again, and to make a united effort, wherever any occasion of danger required; yet Epaminondas then attacking their right wing only, without stopping to contend with the other troops, and Pelopidas rushing upon them with incredible speed and bravery, broke their resolution, and baffled their art.—The consequence was such a rout and slaughter as had been never known before*. For this reason Pelopidas, who had no share in the chief command, but was only captain of a small band, gained as much honour by this day's great success, as Epaminondas, who was governor of Bœotia, and commander of the whole army.

But soon after they were appointed joint governors of Bœotia, and entered Peloponnesus together, where they caused several cities to revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and brought over to the Theban interest Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and great part of Laconia itself. It was now the winter solstice, and the latter end of the last month in the year, so that they could hold their office but a few days longer;

* The Theban army consisted, at most, but of six thousand men, whereas that of the enemy was at least thrice that number, reckoning the allies. But Epaminondas trusted most in his cavalry, wherein he had much the advantage, both in their quality and good management; the rest he endeavoured to supply by the disposition of his men, who were drawn up fifty deep, whereas the Spartans were but twelve. When the Thebans had gained the victory, and killed Cleombrotus, the Spartans renewed the fight, to recover the king's body; and in this the Theban general wisely chose to gratify them, rather than to hazard the success of a second onset. The allies of the Spartans behaved ill in this battle, because they came to it with an expectation to conquer without fighting; as for the Thebans, they had no allies at this time. This battle was fought in the year before Christ 371. *Diod. Sic.* l. xv. *Xenoph. Hellan.* l. vi.

for new governors were to succeed on the first day of the next month, and the old ones to deliver up their charge under pain of death.

The rest of their colleagues, afraid of the law, and disliking a winter campaign, were for marching home without loss of time: but Pelopidas joining with Epaminondas to oppose it, encouraged his fellow citizens, and led them against Sparta. Having passed the Eurotas, they took many of the Lacedæmonian towns, and ravaged all the country to the very sea, with an army of seventy thousand Greeks, of which the Thebans did not constitute the twelfth part. But the character of those two great men, without any public order or decree, made all the allies follow with silent approbation, wherever they led. For the first and supreme law, that of nature, seems to direct those that have need of protection, to take him for their chief who is most able to protect them. And as passengers, though in fine weather or in port they may behave insolently, and brave the pilots, yet, as soon as a storm arises and danger appears, fix their eyes on them, and rely wholly on their skill; so the Argives, the Eleans, and the Arcadians, in the bent of their councils, were against the Thebans, and contended with them for superiority of command; but when the time of action came, and danger pressed hard, they followed the Theban generals of their own accord, and submitted to their orders.

In this expedition they united all Arcadia into one body, drove out the Spartans who had settled in Messenia, and called home its ancient inhabitants; they likewise re-peopled Ithome; and, in their return through Cenchrea, they defeated the Athenians*, who had attacked them in the straits with a design to hinder their passage.

After such achievements, all the other Greeks were charmed with their valour, and admired their good fortune: but the envy of their fellow-citizens, which grew up together with their glory, prepared for them a very unkind and unsuitable reception: for at their return they were both capitally tried for not delivering up their charge according to law in the first month, which they call *Boucation*, but holding it four months longer; during which time they performed those great actions in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Pelopidas was tried first, and therefore was in most danger; however, they were both acquitted. Epaminondas bore the accusations and attempts of malignity with great patience; for he considered it as no small instance of fortitude and magnanimity not to resent the

* This happened to the Athenians through the error of their general Iphicrates, who, though otherwise an able man, forgot the pass of Cenchrea, while he placed his troops in posts less commodious.

injuries done by his fellow-citizens; but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a warmer temper, and excited by his friends to revenge himself, laid hold on this occasion.

Menaclidas, the orator, was one of those who met upon the great enterprise in Charon's house. This man finding himself not held in the same honour with the rest of the deliverers of their country, and being a good speaker, though of bad principles, and a malevolent disposition, indulged his natural turn, in accusing and calumniating his superiors; and this he continued to do with respect to Epaminondas and Pelopidas, even after judgment was passed in their favour. He prevailed so far as to deprive Epaminondas of the government of Bœotia, and managed a party against him a long time with success; but his insinuations against Pelopidas were not listened to by the people, and therefore he endeavoured to embroil him with Charon. It is the common consolation of envy, when a man cannot maintain the higher ground himself, to represent those he is excelled by as inferior to some others. Hence it was that Menaclidas was ever extolling the actions of Charon to the people, and lavishing encomiums upon his expeditions and victories. Above all, he magnified his success in a battle fought by the cavalry under his command at Platæa, a little before the battle at Leuctra, and endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of it by some public monument.

The occasion he took was this: Androcides of Cyzicum had agreed with the Thebans for a picture of some other battle; which piece he worked at in the city of Thebes. But upon the revolt, and the war that ensued, he was obliged to quit that city, and leave the painting, which was almost finished, with the Thebans. Menaclidas endeavoured to persuade the people to hang up this piece in one of their temples, with an inscription, signifying that it was one of Charon's battles, in order to cast a shade upon the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Certainly the proposal was vain and absurd, to prefer one single engagement*, in which there fell only Gerandas, a Spartan of no note, with forty others, to so many and such important victories. Pelopidas, therefore, opposed this motion, insisting that it was contrary to the laws and usages of the Thebans to ascribe the honour of a victory to any one man in particular, and that their country ought to have the glory of it entire. As for Charon, he was liberal in his praises of him through his whole harangue, but he showed that Menaclidas was an envious and malicious man; and he often asked the Thebans if they had never before done any thing that was great and excellent. Hereupon a heavy fine was laid upon Me-

* Xenophon speaks slightly of Charon: he says, "The exiles went to the house of one Charon."

naclidas; and, as he was not able to pay it, he endeavoured afterwards to disturb and overturn the government. Such particulars as these, though small, serve to give an insight into the lives and characters of men.

At that time Alexander*, the tyrant of Pheræ, making open war against several cities of Thessaly, and entertaining a design to bring the whole country into subjection, the Thessalians sent ambassadors to Thebes to beg the favour of a general and some troops. Pelopidas, seeing Epaminondas engaged in settling the affairs of Peloponnesus, offered himself to command in Thessaly, for he was unwilling that his military talents and skill should lie useless, and well satisfied withal, that wherever Epaminondas was, there was no need of any other general. He therefore marched with his forces into Thessaly, where he soon recovered Larissa; and as Alexander came and made submission, he endeavoured to soften and humanize him, and, instead of a tyrant, to render him a just and good prince. But finding him incorrigible and brutal, and receiving fresh complaints of his cruelty, his unbridled lust, and insatiable avarice, he thought it necessary to treat him with some severity; upon which he made his escape with the guards.

Having now secured the Thessalians against the tyrant, and left them in a good understanding among themselves, he advanced into Macedonia†. Ptolemy had commenced hostilities against Alexander king of that country, and they both had sent for Pelopidas to be an arbitrator of their differences, and an assistant to him who should appear to be injured. Accordingly he went and decided their disputes, recalled such of the Macedonians as had been banished, and taking Philip the king's brother, and thirty young men of the best families as hostages, he brought them to Thebes, that he might show the Greeks to what height the Theban commonwealth was risen by the reputation of its arms, and the confidence that was placed in its justice and probity‡.

This was that Philip who afterwards made war upon Greece, to conquer and enslave it. He was now a boy, and brought up at

* He had lately poisoned his uncle Polyphron, and set himself up tyrant in his stead. Polyphron, indeed, had killed his own brother Polydore, the father of Alexander. All these, with Jason, who was of the same family, were usurpers of Thessaly, which before was a free state.

† Amyntas II. left three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son, whose name was Ptolemy. This last made war against Alexander, slew him treacherously, and reigned three years.

‡ About this time the cause of liberty was in a great measure deserted by the other Grecian states. Thebes was now the only commonwealth that retained any remains of patriotism, and concern for the injured and oppressed.

Thebes, in the house of Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have chosen Epaminondas for his pattern; and perhaps he was attentive to that great man's activity and happy conduct in war, which was in truth the most inconsiderable part of his character; as for his temperance, his justice, his magnanimity, and mildness, which really constituted Epaminondas the great man, Philip had no share of them, either natural or acquired.

After this, the Thessalians complaining again that Alexander of Pheræ disturbed their peace, and formed designs upon their cities, Pelopidas and Ismenias were deputed to attend them. But having no expectation of a war, Pelopidas had brought no troops with him, and therefore the urgency of the occasion obliged him to make use of the Thessalian forces.

At the same time there were fresh commotions in Macedonia; for Ptolemy had killed the king, and assumed the sovereignty. Pelopidas, who was called in by the friends of the deceased, was desirous to undertake the cause; but, having no troops of his own, he hastily raised some mercenaries, and marched with them immediately against Ptolemy. Upon their approach, Ptolemy bribed the mercenaries, and brought them over to his side; yet, dreading the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he went to pay his respects to him as his superior, endeavoured to pacify him with entreaties, and solemnly promised to keep the kingdom for the brothers of the dead king, and to regard the enemies and friends of the Thebans as his own: for the performance of these conditions he delivered to him his son Philoxenus and fifty of his companions, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes. But being incensed at the treachery of the mercenaries, and having intelligence that they had lodged the best part of their effects, together with their wives and children, in Pharsalus, he thought by taking these he might sufficiently revenge the affront. Hereupon he assembled some Thessalian troops, and marched against the town. He was no sooner arrived, than Alexander the tyrant appeared before it with his army. Pelopidas concluding that he was come to make an apology for his conduct, went to him with Ismenias. Not that he was ignorant what an abandoned and sanguinary man he had to deal with, but he imagined that the dignity of Thebes and his own character would protect him from violence. The tyrant, however, when he saw them alone and unarmed, immediately seized their persons, and possessed himself of Pharsalus. This struck all his subjects with terror and astonishment; for they were persuaded that, after such a flagrant act of injustice, he would spare nobody, but behave on all occasions, and to

all persons, like a man that had desperately thrown off all regard to his own life and safety.

When the Thebans were informed of this outrage, they were filled with indignation, and gave orders to their army to march directly into Thessaly; but Epaminondas then happening to lie under their displeasure*, they appointed other generals.

As for Pelopidas, the tyrant took him to Pheræ, where at first he did not deny any one access to him, imagining that he was greatly humbled by his misfortune: But Pelopidas, seeing the Pheræans overwhelmed with sorrow, bade them be comforted, because now vengeance was ready to fall upon the tyrant; and sent to tell him, "that he acted very absurdly in daily torturing and putting to death so many of his innocent subjects, and in the mean time sparing *him*, who, he might know, was determined to punish him when once out of his hands." The tyrant, surprised at his magnanimity and unconcern, made answer, "Why is Pelopidas in such haste to die?" Which being reported to Pelopidas, he replied, "It is that thou, being more hated by the gods than ever, mayest the sooner come to a miserable end."

From that time Alexander allowed access to none but his keepers. Thebe, however, the daughter of Jason, who was wife to the tyrant, having an account from those keepers of his noble and intrepid behaviour, had a desire to see him, and to have some discourse with him. When she came into the prison, she could not presently distinguish the majestic turn of his person amidst such an appearance of distress; yet supposing from the disorder of his hair, and the meanness of his attire and provisions, that he was treated unworthily, she wept. Pelopidas, who knew not his visitor, was much surprised; but when he understood her quality, addressed her by her father's name, with whom he had been intimately acquainted. And upon her saying, "I pity your wife," he replied, "And I pity you, who, wearing no fetters, can endure Alexander." This affected her nearly; for she hated the cruelty and insolence of the tyrant, who to his other debaucheries added that of abusing her youngest brother. In consequence of this, and by frequent interviews with Pelopidas, to whom she communicated her sufferings, she conceived a still stronger resentment and aversion to her husband.

* They were displeased with him, because in a late battle fought with the Lacedæmonians near Corinth, he did not, as they thought, pursue his advantage to the utmost, and put more of the enemy to the sword. Hereupon they removed him from the government of Bœotia, and sent him along with their forces as a private person. Such acts of ingratitude towards great and excellent men are common in popular governments.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thessaly without doing any thing, and, either through their incapacity or ill fortune, returned with disgrace, the city of Thebes fined each of them ten thousand *drachmas*, and gave Epaminondas the command of the army that was to act in Thessaly.

The reputation of the new general gave the Thessalians fresh spirits, and occasioned such great insurrections among them, that the tyrant's affairs seemed to be in a very desperate condition; so great was the terror that fell upon his officers and friends, so forward were his subjects to revolt, and so universal was the joy at the prospect of seeing him punished.

Epaminondas, however, preferred the safety of Pelopidas to his own fame; and fearing, if he carried matters to an extremity at first, that the tyrant might grow desperate, and destroy his prisoner; he protracted the war. By fetching a compas, as if to finish his preparations, he kept Alexander in suspense, and managed him so as neither to moderate his violence and pride, nor yet to increase his fierceness and cruelty. For he knew his savage disposition, and the little regard he paid to reason or justice; that he buried some persons alive, and dressed others in the skins of bears and wild boars, and then, by way of diversion, baited them with dogs, or dispatched them with darts; that having summoned the people of Melibœa and Scotusa, towns in friendship and alliance with him, to meet him in full assembly, he surrounded them with guards, and, with all the wantonness of cruelty, put them to the sword; and that he consecrated the spear with which he slew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands, offered sacrifice to it as to a god, and gave it the name of *Tychon*. Yet, upon seeing a tragedian act the *Troades* of Euripides, he went hastily out of the theatre, and at the same time sent a message to the actor, "Not to be discouraged, but to exert all his skill in his part; for it was not out of any dislike that he went out, but he was ashamed that his citizens should see him, who never pitied those he put to death, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache." This execrable tyrant was terrified at the very name and character of Epaminondas,

And dropp'd the craven wing.

He sent an embassy in all haste to offer satisfaction, but that general did not vouchsafe to admit such a man into alliance with the Thebans; he only granted him a truce of thirty days, and having recovered Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he marched back again with his army.

Soon after this, the Thebans having discovered that the Lacedæ-

monians and Athenians had sent ambassadors to the king of Persia to draw him into a league with them, sent Pelopidas on their part; whose established reputation amply justified their choice; for he had no sooner entered the king's dominions than he was universally known and honoured; the fame of his battles with the Lacedæmonians had spread itself through Asia; and, after his victory at Leuctra, the report of new successes continually following had extended his renown to the most distant provinces. So that when he arrived at the king's court, and appeared before the nobles and great officers that waited there, he was the object of universal admiration: "This," said they, "is the man who deprived the Lacedæmonians of the empire both of sea and land, and confined Sparta within the bounds of Taygetus and Eurotas; that Sparta, which a little before, under the conduct of Agesilaus, made war against the great king, and shook the realms of Susa and Ecbatana." On the same account Artaxerxes rejoiced to see Pelopidas, and loaded him with honours. But when he heard him converse in terms that were stronger than those of the Athenians, and plainer than those of the Spartans, he admired him still more; and, as kings seldom conceal their inclinations, he made no secret of his attachment to him, but let the other ambassadors see the distinction in which he held him. It is true that, of all the Greeks, he seemed to have done Antalcidas the Spartan the greatest honour*, when he took the garland which he wore at table from his head, dipped it in perfumes, and sent it him. But though he did not treat Pelopidas with that familiarity, yet he made him the richest and most magnificent presents, and fully granted his demands; which were, "That all the Greeks should be free and independent; that Messene should be repeopled; and that the Thebans should be reckoned the king's hereditary friends."

With this answer he returned, but without accepting any of the king's presents, except some tokens of his favour and regard; a circumstance that reflected no small dishonour upon the other ambassadors. The Athenians condemned and executed Timagoras, and justly too, if it was on account of the many presents he received; for he accepted not only gold and silver, but a magnificent bed, and servants to make it, as if that was an art which the Greeks were not skilled in. He received also fourscore cows, and herdsmen to take care of them, as if he wanted their milk for his health; and, at last, he suffered himself to be carried in a litter as far as the sea-coast at the

* If Plutarch means the Spartan ambassador, he differs from Xenophon, who says that his name was Euthicles. He likewise tells us that Timagoras was the person whom the king esteemed next to Pelopidas.

king's expense, who paid four talents for his conveyance. But his receiving of presents does not seem to have been the principal thing that incensed the Athenians: for when Epicrates the armour-bearer acknowledged in full assembly that he had received the king's presents, and talked of proposing a decree, that instead of choosing nine *archons* every year, nine of the poorest citizens should be sent ambassadors to the king, that by his gifts they might be raised to affluence, the people only laughed at the motion. What exasperated the Athenians most was, that the Thebans had obtained of the king all they asked; they did not consider how much the character of Pelopidas outweighed the address of their orators, with a man who ever paid particular attention to military excellence.

This embassy procured Pelopidas great applause, as well on account of the repeopling of Messene, as of the restoring of liberty to the rest of Greece.

Alexander the Pheræan was now returned to his natural disposition; he had destroyed several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into the towns of the Phthiotæ, the Achæans, and the Magnesians. As soon as these oppressed people had learned that Pelopidas was returned, they sent their deputies to Thebes to beg the favour of some forces, and that he might be their general. The Thebans willingly granted their request, and an army was soon got ready; but as the general was on the point of marching, the sun began to be eclipsed, and the city was covered with darkness in the day-time.

Pelopidas, seeing the people in great consternation at this phenomenon, did not think proper to force the army to move while under such terror and dismay, nor to risk the lives of seven thousand of his fellow-citizens. Instead of that, he went himself into Thessaly, and taking with him only three hundred horse, consisting of Theban volunteers and strangers, he set out, contrary to the warnings of the soothsayers and inclinations of the people: for they considered the eclipse as a sign from heaven, the object of which must be some illustrious personage. But, besides that Pelopidas was the more exasperated against Alexander, by reason of the bad treatment he had received, he hoped, from the conversation he had with Thebe, to find the tyrant's family embroiled in great disorder. The greatest incitement, however, was the honour of the thing. He had a generous ambition to show the Greeks, at a time when the Lacedæmonians were sending generals and other officers to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and the Athenians were pensioners to Alexander, as their benefactor, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, that the Thebans were the only people who took the field in behalf of

the oppressed, and endeavoured to exterminate all arbitrary and unjust government.

When he arrived at Pharsalus, he assembled his forces, and then marched directly against Alexander; who, knowing that Pelopidas had but few Thebans about him, and that he himself had double his number of Thessalian infantry, went to meet him as far as the temple of Thetis. When he was informed that the tyrant was advancing towards him with a great army, *So much the better*, said he, *for we shall beat so many the more.*

Near the place called Cynoscephalæ, there are two steep hills opposite each other, in the middle of the plain. Both sides endeavoured to get possession of these hills with their infantry. In the mean time, Pelopidas with his cavalry, which was numerous and excellent, charged the enemy's horse, and put them to the rout. But while he was pursuing them over the plain, Alexander had gained the hills, having got before the Thessalian foot, which he attacked as they were trying to force those strong heights, killing the foremost, and wounding many of those that followed, so that they toiled without effecting any thing. Pelopidas, seeing this, called back his cavalry, and ordered them to fall upon such of the enemy as still kept their ground on the plain; and taking his buckler in his hand, he ran to join those that were engaged on the hills. He soon made his way to the front, and by his presence inspired his soldiers with such vigour and alarcity, that the enemy thought they had quite different men to deal with. They stood two or three charges; but when they found that the foot still pressed forward, and saw the horse return from the pursuit, they gave ground, and retreated, but slowly, and step by step. Pelopidas then taking a view from an eminence of the enemy's whole army, which did not yet take to flight, but was full of confusion and disorder, stopped awhile to look round for Alexander. When he perceived him on the right, encouraging and rallying the mercenaries, he was no longer master of himself; but sacrificing both his safety and his duty, as a general, to his passion, he sprang forward a great way before his troops, loudly calling for and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to meet him, or to wait for him, but fell back and hid himself in the midst of his guards. The foremost ranks of the mercenaries, who came hand to hand, were broken by Pelopidas, and a number of them slain; but others, fighting at a distance, pierced his armour with their javelins. The Thessalians, extremely anxious for him, ran down the hill to his assistance, but, when they came to the place, they found him dead upon the ground. Both horse and foot then falling upon the enemy's main body, entirely routed them, and killed above three thousand. The pursuit

continued a long way, and the fields were covered with the carcases of the slain.

Such of the Thebans as were present were greatly afflicted at the death of Pelopidas, calling him *their father, their saviour, and instructor in every thing that was great and honourable.* Nor is this to be wondered at; since the Thessalians and allies, after exceeding, by their public acts in his favour, the greatest honours that are usually paid to human virtue, testified their regard for him still more sensibly by the deepest sorrow: for it is said that those who were in the action neither put off their armour, nor unbridled their horses, nor bound up their wounds, after they heard that he was dead; but, notwithstanding their heat and fatigue, repaired to the body, as if it still had life and sense, piled round it the spoils of the enemy, and cut off their horses' manes and their own hair*. Many of them, when they retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire, nor took any refreshment; but a melancholy silence reigned throughout the camp, as if, instead of gaining so great and glorious a victory, they had been worsted and enslaved by the tyrant.

When the news was carried to the towns, the magistrates, young men, children, and priests, came out to meet the body, with trophies, crowns, and golden armour; and when the time of his interment was come, some of the Thessalians, who were venerable for their age, went and begged of the Thebans that they might have the honour of burying him. One of them expressed himself in these terms: "What we request of you, our good allies, will be an honour and consolation to us under this great misfortune. It is not the living Pelopidas whom the Thessalians desire to attend; it is not to Pelopidas, sensible of their gratitude, that they would now pay the due honours; all we ask is the permission to wash, to adorn, and inter his dead body, and if we obtain this favour, we shall believe you are persuaded that we think our share in the common calamity greater than yours. You have lost only a good general, but we are so unhappy as to be deprived both of him and of our liberty: for how shall we presume to ask you for another general, when we have not restored to you Pelopidas?"

The Thebans granted their request. And surely there never was a more magnificent funeral, at least in the opinion of those who do not place magnificence in ivory, gold, and purple; as Philistus did, who dwells in admiration upon the funeral of Dionysius, which, properly speaking, was nothing but the pompous catastrophe of that bloody tragedy, his tyranny. Alexander the Great, too, upon the death of Hephæstion, not only had the manes of the horses and mules

* A customary token of mourning among the ancients.

shorn, but caused the battlements of the walls to be taken down, that the very cities might seem to mourn, by losing their ornaments, and having the appearance of being shorn and chastised with grief. These things being the effects of arbitrary orders, executed through necessity, and attended both with envy of those for whom they are done, and hatred of those who command them, are not proofs of esteem and respect, but of barbaric pomp, of luxury, and vanity, in those who lavish their wealth to such vain and despicable purposes. But that a man who was only one of the subjects of a republic, dying in a strange country, neither his wife, children, or kinsmen present, without the request or command of any one, should be attended home, conducted to the grave, and crowned by so many cities and tribes, might justly pass for an instance of the most perfect happiness. For the observation of Æsop is not true, that *Death is most unfortunate in the time of prosperity; on the contrary, it is then most happy, since it secures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and puts them above the power of fortune.* The compliment, therefore, of the Spartan, was much more rational, when embracing Diagoras, after he and his sons and grandsons had all conquered and been crowned at the Olympic games, he said, *Die, die now,* Diagoras, *for thou canst not be a god.* And yet, I think, if a man should put all the victories in the Olympian and Pythian games together, he would not pretend to compare them with any one of the enterprises of Pelopidas, which were many, and all successful; so that after he had flourished the greatest part of his life in honour and renown, and had been appointed the thirteenth time governor of Bœotia, he died in a great exploit, the consequence of which was the destruction of the tyrant, and the restoring of its liberties to Thessaly.

His death, as it gave the allies great concern, so it brought them still greater advantages: for the Thebans were no sooner informed of it, than, prompted by a desire of revenge, they sent upon that business seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse, under the command of Malcites and Diogiton. These finding Alexander weakened with his late defeat, and reduced to great difficulties, compelled him to restore the cities he had taken from the Thessalians, to withdraw his garrisons from the territories of the Magnesians, the Phthiotæ, and Achæans, and to engage by oath to submit to the Thebans, and to keep his forces in readiness to execute their orders.

And here it is proper to relate the punishment which the gods inflicted upon him soon after for his treatment of Pelopidas. He, as we have already mentioned, first taught Thebe, the tyrant's wife, not to dread the exterior pomp and splendour of his palace, though

she lived in the midst of guards, consisting of exiles from other countries. She, therefore, fearing his falsehood, and hating his cruelty, agreed with her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, to take him off; and they put their design in execution after this manner; the whole palace was full of guards, who watched all the night, except the tyrant's bed-chamber, which was an upper room, and the door of the apartment was guarded by a dog who was chained there, and who would fly at every body except his master and mistress, and one slave that fed him. When the time fixed for the attempt was come, Thebe concealed her brothers before it was dark, in a room hard by. She went in alone, as usual, to Alexander, who was already asleep, but presently came out again, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, because her husband chose to sleep without being disturbed; and that the stairs might not creak as the young men came up, she covered them with wool. She then fetched up her brothers, and leaving them at the door with poniards in their hands, went into the chamber, and taking away the tyrant's sword, which hung at the head of his bed, showed it them as a proof that he was fast asleep. The young men now being struck with terror, and not daring to advance, she reproached them with cowardice, and swore in her rage that she would awake Alexander, and tell him the whole. Shame and fear having brought them to themselves, she led them in, and placed them about the bed, herself holding the light. One of them caught him by the feet, and another by the hair of his head, while the third stabbed him with his poniard. Such a death was, perhaps, too speedy for so abominable a monster; but if it be considered that he was the first tyrant who was assassinated by his own wife, and that his dead body was exposed to all kinds of indignities, and spurned and trodden under foot by his subjects, his punishment will appear to have been proportioned to his crimes.

MARCELLUS.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS, who was five times consul, was the son of Marcus; and, according to Posidonius, the first of his family that bore the surname of Marcellus, that is, *Martial.* He had, indeed, a great deal of military experience; his make was strong, his arm almost irresistible, and he was naturally inclined to war. But though impetuous and lofty in the combat, on other occasions he was modest and humane. He was so far a lover of the Grecian learning and eloquence, as to honour and admire those that excelled in them,

though his employments prevented his making that progress in them which he desired: for if Heaven ever designed that any men

> ..... In war's rude list should combat,
> From youth to age .....

as Homer expresses it, certainly it was the principal Romans of those times. In their youth they had to contend with the Carthaginians for the island of Sicily; in their middle age with the Gauls for Italy itself; and in their old age again with the Carthaginians and Hannibal. Thus, even in age, they had not the common relaxation and repose, but were called forth by their birth and their merit to accept of military commands.

As for Marcellus, there was no kind of fighting in which he was not admirably well skilled; but in single combat he excelled himself. He, therefore, never refused a challenge, or failed of killing the challenger. In Sicily, seeing his brother Otacilius in great danger, he covered him with his shield, slew those that attacked him, and saved his life. For these things he received from the generals crowns and other military honours, while but a youth; and his reputation increasing every day, the people appointed him to the office of *curule ædile*, and the priests to that of *augur*. This is a kind of sacerdotal function to which the law assigns the care of that divination which is taken from the flight of birds.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

After the first Carthaginian war*, which had lasted twenty-two years, Rome was soon engaged in a new war with the Gauls. The Insubrians, a Celtic nation, who inhabit that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, though very powerful in themselves, called in the assistance of the Gesatæ, a people of Gaul, who fight for pay on such occasions. It was a wonderful and fortunate thing for the Roman people that the Gallic war did not break out at the same time with the Punic; and that the Gauls, observing an exact neutrality all

* Plutarch is a little mistaken here in his chronology. The first Punic war lasted twenty-four years, for it began in the year of Rome four hundred and eighty-nine, and peace was made with the Carthaginians in the year five hundred and twelve. The Gauls continued quiet all that time, and did not begin to stir till four years after. Then they advanced to Ariminum; but the Boii, mutinying against their leaders, slew the kings Ates and Galates; after which the Gauls fell upon each other, and numbers were slain; they that survived returned home. Five years after this, the Gauls began to prepare for a new war, on account of the division which Flaminius had made of the lands in the Picene, taken from the Senones of Gallia Cisalpina. These preparations were carrying on a long time; and it was eight years after that division before the war began in earnest under their chiefs Congolitanus and Aneræstes, when L. Æmilius Paupus and C. Atilius Regulus were consuls, in the five hundred and twenty-eighth year of Rome, and the third year of the one hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad. *Polyb.* l. ii.

that time, as if they had waited to take up the conqueror, did not attack the Romans till they were victorious, and at leisure to receive them. However, this war was not a little alarming to the Romans, as well on account of the vicinity of the Gauls, as their character of old as warriors. They were, indeed, the enemy whom they dreaded most; for they had made themselves masters of Rome; and from that time it had been provided by law that the priests should be exempted from bearing arms, except it were to defend the city against the Gauls.

The vast preparations they made were further proofs of their fears (for it is said that so many thousands of Romans were never seen in arms either before or since); and so were the new and extraordinary sacrifices which they offered. On other occasions, they had not adopted the rites of barbarous and savage nations, but their religious customs had been agreeable to the mild and merciful ceremonies of the Greeks: yet, on the appearance of this war, they were forced to comply with certain oracles found in the books of the Sibyls; and thereupon they buried two Greeks*, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, one of each sex, alive, in the beast-market; a thing that gave rise to certain private and mysterious rites, which still continue to be performed in the month of November.

In the beginning of the war the Romans sometimes gained great advantages, and sometimes were no less signally defeated; but there was no decisive action till the consulate of Flaminius and Furius, who led a very powerful army against the Insubrians. Then, we are told, the river which runs through the Picene was seen flowing with blood, and that three moons appeared over the city of Ariminum. But the priests, who were to observe the flight of birds at the time of choosing consuls, affirmed that the election was faulty and inauspicious. The senate, therefore, immediately sent letters to the camp to recal the consuls, insisting that they should return without loss of time, and resign their office, and forbidding them to act at all against the enemy in consequence of their late appointment.

Flaminius, having received these letters, deferred opening them till he had engaged and routed the barbarians†, and overrun their

* They offered the same sacrifice at the beginning of the second Punic war. *Liv.* l. xxii. 5. 7.

† Flaminius was not entitled to this success by his conduct. He gave battle with a river behind him, where there was not room for his men to rally or retreat, if they had been broken. But possibly he might make such a disposition of his forces, to show them that they must either conquer or die; for he knew that he was acting against the intentions of the senate, and that nothing but success could bring him off. Indeed, he was naturally rash and daring. It was the skill and management of the legionary tri-

country. Therefore, when he returned loaded with spoils, the people did not go out to meet him; and because he did not directly obey the order that recalled him, but treated it with contempt, he was in danger of losing his triumph. As soon as the triumph was over, both he and his colleague were deposed, and reduced to the rank of private citizens. So much regard had the Romans for religion, referring all their affairs to the good pleasure of the gods, and, in their greatest prosperity, not suffering any neglect of the forms of divination and other sacred usages; for they were fully persuaded that it was a matter of greater importance to the preservation of their state to have their generals obedient to the gods, than even to have them victorious in the field.

To this purpose the following story is remarkable:—Tiberius Sempronius, who was as much respected for his valour and probity as any man in Rome, while consul, named Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his successors. When they were gone into the provinces allotted them, Sempronius happening to meet with a book which contained the sacred regulations for the conduct of war, found that there was one particular which he never knew before. It was this: "When the consul goes to take the auspices in a house or tent without the city, hired for that purpose, and is obliged by some necessary business to return into the city before any sure sign appears to him, he must not make use of that lodge again, but take another, and there begin his observations anew." Sempronius was ignorant of this when he named those two consuls, for he had twice made use of the same place; but when he perceived his error, he made the senate acquainted with it. They, for their part, did not lightly pass over so small a defect, but wrote to the consuls about it, who left their provinces, and returned with all speed to Rome, where they laid down their offices. This did not happen till long after the affair of which we were speaking*.

But about that very time, two priests of the best families in Rome, Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Sulpicius, were degraded from the priesthood; the former, because he did not present the entrails of the victim according to rule; and the latter, because, as he was sacrificing, the tuft of his cap, which was such a one as the Flamines

bunes which made amends for the consul's imprudence. They distributed among the soldiers of the first line the pikes of the Triarii, to prevent the enemy from making use of their swords; and when the first ardour of the Gauls was over, they ordered the Romans to shorten their swords, close with the enemy, so as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, and stab them; which they did without running any hazard themselves, the swords of the Gauls having no points.

* Sixty years after.

wear, fell off.* And because the squeaking of a rat happened to be heard at the moment that Minucius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his general of horse, the people obliged them to quit their posts, and appointed others in their stead. But, while they observed these small matters with such exactness, they gave not into any sort of superstition*, for they neither changed nor went beyond the ancient ceremonies.

Flaminius and his colleague being deposed from the consulship, the magistrates, called *Interreges*†, nominated Marcellus to that high office, who, when he entered upon it, took Cneius Cornelius Scipio for his colleague. Though the Gauls are said to have been disposed to a reconciliation, and the senate was peaceably inclined, yet the people, at the instigation of Marcellus, were for war. However, a peace was concluded; which seems to have been broke by the Gesatæ, who, having passed the Alps with thirty thousand men, prevailed with the Insubrians to join them with much greater numbers. Elated with their strength, they marched immediately to Acerræ‡, a city on the banks of the Po. There Viridomarus, king of the Gesatæ, took ten thousand men from the main body, and with this party laid waste all the country about the river.

When Marcellus was informed of their march, he left his colleague before Acerræ with all the heavy-armed infantry, and the third part of the horse; and taking with him the rest of the cavalry, and about six hundred of the light-armed foot, he set out, and kept forward day and night, till he came up with the ten thousand Gesatæ near Clastidium§, a little town of the Gauls, which had very lately submitted to the Romans. He had not time to give his troops any rest or refreshment; for the barbarians immediately perceived his approach, and despised his attempt, as he had but a handful of infantry, and they made no account of his cavalry. These, as well as all the other Gauls, being skilled in fighting on horseback, thought they had the advantage in this respect; and, besides, they greatly exceeded Marcellus in numbers. They marched, therefore, directly against him, their king at their head, with great impetuosity and dreadful menaces, as if sure of crushing him at once. Marcellus, because his

* This word is here used in the literal sense.

† These were officers who, when there were no legal magistrates in being, were appointed to hold the *comitia* for electing new ones. The title of *Interreges*, which was given them while the government was regal, was continued to them under the commonwealth.

‡ The Romans were besieging Acerræ, and the Gauls went to relieve it; but finding themselves unable to do that, they passed the Po with part of their army, and laid siege to Clastidium, to make a diversion. *Polyb.* l. ii.

§ Livy places this town in Liguria Montana.

party was but small, to prevent its being surrounded, extended the wings of his cavalry, thinning and widening the line, till he presented a front nearly equal to that of the enemy. He was now advancing to the charge, when his horse, terrified with the shouts of the Gauls, turned short, and forcibly carried him back. Marcellus, fearing that this, interpreted by superstition, should cause some disorder in his troops, quickly turned his horse again towards the enemy, and then paid his adorations to the sun; as if that movement had been made, not by accident, but design, for the Romans always turn round when they worship the gods. Upon the point of engaging, he vowed to Jupiter *Feretrius* the choicest of the enemy's arms. In the mean time, the king of the Gauls spied him, and judging by the ensigns of authority that he was the consul, he set spurs to his horse, and advanced a considerable way before the rest, brandishing his spear, and loudly challenging him to the combat. He was distinguished from the rest of the Gauls by his stature, as well as by his armour, which, being set off with gold and silver, and the most lively colours, shone like lightning. As Marcellus was viewing the disposition of the enemy's forces, he cast his eyes upon this rich suit of armour, and concluding that in it his vow to Jupiter would be accomplished, he rushed upon the Gaul, and pierced his breast-plate with his spear, which stroke, together with the weight and force of the consul's horse, brought him to the ground, and with two or three more blows he dispatched him. He then leaped from his horse and disarmed him, and lifting up his spoils towards heaven, he said, "O Jupiter *Feretrius*, who observest the deeds of great warriors and generals in battle, I now call thee to witness that I am the third Roman consul and general who have, with my own hands, slain a general and a king! To thee I consecrate the most excellent spoils. Do thou grant us equal success in the prosecution of this war."

When this prayer was ended, the Roman cavalry encountered both the enemy's horse and foot at the same time, and gained a victory, not only great in itself, but peculiar in its kind; for we have no account of such a handful of cavalry beating such numbers, both of horse and foot, either before or since. Marcellus having killed the greatest part of the enemy, and taken their arms and baggage, returned to his colleague*, who had not such good success against the Gauls before Milan, which is a great and populous city, and the metropolis of that country. For this reason the Gauls defended it with such spirit and resolution, that Scipio, instead of besieging it, seemed rather besieged himself. But upon the return of Marcellus, the

* During the absence of Marcellus, Acerræ had been taken by his colleague Scipio, who from thence had marched to invest Mediolanum, or Milan.

Gesatæ, understanding that their king was slain, and his army defeated, drew off their forces; and so Milan was taken*; and the Gauls surrendering the rest of their cities, and referring every thing to the equity of the Romans, obtained reasonable conditions of peace.

The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus only; and whether we consider the rich spoils that were displayed in it, the prodigious size of the captives, or the magnificence with which the whole was conducted, it was one of the most splendid that was ever seen. But the most agreeable and most uncommon spectacle was Marcellus himself, carrying the armour of Viridomarus, which he vowed to Jupiter. He had cut the trunk of an oak in the form of a trophy, which he adorned with the spoils of that barbarian, placing every part of his arms in handsome order. When the procession began to move, he mounted his chariot, which was drawn by four horses, and passed through the city with the trophy on his shoulders, which was the noblest ornament of the whole triumph. The army followed, clad in elegant armour, and singing odes composed for that occasion, and other songs of triumph, in honour of Jupiter and their general.

When he came to the temple of Jupiter *Feretrius*, he set up and consecrated the trophy, being the third and last general who as yet has been so gloriously distinguished. The first was Romulus, after he had slain Acron, king of the Cæninenses; Cornelius Cossus, who slew Volumnius the Tuscan, was the second; and the third and last was Marcellus, who killed with his own hand Viridomarus king of the Gauls. The god to whom these spoils were devoted was Jupiter, surnamed *Feretrius* (as some say), from the Greek word *Pheretron*, which signifies *a car*, for the trophy was borne on such a carriage, and the Greek language at that time was much mixed with the Latin. Others say Jupiter had that appellation, because he *strikes with lightning*, for the Latin word *ferire* signifies *to strike*. Others again will have it, that it is on account of the strokes which are given in battle; for even now, when the Romans charge or pursue an enemy, they encourage each other by calling out, *feri, feri*, strike, strike them down. What they take from the enemy in the field, they call by the general name of *spoils*, but those which a Roman general takes from the general of the enemy, they call *opime spoils*. It is, indeed, said that Numa Pompilius, in his Commentaries, makes mention of *opime spoils* of the first, second, and third order; that he directed the first to be consecrated to Jupiter, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; and that the persons who took the first should be rewarded with three hundred *ases*, the second with two

* Comum also, another city of great importance, surrendered. Thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea, became entirely Roman.

hundred, and the third with one hundred. But the most received opinion is, that those of the first sort only should be honoured with the name of *opime*, which a general takes in a pitched battle, when he kills the enemy's general with his own hand. But enough of this matter.

The Romans thought themselves so happy in the glorious period put to this war, that they made an offering to Apollo at Delphi of a golden cup, in testimony of their gratitude; they also liberally shared the spoils with the confederate cities, and made a very handsome present out of them to Hiero king of Syracuse, their friend and ally.

Some time after this, Hannibal having entered Italy, Marcellus was sent with a fleet to Sicily. The war continued to rage, and that unfortunate blow was received at Cannæ, by which many thousands of Romans fell. The few that escaped fled to Canusium: and it was expected that Hannibal, who had thus destroyed the strength of the Roman forces, would march directly to Rome. Hereupon Marcellus first sent fifteen hundred of his men to guard the city; and afterwards, by order of the senate, he went to Canusium, drew out the troops that had retired thither, and marched at their head to keep the country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The wars had by this time carried off the chief of the Roman nobility, and most of their best officers. Still, indeed, there remained Fabius Maximus, a man highly respected for his probity and prudence; but his extraordinary attention to the avoiding of loss passed for want of spirit and incapacity for action. The Romans, therefore, considering him as a proper person for the defensive, but not the offensive part of war, had recourse to Marcellus; and wisely tempering his boldness and activity with the slow and cautious conduct of Fabius, they sometimes appointed them consuls together, and sometimes sent out the one in the quality of consul, and the other in that of pro-consul. Posidonius tells us, that Fabius was called *the buckler*, and Marcellus *the sword:* but Hannibal himself said, "He stood in fear of Fabius as his schoolmaster, and of Marcellus as his adversary; for he received hurt from the latter, and the former prevented his doing hurt himself."

Hannibal's soldiers, elated with their victory, grew careless, and, straggling from the camp, roamed about the country, where Marcellus fell upon them, and cut off great numbers. After this, he went to the relief of Naples and Nola. The Neapolitans he confirmed in the Roman interest, to which they were themselves well inclined; but when he entered Nola, he found great divisions there, the senate of that city being unable to restrain the commonalty, who were at-

tached to Hannibal. There was a citizen in this place named Bandius*, well born, and celebrated for his valour; for he greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Cannæ, where, after killing a number of Carthaginians, he was found at last upon a heap of dead bodies, covered with wounds. Hannibal, admiring his bravery, dismissed him not only without ransom, but with handsome presents, honouring him with his friendship and admission to the rights of hospitality. Bandius, in gratitude for these favours, heartily espoused the party of Hannibal, and by his authority drew the people on to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put a man to death who had gloriously fought the battles of Rome. Besides, the general had so engaging a manner grafted upon his native humanity, that he could hardly fail of attracting the regards of a man of a great and generous spirit. One day, Bandius happening to salute him, Marcellus asked him who he was; not that he was a stranger to his person, but that he might have an opportunity to introduce what he had to say. Being told his name was Lucius Bandius, "What!" says Marcellus, in seeming admiration, "that Bandius who has been so much talked of in Rome for his gallant behaviour at Cannæ, who indeed was the only man that did not abandon the consul Æmilius, but received in his own body most of the shafts that were aimed at him!" Bandius saying he was the very person, and showing some of his scars, "Why then," replied Marcellus, "when you bore about you such marks of your regard for us, did not you come to us one of the first? Do we seem to you slow to reward the virtue of a friend, who is honoured even by his enemies?" After this obliging discourse, he embraced him, and made him a present of a war-horse, and five hundred drachmas in silver.

From this time Bandius was very cordially attached to Marcellus, and constantly informed him of the proceedings of the opposite party, who were very numerous, and who had resolved, when the Romans marched out against the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Hereupon Marcellus drew up his forces in order of battle within the city, placed the baggage near the gates, and published an edict, forbidding the inhabitants to appear upon the walls. Hannibal, seeing no hostile appearance, concluded that every thing was in great disorder in the city, and therefore he approached with little precaution. At this moment Marcellus commanded the gate that was next him to be opened, and sallying out with the best of his cavalry, he charged the enemy in front. Soon after, the infantry rushed out at another gate with loud shouts. And while Hannibal was dividing his forces to oppose these two parties, a third gate was opened, and

* Or Bantius.

the rest of the Roman troops issuing out, attacked the enemy on another side, who were greatly disconcerted at such an unexpected sally, and who made but a faint resistance against those with whom they were first engaged, by reason of their being fallen upon by another body.

Then it was that Hannibal's men, struck with terror, and covered with wounds, first gave back before the Romans, and were driven to their camp. Above five thousand of them are said to have been slain, whereas of the Romans there fell not more than five hundred. Livy does not, indeed, make this defeat and loss on the Carthaginian side to have been so considerable; he only affirms that Marcellus gained great honour by this battle, and that the courage of the Romans was wonderfully restored after all their misfortunes, who now no longer believed that they had to do with an enemy that was invincible, but one who was liable to suffer in his turn.

For this reason the people called Marcellus, though absent, to fill the place of one of the consuls who was dead*, and prevailed, against the sense of the magistrates, to have the election put off till his return. Upon his arrival he was unanimously chosen consul; but it happening to thunder at that time, the augurs saw that the omen was unfortunate; and, as they did not choose to declare it such, for fear of the people†, Marcellus voluntarily laid down the office. Notwithstanding this, he had the command of the army continued to him in quality of pro-consul, and returned immediately to Nola, from whence he made excursions to chastise those that had declared for the Carthaginians. Hannibal made haste to their assistance, and offered him battle, which he declined. But some days after, when he saw that Hannibal, no longer expecting a battle, had sent out the greatest part of his army to plunder the country, he attacked him vigorously, having first provided the foot with long spears, such as they use in sea-fights, which they were taught to hurl at the Carthaginians at a distance, who, for their part, were not skilled in the use of the javelin, and only fought hand to hand with short swords. For this reason, all that attempted to make head against the Romans

* This was Posthumius Albinus, who was cut off with all his army by the Boii, in a vast forest called by the Gauls the forest of Litana. It seems they had cut all the trees near the road he was to pass in such a manner that they might be tumbled upon his army with the least motion.

† Marcellus was a plebeian, as was also his colleague Sempronius; and the patricians, unwilling to see two plebeians consuls at the same time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of Marcellus disagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquiesced in the declaration of the augurs, had not Marcellus showed himself on this occasion as zealous a republican as he was a great commander, and refused that honour which had not the sanction of all his fellow-citizens.

were obliged to give way, and fly in great confusion, leaving five thousand men slain upon the field*, besides the loss of four elephants killed, and two taken. What was of still greater importance, the third day after the battle †, above three hundred horse, Spaniards and Numidians, came over to Marcellus, a misfortune which never before happened to Hannibal; for though his army was collected from several barbarous nations, different both in their manners and their language, yet he had a long time preserved a perfect unanimity throughout the whole. This body of horse ever continued faithful to Marcellus, and those that succeeded him in the command ‡.

Marcellus being appointed consul the third time, passed over into Sicily ‖. For Hannibal's great success had encouraged the Carthaginians again to support their claim to that island; and they did it the rather because the affairs of Syracuse were in some confusion upon the death of Hieronymus §, its sovereign. On this account the Romans had already sent an army thither under the command of Appius Claudius ¶.

The command devolving upon Marcellus, he was no sooner arrived in Sicily, than a great number of Romans came to throw themselves at his feet, and represent to him their distress. Of those that fought against Hannibal at Cannæ, some escaped by flight, and others were

* On the Roman side there were not a thousand killed. *Liv.* lib. xxiii. c. 46.

† Livy makes them a thousand two hundred and seventy-two. It is therefore probable that we should read, in this place, *one thousand three hundred horse.*

‡ Marcellus beat Hannibal a third time before Nola: and had Claudius Nero, who was sent out to take a circuit, and attack the Carthaginians in the rear, come up in time, that day would probably have made reprisals for the loss sustained at Cannæ. *Liv.* lib. xxiv. c. 17.

‖ In the second year of the hundred and forty-first Olympiad, the five hundred and thirty-ninth of Rome, and two hundred and twelve years before the birth of Christ.

§ Hieronymus was murdered by his own subjects at Leontium, the conspirators having prevailed on Dinomanes, one of his guards, to favour their attack. He was the son of Gelo, and the grandson of Hiero. His father Gelo died first, and afterwards his grandfather, being ninety years old; and Hieronymus, who was not then fifteen, was slain some months after. These three deaths happened towards the latter end of the year that preceded Marcellus's third consulate.

¶ Appius Claudius, who was sent into Sicily in quality of prætor, was there before the death of Hieronymus. That young prince, having a turn for raillery, only laughed at the Roman ambassadors: "I will ask you," said he, "but one question; Who were conquerors at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprising things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it." And again, "Let the Romans restore all the gold, the corn, and the other presents that they drew from my grandfather, and consent that the river Himera be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the ancient treaties with them." Some writers are of opinion that the Roman prætor was not entirely unconcerned in a plot which was so useful to his republic.

taken prisoners; the latter in such numbers, that it was thought the Romans must want men to defend the walls of their capital. Yet that commonwealth had so much firmness and elevation of mind, that though Hannibal offered to release the prisoners for a very inconsiderable ransom, they refused it by a public act, and left them to be put to death, or sold out of Italy. As for those that had saved themselves by flight, they sent them into Sicily, with an order not to set foot on Italian ground during the war with Hannibal. These came to Marcellus in a body, and falling on their knees, begged, with loud lamentations and floods of tears, the favour of being admitted again into the army, promising to make it appear by their future behaviour, that that defeat was owing to their misfortune, and not to their cowardice. Marcellus, moved with compassion, wrote to the senate, desiring leave to recruit his army with these exiles, as he should find occasion. After much deliberation, the senate signified by a decree, "That the commonwealth had no need of the service of cowards; that Marcellus, however, might employ them if he pleased, but on condition that he did not bestow upon any of them crowns or other honorary rewards." This decree gave Marcellus some uneasiness, and, after his return from the war in Sicily, he expostulated with the senate, and complained, "That for all his services they would not allow him to rescue from infamy those unfortunate citizens."

His first care, after he arrived in Sicily, was to make reprisals for the injury received from Hippocrates, the Syracusan general, who, to gratify the Carthaginians, and by their means to set himself up tyrant, had attacked the Romans, and killed great numbers of them, in the district of Leontium. Marcellus, therefore, laid siege to that city, and took it by storm, but did no harm to the inhabitants; only such deserters as he found there, he ordered to be beaten with rods, and then put to death. Hippocrates took care to give the Syracusans the first notice of the taking of Leontium, assuring them, at the same time, that Marcellus had put to the sword all that were able to bear arms; and while they were under great consternation at this news, he came suddenly upon the city, and made himself master of it.

Hereupon Marcellus marched with his whole army, and encamped before Syracuse; but, before he attempted any thing against it, he sent ambassadors with a true account of what he had done at Leontium. As this information had no effect with the Syracusans, who were entirely in the power of Hippocrates*, he made his attacks both

* Hieronymus being assassinated, and the commonwealth restored, Hippocrates and Epicydes, Hannibal's agents, being of Syracusan extraction, had the address to get themselves admitted into the number of prætors. In consequence of which, they found means

by sea and land; Appius Claudius commanding the land-forces, and himself the fleet, which consisted of sixty galleys of five banks of oars, full of all sorts of arms and missive weapons. Besides these, he had a prodigious machine, carried upon eight galleys fastened together, with which he approached the walls, relying upon the number of his batteries and other instruments of war, as well as on his own great character. But Archimedes despised all this, and confided in the superiority of his engines, though he did not think the inventing of them an object worthy of his serious studies, but only reckoned them among the amusements of geometry. Nor had he gone so far, but at the pressing instances of king Hiero, who entreated him to turn his art from abstracted notions to matters of sense, and to make his reasonings more intelligible to the generality of mankind, applying them to the uses of common sense.

The first that turned their thoughts to *mechanics*, a branch of knowledge which came afterwards to be so much admired, were Eudoxus and Archytas, who thus gave a variety and an agreeable turn to geometry, and confirmed certain problems by sensible experiments, and the use of instruments, which could not be demonstrated in the way of theory. That problem, for example, of two mean proportional lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet are so necessary for the solution of other questions, they solved mechanically, by the assistance of certain instruments called *mesolabes*, taken from conic sections. But when Plato inveighed against them with great indignation, as corrupting and debasing the excellence of geometry, by making her descend from incorporeal and intellectual to coporeal and sensible things, and obliging her to make use of matter which requires much manual labour, and is the object of servile trades; then *mechanics* were separated from geometry, and, being a long time despised by the philosopher, were considered as a branch of the military art.

Be that as it may, Archimedes one day asserted to king Hiero, whose kinsman and friend he was, this proposition, that with a given power he could move any given weight whatever; nay, it is said, from the confidence he had in his demonstration, he ventured to affirm, that if there was another earth besides this we inhabit, by going into that, he would move this wherever he pleased. Hiero, full of wonder, begged of him to evince the truth of his proposition, by moving some great weight with a small power. In compliance with which, Archimedes caused one of the king's galleys to be drawn on shore with many hands and much labour; and having well man-

to embroil the Syracusans with Rome, in spite of the opposition of such of the prætors as had the interest of their country at heart.

ned her, and put on board her usual loading, he placed himself at a distance, and without any pains, only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which consisted of a variety of ropes and pullies, he drew her to him in as smooth and gentle a manner as if she had been under sail. The king, quite astonished when he saw the force of his art, prevailed with Archimedes to make for him all manner of engines and machines which could be used either for attack or defence in a siege. These, however, he never made use of, the greatest part of his reign being blest with tranquillity; but they were extremely serviceable to the Syracusans on the present occasion, who, with such a number of machines, had the inventor to direct them.

When the Romans attacked them both by sea and land, they were struck dumb with terror, imagining they could not possibly resist such numerous forces and so furious an assault. But Archimedes soon began to play his engines, and they shot against the land-forces all sorts of missive weapons, and stones of an enormous size, with so incredible a noise and rapidity, that nothing could stand before them; they overturned and crushed whatever came in their way, and spread terrible disorder throughout the ranks. On the side towards the sea were erected vast machines, putting forth on a sudden, over the walls, huge beams with the necessary tackle, which striking with a prodigious force on the enemy's galleys, sunk them at once; while other ships, hoisted up at the prows by iron grapples or hooks*, like the beaks of cranes, and set on end on the stern, were plunged to the bottom of the sea; and others again, by ropes and grapples, were drawn towards the shore, and after being whirled about, and dashed against the rocks that projected below the walls, were broken to pieces, and the crews perished. Very often a ship lifted high above the sea, suspended and twirling in the air, presented a most dreadful spectacle. There it swung till the men were thrown out by the violence of the motion, and then it split against the walls, or sunk on the engine's letting go its hold. As for the machine which Marcellus brought forward upon eight galleys, and which was called *sambuca*, on account of its likeness to a musical instrument of that name, whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged

* What most harassed the Romans was a sort of crow with two claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the galleys. Then the besieged, by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever, weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same time into the water. After this the crow letting go its old all on a sudden, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water, and sunk.

a stone of ten talents weight*, and after that a second and a third, all which striking upon it with an amazing noise and force, shattered and totally disjointed it.

Marcellus, in this distress, drew off his galleys as fast as possible, and sent orders to the land-forces to retreat likewise. He then called a council of war, in which it was resolved to come close to the walls, if it was possible, next morning before day; for Archimedes's engines they thought, being very strong, and intended to act at a considerable distance, would then discharge themselves over their heads; and if they were pointed at them when they were so near, they would have no effect. But for this Archimedes had long been prepared, having by him engines fitted to all distances, with suitable weapons and shorter beams. Besides, he had caused holes to be made in the walls, in which he placed *scorpions* that did not carry far, but could be very quickly discharged; and by these the enemy was galled, without knowing whence the weapon came.

When, therefore, the Romans were got close to the walls undiscovered, as they thought, they were welcomed with a shower of darts, and huge pieces of rocks, which fell as it were perpendicularly upon their heads; for the engines played from every quarter of the walls. This obliged them to retire; and when they were at some distance, other shafts were shot at them in their retreat from the larger machines, which made terrible havock among them, as well as greatly damaged their shipping, without any possibility of their annoying the Syracusans in their turn. For Archimedes had placed most of his engines under covert of the walls; so that the Romans being infinitely distressed by an invisible enemy, seemed to fight against the gods.

Marcellus, however, got off, and laughed at his own artillery-men and engineers. "Why do not we leave off contending," said he, "with this mathematical Briareus, who, sitting on the shore, and acting as it were but in jest, has shamefully baffled our naval assault; and, in striking us with such a multitude of bolts at once, exceeds even the hundred-handed giant in the fable?" And, in truth, all the rest of the Syracusans were no more than the body in the bat-

* It is not easy to conceive how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw stones of ten quintals or talents, that is, twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight, at the ships of Marcellus, when they were at a considerable distance from the walls. The account which Polybius gives us is much more probable. He says, that the stones that were thrown by the *balistæ* made by Archimedes were of the weight of ten pounds. Livy seems to agree with Polybius. Indeed, if we suppose that Plutarch did not mean the talent of a hundred and twenty-five pounds, but the talent of Sicily, which some say weighed twenty-five pounds, and others only ten, his account comes more within the bounds of probability.

teries of Archimedes, while he himself was the informing soul: all other weapons lay idle and unemployed; his were the only offensive and defensive arms of the city. At last the Romans were so terrified, that if they saw but a rope or a stick put over the walls, they cried out that Archimedes was levelling some machine at them, and turned their backs and fled. Marcellus, seeing this, gave up all thoughts of proceeding by assault, and leaving the matter to time, turned the siege into a blockade.

Yet Archimedes had such a depth of understanding, such a dignity of sentiment, and so copious a fund of mathematical knowledge, that though in the invention of these machines he gained the reputation of a man endowed with divine rather than human knowledge, yet he did not vouchsafe to leave any account of them in writing; for he considered all attention to *mechanics*, and every art that ministers to common uses, as mean and sordid, and placed his whole delight in those intellectual speculations which, without any relation to the necessities of life, have an intrinsic excellence arising from truth ad demonstration only. Indeed, if mechanical knowledge is valuable for the curious frame and amazing power of those machines which it produces, the other infinitely excels on account of its invincible force and conviction. And certain it is, that abstruse and profound questions in geometry are no where solved by a more simple process, and upon clearer principles, than in the writings of Archimedes. Some ascribe this to the acuteness of his genius, and others to his indefatigable industry, by which he made things that cost a great deal of pains appear unlaboured and easy. In fact, it is almost impossible for a man of himself to find out the demonstration of his propositions, but as soon as he has learned it from him, he will think he could have done it without assistance; such a ready and easy way does he lead us to what he wants to prove.—We are not, therefore, to reject as incredible what is related of him, that, being perpetually charmed by a domestic syren, that is, his geometry, he neglected his meat and drink, and took no care of his person; that he was often carried by force to the baths, and, when there, he would make mathematical figures in the ashes, and with his finger draw lines upon his body when it was anointed; so much was he transported with intellectual delight, such an enthusiast in science. And though he was the author of many curious and excellent discoveries, yet he is said to have desired his friends only to place on his tomb-stone a cylinder containing a sphere*, and to set down the proportion which the contain-

* Cicero, when he was quæstor in Sicily, discovered this monument, and showed it to the Syracusans, who knew not that it was in being. He says there were verses in-

ing solid bears to the contained. Such was Archimedes, who exerted all his skill to defend himself and the town against the Romans.

During the siege of Syracuse, Marcellus went against Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily, and took it. He also fell upon Hippocrates, as he was intrenching himself at Acrillæ, and killed above eight thousand of his men*. Nay, he overran the greatest part of Sicily, brought over several cities from the Carthaginian interest, and beat all that attempted to face him in the field.

Some time after, when he returned to Syracuse, he surprised one Damippus, a Spartan, as he was sailing out of the harbour; and the Syracusans being very desirous to ransom him, several conferences were held about it; in one of which Marcellus took notice of a tower but slightly guarded, into which a number of men might be privately conveyed, the wall that led to it being easy to be scaled. As they often met to confer at the foot of this tower, he made a good estimate of its height, and provided himself with proper scaling-ladders: and observing that on the festival of Diana the Syracusans drank freely, and gave a loose to mirth, he not only possessed himself of the tower undiscovered, but before day-light filled the walls of that quarter with soldiers, and forcibly entered the Hexapylum. The Syracusans, as soon as they perceived it, began to move about in great confusion; but Marcellus ordering all the trumpets to sound at once, they were seized with consternation, and betook themselves to flight, believing that the whole city was lost. However, the Achradina, which was the strongest, the most extensive, and fairest part of it, was not taken, being divided by walls from the rest of the city, one part of which was called Neapolis, and the other Tyche. The enterprise thus prospering, Marcellus at day-break moved down from

scribed upon it, expressing that a cylinder and a sphere had been put upon the tomb; the proportion between which two solids Archimedes first discovered. From the death of this great mathematician, which fell out in the year of Rome five hundred and forty-two, to the quæstorship of Cicero, which was in the year of Rome six hundred and seventy-eight, a hundred and thirty-six years were elapsed. Though time had not quite obliterated the cylinder and the sphere, it had put an end to the learning of Syracuse, once so respectable in the republic of letters.

* Himilco had entered the port of Heraclea with a numerous fleet sent from Carthage, and landed twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. His forces were no sooner put on shore, than he marched against Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with several other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Hereupon the Syracusan garrison, which was yet entire, determined to send out Hippocrates with ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to join Himilco. Marcellus, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, was returning to Syracuse. As he drew near Acrillæ, he unexpectedly discovered Hippocrates busy in fortifying his camp, fell upon him before he had time to draw up his army, and cut eight thousand of them in pieces.

the Hexapylum into the city, where he was congratulated by his officers on the great event*. But it is said that he himself, when he surveyed from an eminence that great and magnificent city, shed many tears in pity of its impending fate, reflecting into what a scene of misery and desolation its fair appearance would be changed, when it came to be sacked and plundered by the soldiers: for the troops demanded the plunder, and not one of the officers durst oppose it. Many even insisted that the city should be burnt and levelled with the ground: but to this Marcellus, absolutely refused his consent. It was with reluctance that he gave up the effects and the slaves; and he strictly charged the soldiers not to touch any free man or woman, nor to kill or abuse or make a slave of any citizen whatever.

But, though he acted with so much moderation, the city had harder measures than he wished, and, amidst the great and general joy, his soul sympathized with its sufferings, when he considered that in a few hours the prosperity of such a flourishing state would be no more. It is even said that the plunder of Syracuse was as rich as that of Carthage after it†: for the rest of the city was soon betrayed

* Epipolæ was entered in the night, and Tyche next morning. Epipolæ was encompassed with the same wall as Ortygia, Achradina, Tyche, and Neapolis; had its own citadel, called Euryalum, on the top of a steep rock, and was, as we may say, a fifth city.

† The siege of Syracuse lasted in the whole three years; no small part of which passed after Marcellus entered Tyche. As Plutarch has run so slightly over the subsequent events, it may not be amiss to give a summary detail of them from Livy.

Epicydes, who had his head-quarters in the farthest part of Ortygia, hearing that the Romans had seized on Epipolæ and Tyche, went to drive them from their posts; but finding much greater numbers than he expected had got into the town, after a slight skirmish he retired. Marcellus, unwilling to destroy the city, tried gentle methods with the inhabitants; but the Syracusans rejected his proposals; and their general appointed the Roman deserters to guard Achradina, which they did with extreme care, knowing that, if the town were taken by composition, they must die. Marcellus then turned his arms against the fortress of Euryalum, which he hoped to reduce in a short time by famine. Philodemus, who commanded there, kept him in play some time, in hopes of succours from Hippocrates and Himilco; but finding himself disappointed, he surrendered the place on condition of being allowed to march out with his men, and join Epicydes. Marcellus, now master of Euryalum, blocked up Achradina so close, that it could not hold out long without new supplies of men and provisions. But Hippocrates and Himilco soon arrived; and it was resolved that Hippocrates should attack the old camp of the Romans without the walls, commanded by Crispinus, while Epicydes sallied out upon Marcellus. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him up to his intrenchments; and Epicydes was forced to return into Achradina with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by Marcellus. The unfortunate Syracusans were now in the greatest distress for want of provisions; and, to complete their misery, a plague broke out among them; of which Himilco and Hippocrates died, with many

to the Romans and pillaged; only the royal treasure was preserved, and carried into the public treasury at Rome.

But what most of all afflicted Marcellus was the unhappy fate of Archimedes, who was at that time in his study, engaged in some mathematical researches; and his mind, as well as his eye, was so intent upon his diagram, that he neither heard the tumultuous noise of the Romans, nor perceived that the city was taken. A soldier suddenly entered his room, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus; and Archimedes refusing to do it till he had finished his problem, and brought his demonstration to bear, the soldier in a passion drew his sword and killed him. Others say, the soldier came up to him at first with a drawn sword to kill him, and Archimedes perceiving him, begged he would hold his hand a moment, that he might not leave his theorem imperfect; but the soldier, neither regarding him nor his theorem, laid him dead at his feet. A third account of the matter is, that as Archimedes was carrying in a box some mathematical instruments to Marcellus, as sun-dials, spheres, and quadrants, by which the eye might measure the magnitude of the sun, some soldiers met him, and imagining that there was gold in the box, took away his life for it. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that Marcellus was much concerned at his death, that he turned away his face from the murderer, as from an impious and execrable person; and that, having by inquiry found out his relations, he bestowed upon them many signal favours.

Hitherto the Romans had shown other nations their abilities to plan, and their courage to execute, but they had given them no proof

thousands more. Hereupon Bomilcar sailed to Carthage again for fresh supplies; and returned to Sicily with a large fleet; but hearing of the great preparations of the Romans at sea, and probably fearing the event of a battle, he unexpectedly steered away. Epicydes, who was gone out to meet him, was afraid to return into a city half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to Agrigentum. The Syracusans then assassinated the governors left by Epicydes, and proposed to submit to Marcellus: for which purpose they sent deputies, who were graciously received. But the garrison, which consisted of Roman deserters and mercenaries, raising fresh disturbances, killed the officers appointed by the Syracusans, and chose six new ones of their own. Among these was a Spaniard named Mexicus, a man of great integrity, who, disapproving of the cruelties of his party, determined to give up the place to Marcellus. In pursuance of which, under pretences of greater care than ordinary, he desired that each governor might have the sole direction in his own quarter; which gave him an opportunity to open the gate of Arethusa to the Roman general. And now Marcellus, being at length become master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good-nature. He suffered the Roman deserters to escape; for he was unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. No wonder then if he spared the lives of the Syracusans and their children: though, as he told them, the services which good king Hiero had rendered Rome were exceeded by the insults they had offered her in a few years.

of their clemency, their humanity, or, in one word, of their political virtue.—Marcellus seems to have been the first who made it appear to the Greeks that the Romans had greater regard to equity than they: for such was his goodness to those that addressed him, and so many benefits did he confer upon cities as well as private persons, that if Enna, Megara, and Syracuse, were treated harshly, the blame of that severity was rather to be charged on the sufferers themselves, than on those who chastised them.

I shall mention one of the many instances of this great man's moderation. There is in Sicily a town called Enguium, not large indeed, but very ancient, and celebrated for the appearances of the goddesses called the *Mothers**. The temple is said to have been built by the Cretans, and they show some spears and brazen helmets inscribed with the names of Meriones and Ulysses, who consecrated them to those goddesses. This town was strongly inclined to favour the Carthaginians; but Nicias, one of its principal inhabitants, endeavoured to persuade them to go over to the Romans, declaring his sentiments freely in their public assemblies, and proving that his opposers consulted not their true interests. These men, fearing his authority and the influence of his character, resolved to carry him off, and put him in the hands of the Carthaginians. Nicias, apprised of it, took measures for his security, without seeming to do so. He publicly gave out unbecoming speeches against the *Mothers*, as if he disbelieved and made light of the received opinion concerning the presence of those goddesses there. Meantime his enemies rejoiced that he himself furnished them with sufficient reasons for the worst they could do to him. On the day which they had fixed for seizing him, there happened to be an assembly of the people, and Nicias was in the midst of them, treating about some public business. But on a sudden he threw himself upon the ground in the midst of his discourse, and, after having lain there some time without speaking, as if he had been in a trance, he lifted up his head, and, turning it round, began to speak with a feeble trembling voice, which he raised by degrees; and when he saw the whole assembly struck dumb with horror, he threw off his mantle, tore his vest in pieces, and ran half-naked to one of the doors of the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by the *Mothers*. From a scruple of religion no one durst touch or stop him: all, therefore, making way, he reached one of the city-gates, though he no longer used any word or action, like one that was heaven-struck and distracted. His wife, who was in

* These are supposed to be Cybele, Juno, and Ceres. Cicero mentions a temple of Cybele at Enguium.

the secret, and assisted in the stratagem, took her children, and went and prostrated herself as a supplicant before the altars of the goddesses: then pretending that she was going to seek her husband, who was wandering about in the fields, she met with no opposition, but got safe out of the town; and so both of them escaped to Marcellus at Syracuse. The people of Enguium adding many other insults and misdemeanors to their past faults, Marcellus came and had them loaded with irons, in order to punish them. But Nicias approached him with tears in his eyes, and kissing his hands and embracing his knees, asked pardon for all the citizens, and for his enemies first. Hereupon Marcellus relenting, set them all at liberty, and suffered not his troops to commit the least disorder in the city: at the same time he bestowed on Nicias a large track of land and many rich gifts. These particulars we learn from Posidonius the philosopher.

Marcellus*, after this, being called home to a war in the heart of Italy, carried with him the most valuable of the statues and paintings in Syracuse, that they might embellish his triumph, and be an ornament to Rome: for before this time that city neither had nor knew any curiosities of this kind, being a stranger to the charms of taste and elegance. Full of arms taken from barbarous nations, and of bloody spoils, and crowned as she was with trophies and other monuments of her triumphs, she afforded not a cheerful and pleasing spectacle, fit for men brought up in ease and luxury, but her look was awful and severe. And as Epaminondas calls the plains of Bœotia *the orchestra, or stage of* Mars, and Xenophon says Ephesus was *the arsenal of war,* so, in my opinion (to use the expression of Pindar,) one might then have styled Rome the *temple of frowning* MARS.

Thus Marcellus was more acceptable to the people, because he adorned the city with curiosities in the Grecian taste, whose variety, as well as elegance, was very agreeable to the spectator. But the graver citizens preferred Fabius Maximus, who, when he took Tarentum, brought nothing of that kind away. The money, indeed, and other rich moveables, he carried off, but he let the statues and pictures remain, using this memorable expression, *Let us leave the Tarentines their angry deities.* They blamed the proceedings of Marcellus in the first place as very invidious for Rome, because he had led not only men, but the very gods in triumph; and their next charge was, that he had spoiled a people inured to agriculture and

* Marcellus, before he left Sicily, gained a considerable victory over Epicydes and Hanno; he slew great numbers, and took many prisoners, besides eight elephants. *Liv.* l. xxv. c. 40.

war; wholly unacquainted with luxury and sloth, and, as Euripides says of Hercules,

> In vice untaught, but skill'd where glory led
> To arduous enterprise,

by furnishing them with an occasion of idleness and vain discourse; for they now began to spend great part of the day in disputing about arts and artists. But, notwithstanding such censures, this was the very thing that Marcellus valued himself upon, even to the Greeks themselves, that he was the first who taught the Romans to esteem and to admire the exquisite performances of Greece, which were hitherto unknown to them.

Finding, at his return, that his enemies opposed his triumph, and considering that the war was not quite finished in Sicily, as well as that a third triumph might expose him to the envy of his fellow-citizens, he so far yielded as to content himself with leading up the greater triumph on Mount Alba, and entering Rome with the less. The less is called by the Greeks *evan*, and by the Romans *ovation*. In this the general does not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses; he is not crowned with laurel, nor has he trumpets sounding before him, but he walks in sandals, attended with the music of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle; his appearance, therefore, having nothing in it warlike, is rather pleasing than formidable. This is to me a plain proof that triumphs of old were distinguished not by the importance of the achievement, but by the manner of its performance: for those that subdued their enemies, by fighting battles and spilling much blood, entered with that warlike and dreadful pomp of the greater triumph, and, as is customary in the lustration of an army, wore crowns of laurel, and adorned their arms with the same. But when a general, without fighting, gained his point by treaty and force of persuasion, the law decreed him this honour, called *Ovation*, which had more the appearance of a festival than of war: for the flute is an instrument used in time of peace; and the myrtle is the tree of Venus, who, of all the deities, is most averse to violence and war.

Now the term *ovation* is not derived (as most authors think) from the word *evan*, which is uttered in shouts of joy, for they have the same shouts and songs in the other triumph; but the Greeks have wrested it to a word well known in their language, believing that this procession is intended, in some measure, in honour of Bacchus, whom they call *Evius* and *Thriambus*. The truth of the matter is this: it was customary for the generals, in the greater triumphs, to sacrifice an ox; and in the less a sheep, in Latin *ovis*, whence the word *ovation*. On this occasion it is worth our while to observe how

different the institutions of the Spartan legislator were from those of the Roman, with respect to sacrifices. In Sparta, the general who put a period to a war by policy or persuasion, sacrificed a bullock; but he whose success was owing to force of arms, offered only a cock: for though they were a very warlike people, they thought it more honourable and more worthy of a human being to succeed by eloquence and wisdom, than by courage and force. But this point I leave to be considered by the reader.

When Marcellus was chosen consul the fourth time, the Syracusans, at the instigation of his enemies, came to Rome to accuse him, and to complain to the senate that he had treated them in a cruel manner, and contrary to the faith of treaties*. It happened that Marcellus was at that time in the Capitol offering sacrifice. The Syracusan deputies went immediately to the senate, who were yet sitting, and falling on their knees, begged of them to hear their complaints, and to do them justice: but the other consul repulsed them with indignation, because Marcellus was not there to defend himself. Marcellus, however, being informed of it, came with all possible expedition, and having seated himself in his chair of state, first dispatched some public business as consul. When that was over, he came down from his seat, and went as a private person to the place appointed for the accused to make their defence in, giving the Syracusans opportunity to make good their charge. But they were greatly confounded to see the dignity and unconcern with which he behaved; and he who had been irresistible in arms, was still more awful and terrible to behold in his robe of purple.—Nevertheless, encouraged by his enemies, they opened the accusation in a speech mingled with lamentations, the sum of which was, "That, though friends and allies of Rome, they had suffered more damage from Marcellus than some other generals had permitted to be done to a conquered enemy." To this Marcellus made answer†, "That, notwithstanding the many instances of their criminal behaviour to the Romans, they had suffered nothing but what it is impossible to prevent when a city is taken by storm; and that Syracuse was so taken, was entirely their own fault, because he had often summoned it to surrender, and they refused to listen to him. That, in

* The Syracusans were scarce arrived at Rome, before the consuls drew lots for their provinces, and Sicily fell to Marcellus. This was a great stroke to the Syracusan deputies, and they would not have dared to prosecute their charge, had not Marcellus voluntarily offered to change the provinces.

† When the Syracusans had finished their accusations against Marcellus, his colleague Lævinus ordered them to withdraw; but Marcellus desired they might stay and hear his defence.

short, they were not forced by their tyrants to commit hostilities, but they had themselves set up tyrants for the sake of going to war."

The reasons on both sides thus heard, the Syracusans, according to the custom in that case, withdrew, and Marcellus went out with them, leaving it to his colleague to collect the votes. While he stood at the door of the senate-house*, he was neither moved with the fear of the issue of the cause, nor with resentment against the Syracusans, so as to change his usual deportment, but with great mildness and decorum he waited for the event. When the cause was decided, and he was declared to have gained it†, the Syracusans fell at his feet, and besought him with tears to pardon not only those that were present, but to take compassion on the rest of their citizens, who would ever acknowledge with gratitude the favour. Marcellus, moved with their entreaties, not only pardoned the deputies, but continued his protection to the other Syracusans; and the senate, approving the privileges he had granted, confirmed to them their liberty, their laws, and the possessions that remained to them. For this reason, besides other signal honours with which they distinguished Marcellus, they made a law, that whenever he or any of his descendants entered Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands, and offer sacrifices to the gods.

After this Marcellus marched against Hannibal. And though almost all the other consuls and generals, after the defeat at Cannæ, availed themselves of the single art of avoiding an engagement with the Carthaginian, and not one of them durst meet him fairly in the field, Marcellus took quite a different course. He was of opinion, that instead of Hannibal's being worn out by length of time, the strength of Italy would be insensibly wasted by him; and that the slow cautious maxims of Fabius were not fit to cure the malady of his country; since, by pursuing them, the flames of war could not be extinguished, until Italy was consumed; just as timorous physicians neglect to apply strong, though necessary remedies, thinking the distemper will abate with the strength of the patient.

In the first place, he recovered the best towns of the Samnites

* While the cause was debating, he went to the Capitol to take the names of the new levies.

† The conduct of Marcellus, on the taking of Syracuse, was not entirely approved of at Rome. Some of the senators, remembering the attachment which king Hiero had on all occasions shown to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his rapacious soldiers. The Syracusans were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries; and therefore were obliged, against their will, to yield to the times, and obey the ministers of Hannibal, who commanded the army.

which had revolted. In them he found considerable magazines of corn and a great quantity of money, besides making three thousand of Hannibal's men, who garrisoned them, prisoners. In the next place, when Cneius Fulvius the pro-consul, with eleven tribunes, was slain, and great part of his army cut in pieces by Hannibal in Apulia, Marcellus sent letters to Rome to exhort the citizens to be of good courage, for he himself was on his march to drive Hannibal out of the country. The reading of these letters, Livy tells us, was so far from removing their grief, that it added terror to it, the Romans reckoning the present danger as much greater than the past, as Marcellus was a greater man than Fulvius.

Marcellus then going in quest of Hannibal, according to his promise, entered Lucania, and found him encamped on inaccessible heights near the city Numistro. Marcellus himself pitched his tents on the plain, and the next day was the first to draw up his forces in order of battle. Hannibal declined not the combat, but descended from the hills, and a battle ensued, which was not decisive indeed, but great and bloody; for though the action began at the third hour, it was with difficulty that night put a stop to it. Next morning, at break of day, Marcellus again drew up his army, and posting it among the dead bodies, challenged Hannibal to dispute it with him for the victory: but Hannibal chose to draw off, and Marcellus, after he had gathered the spoils of the enemy, and buried his own dead, marched in pursuit of him. Though the Carthaginian laid many snares for him, he escaped them all; and having the advantage, too, in all skirmishes, his success was looked upon with admiration. Therefore, when the time of the next election came on, the senate thought proper to call the other consul out of Sicily, rather than draw off Marcellus, who was grappling with Hannibal. When he was arrived, they ordered him to declare Quintus Fulvius dictator. For a DICTATOR is not named either by the people or the senate, but one of the consuls or prætors, advancing into the assembly, names whom he pleases. Hence some think the term *Dictator* comes from *dicere*, which in Latin signifies *to name*; but others assert that the *dictator* is so called, because he refers nothing to plurality of voices in the senate, or to the suffrages of the people, but gives his orders at his own pleasure; for the orders of magistrates, which the Greeks call *diatagmata*, the Romans call *edicta*, edicts.

The colleague * of Marcellus was disposed to appoint another

* Lævinus, who was the colleague of Marcellus, wanted to name M. Valerius Messala dictator. As he left Rome abruptly, and enjoined the prætor not to name Fulvius, the tribunes of the people took upon them to do it, and the senate got the nomination confirmed by the consul Marcellus.

person dictator, and that he might not be obliged to depart from his own opinion, he left Rome by night, and sailed back to Sicily. The people, therefore, named Quintus Fulvius dictator, and the senate wrote to Marcellus to confirm the nomination, which he did accordingly.

Marcellus was appointed pro-consul for the year following; and having agreed with Fabius Maximus the consul, by letters, that Fabius should besiege Tarentum, while himself was to watch the motions of Hannibal, and prevent his relieving the place, he marched after him with all diligence, and came up with him at Canusium. And as Hannibal shifted his camp continually, to avoid coming to a battle, Marcellus watched him closely, and took care to keep him in sight. At last coming up with him as he was encamping, he so harassed him with skirmishes, that he drew him to an engagement; but night soon came on, and parted the combatants. Next morning early, he drew his army out of the intrenchments, and put them in order of battle, so that Hannibal, in great vexation, assembled the Carthaginians, and begged of them to exert themselves more in that battle, than ever they had done before. "For you see," said he, "that we can neither take breath after so many victories already gained, nor enjoy the least leisure if we are victorious now, unless this man be driven off."

After this a battle ensued, in which Marcellus seems to have miscarried by an unseasonable movement*: for, seeing his right wing hard pressed, he ordered one of the legions to advance to the front to support them. This movement put the whole army into disorder, and decided the day in favour of the enemy; two thousand seven hundred Romans being slain upon the spot. Marcellus retreated into his camp, and having summoned his troops together, told them, "He saw the arms and bodies of Romans in abundance before him, but not one Roman." On their begging pardon, he said, "He would not forgive them while vanquished, but when they came to be victorious, he would; and that he would lead them into the field again the next day, that the news of the victory might reach Rome before that of their flight." Before he dismissed them, he gave orders that barley should be measured out, instead of wheat†, to those companies that had turned their backs. His reprimand made such an im-

* The movement was not unseasonable, but ill executed. Livy says, the right wing gave way faster than they needed to have done, and the eighteenth legion, which was ordered to advance from rear to front, moved too slowly: this occasioned the disorder.

† This was a common punishment. Besides which, he ordered that the officers of those companies should continue all day long with their swords drawn, and without their girdles. *Liv.* xxvii. c. 13.

pression on them, that though many were dangerously wounded, there was not a man who did not feel more pain from the words of Marcellus, than he did from his wounds.

Next morning the scarlet robe, which was the ordinary signal of battle, was hung out betimes; and the companies that had come off with dishonour before obtained leave, at their earnest request, to be posted in the foremost line; after which the tribunes drew up the rest of the troops in their proper order. When this was reported to Hannibal, he said, "Ye gods, what can one do with a man who is not affected with either good or bad fortune? This is the only man who will neither give any time to rest when he is victorious, nor take any when he is beaten. We must even resolve to fight with him for ever; since, whether prosperous or unsuccessful, a principle of honour leads him on to new attempts and further exertions of courage."

Both armies then engaged, and Hannibal, seeing no advantage gained by either, ordered his elephants to be brought forward into the first line, and to be pushed against the Romans. The shock caused great confusion at first in the Roman front; but Flavius, a tribune, snatching an ensign-staff from one of the companies, advanced, and with the point of it wounded the foremost elephant. The beast upon this turned back, and ran upon the second, the second upon the next that followed, and so on till they were all put in great disorder. Marcellus, observing this, ordered his horse to fall furiously upon the enemy, and, taking advantage of the confusion already made, to rout them entirely. Accordingly they charged with extraordinary vigour, and drove the Carthaginians to their intrenchments. The slaughter was dreadful, and the fall of the killed, and the plunging of the wounded elephants, contributed greatly to it. It is said that more than eight thousand Carthaginians fell in this battle; of the Romans not above three thousand were slain, but almost all the rest were wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to decamp silently in the night, and remove to a great distance from Marcellus, who, by reason of the number of his wounded, was not able to pursue him, but retired, by easy marches, into Campania, and passed the summer in the city of Sinuessa*, to recover and refresh his soldiers.

Hannibal, thus disengaged from Marcellus, made use of his troops, now at liberty, and securely overran the country, burning and destroying all before him. This gave occasion to unfavourable reports of Marcellus at Rome; and his enemies incited Publius Bibulus,

* Livy says, in Venusia, which, being much nearer Cannæum, was more convenient for the wounded men to retire to.

one of the tribunes of the people, a man of violent temper, and a vehement speaker, to accuse him in form. Accordingly Bibulus often assembled the people, and endeavoured to persuade them to take the command from him, and give it to another: "Since Marcellus," said he, "has only exchanged a few thrusts with Hannibal, and then left the stage, and is gone to the hot baths to refresh himself*."

When Marcellus was apprised of these practices against him, he left his army in charge with his lieutenants, and went to Rome to make his defence. On his arrival, he found an impeachment framed out of these calumnies.—And the day fixed for it being come, and the people assembled in the Flaminian circus, Bibulus ascended the tribune's seat, and set forth his charge. Marcellus's answer was plain and short; but many persons of distinction among the citizens exerted themselves greatly, and spoke with much freedom, exhorting the people not to judge worse of Marcellus than the enemy himself had done, by fixing a mark of cowardice upon the only general whom Hannibal shunned, and used as much art and care to avoid fighting with, as he did to seek the combat with others. These remonstrances had such an effect, that the accuser was totally disappointed in his expectations, for Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charge, but a fifth time chosen consul.

As soon as he had entered upon his office, he visited the cities of Tuscany, and by his personal influence allayed a dangerous commotion that tended to a revolt. At his return he was desirous to dedicate to HONOUR and VIRTUE the temple which he had built out of the Sicilian spoils, but was opposed by the priests, who would not consent that two deities should be contained in one temple †. Taking this opposition ill, and considering it as ominous, he began another temple.

There were many other prodigies that gave him uneasiness. Some temples were struck with lightning; in that of Jupiter rats gnawed the gold; it was even reported that an ox spoke, and that there was a child living which was born with an elephant's head; and when the expiation of these prodigies was attempted, there were no tokens of

* There were hot baths near Sinuessa, but none near Venusia. Therefore, if Marcellus went to the latter place, this satirical stroke was not applicable. Accordingly Livy does not apply it; he only makes Bibulus say, that Marcellus passed the summer in quarters.

† They said, if the temple should be struck with thunder and lightning, or any other prodigy should happen to it that wanted expiation, they should not know to which of the deities they ought to offer the expiatory sacrifice. Marcellus, therefore, to satisfy the priests, began another temple, and the work was carried on with great diligence; but he did not live to dedicate it. His son consecrated both the temples about four years after.

success. The *augurs*, therefore, kept him in Rome, notwithstanding his impatience and eagerness to be gone; for never was man so passionately desirous of any thing as he was of fighting a decisive battle with Hannibal. It was his dream by night, the subject of conversation all day with his friends and colleagues, and his sole request to the gods, that he might meet Hannibal fairly in the field. Nay, I verily believe he would have been glad to have had both armies surrounded with a wall or intrenchment, and to have fought in that enclosure. Indeed, had he not already attained to such a height of glory, had he not given so many proofs of his equalling the best generals in prudence and discretion, I should think he gave way to a sanguine and extravagant ambition, unsuitable to his years; for he was above sixty when he entered upon his fifth consulate.

At last the expiatory sacrifices being such as the soothsayers approved, he set out with his colleague to prosecute the war, and fixed his camp between Bantia and Venusia. There he tried every method to provoke Hannibal to a battle, which he constantly declined. But the Carthaginian perceiving that the consuls had ordered some troops to go and lay siege to the city of the *Epizephyrians*, or Western Locrians*, he laid an ambuscade on their way, under the hill of Petelia, and killed two thousand five hundred of them. This added stings to Marcellus's desire of an engagement, and made him draw nearer to the enemy.

Between the two armies was a hill, which afforded a pretty strong post; it was covered with thickets, and on both sides were hollows, from whence issued springs and rivulets. The Romans were surprised that Hannibal, who came first to so advantageous a place, did not take possession of it, but left it for the enemy. He did, indeed, think it a good place for a camp, but a better for an ambuscade, and to that use he chose to put it. He filled, therefore, the thickets and hollows with a good number of archers and spearmen, assuring himself that the convenience of the post would draw the Romans to it. Nor was he mistaken in his conjecture. Presently nothing was talked of in the Roman army but the expediency of seizing this hill; and, as if they had been all generals, they set forth the many advantages they should have over the enemy, by encamping, or at least raising a fortification on it. Thus Marcellus was induced to go with a few horse to take a view of the hill; but, before he went, he offered sacrifice. In the first victim that was slain, the diviner showed him the liver without a head; in the second the head was very plump and

* This was not a detachment from the forces of the consuls, which they did not choose to weaken when in sight of such an enemy as Hannibal. It consisted of troops drawn from Sicily, and from the garrison of Tarentum.

large, and the other tokens appearing remarkably good, seemed sufficient to dispel the fears of the first; but the diviners declared they were the more alarmed on that very account; for when favourable signs on a sudden follow threatening and inauspicious ones, the strangeness of the alteration should rather be suspected. But, as Pinder says,

> Nor fire nor walls of triple brass
> Controul the high behests of fate.

He therefore set out to view the place, taking with him his colleague Crispinus, his son Marcellus, who was a tribune, and only two hundred and twenty horse, among whom there was not one Roman; they were all Tuscans, except forty Fregellanians, of whose courage and fidelity he had sufficient experience. On the summit of the hill, which, as we said before, was covered with trees and bushes, the enemy had placed a sentinel, who, without being seen himself, could see every movement in the Roman camp. Those that lay in ambush, having intelligence from him of what was doing, lay close till Marcellus came very near, and then all at once rushed out, spread themselves about him, let fly a shower of arrows, and charged him with their swords and spears. Some pursued the fugitives, and others attacked those that stood their ground. The latter were the forty Fregellanians; for the Tuscans taking to flight at the first charge, the others closed together in a body to defend the consuls; and they continued the fight till Crispinus, wounded with two arrows, turned his horse to make his escape, and Marcellus, being run through between the shoulders with a lance, fell down dead. Then the few Fregellanians that remained, leaving the body of Marcellus, carried off his son, who was wounded and fled with him to the camp.

In this skirmish there were not many more than forty men killed; eighteen were taken prisoners, besides five *lictors*. Crispinus died of his wounds a few days after*. This was a most unparalleled misfortune; the Romans lost both the consuls in one action.

Hannibal made but little account of the rest, but when he knew that Marcellus was killed, he hastened to the place, and, standing over the body a long time, surveyed its size and mein, but without speaking one insulting word, or showing the least sign of joy, which might have been expected at the fall of so dangerous and formidable an enemy. He stood, indeed, awhile astonished at the strange death of so great a man; and at last taking his signet from his finger†, he caused his body to be magnificently attired and burnt, and the ashes to be put in a silver urn, and then placed a crown of

* He did not die till the latter end of the year, having named T. Manlius Torquatus dictator to hold the *comitia*. Some say he died at Tarentum; others in Campania.

† Hannibal imagined he should have some opportunity or other of making use of this seal to his advantage. But Crispinus dispatched messengers to all the neighbouring

gold upon it, and sent it to his son.—But certain Numidians meeting those that carried the urn, attempted to take it from them, and as the others stood upon their guard to defend it, the ashes were scattered in the struggle. When Hannibal was informed of it, he said to those who were about him, *You see it is impossible to do any thing against the will of God.* He punished the Numidians indeed, but took no further care about collecting and sending the remains of Marcellus, believing that some deity had ordained that Marcellus should die in so strange a manner, and that his ashes should be denied burial. This account of the matter we have from Cornelius Nepos and Valerius Maximus; but Livy* and Augustus Cæsar affirm that the urn was carried to his son, and that his remains were interred with great magnificence.

Marcellus's public donations, besides those he dedicated at Rome, were a *Gymnasium*, which he built at Catana in Sicily, and several statues and paintings brought from Syracuse, which he set up in the temple of the *Cabiri* in Samothrace, and in that of Minerva at Lindus. In the latter of these the following verses, as Posidonius tells us, were inscribed on the pedestal of his statue:

> The light of Rome, Marcellus here behold,
> For birth, for deeds of arms, by fame enroll'd,
> Seven times his FASCES grac'd the martial plain,
> And by his thundering arm were thousands slain.

The author of this inscription adds to his five consulates the dignity of pro-consul, with which he was twice honoured. His posterity continued in great splendour down to Marcellus, the son of Caius Marcellus and Octavia the sister of Augustus†. He died very young, in the office of *ædile*, soon after he had married Julia, the emperor's daughter. To do honour to his memory, Octavia dedicated to him a library‡, and Augustus a theatre, and these public works bore his name.

cities in the interest of Rome, acquainting them that Marcellus was killed, and Hannibal master of his ring. This precaution preserved Salapia in Apulia. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himself. For admitting, upon a letter sealed with that ring, six hundred of Hannibal's men, most of them Roman deserters, into the town, they on a sudden pulled up the draw-bridges, cut in pieces those who had entered, and, with a shower of darts from the ramparts, drove back the rest. *Liv.* l. xxvii. c. 28.

* Livy tells us, that Hannibal buried the body of Marcellus on the hill where he was slain.

† His family continued after his death a hundred and eighty-five years; for he was slain in the first year of the hundred and forty-third Olympiad, in the five hundred and forty-fifth year of Rome, and two hundred and six years before the Christian era; and young Marcellus died in the second year of the hundred and eighty-ninth Olympiad, and seven hundred and thirtieth of Rome.

‡ According to Suetonius and Dion, it was not Octavia, but Augustus, that dedicated this library.

PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

COMPARED.

THESE are the particulars which we thought worth reciting from history concerning Marcellus and Pelopidas; between whom there was a perfect resemblance in the gifts of nature, and in their lives and manners: for they were both men of heroic strength, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue, and in courage and magnanimity they were equal. The sole difference is, that Marcellus, in most of the cities which he took by assault, committed great slaughter, whereas Epaminondas and Pelopidas never spilt the blood of any man they had conquered, nor enslaved any city they had taken. And it is affirmed that, if they had been present, the Thebans would not have deprived the Orchomenians of their liberty.

As to their achievements, among those of Marcellus there was none greater or more illustrious than his beating such an army of Gauls, both horse and foot, with a handful of horse only, of which you will scarce meet with another instance, and his slaying their prince with his own hand. Pelopidas hoped to have done something of the like nature, but miscarried, and lost his life in the attempt. However, the great and glorious battles of Leuctra and Tegyræ may be compared with these exploits of Marcellus. And, on the other hand, there is nothing of Marcellus's effected by stratagem and surprise, which can be set against the happy management of Pelopidas, at his return from exile, in taking off the Theban tyrants. Indeed, of all the enterprises of the secret hand of art, that was the masterpiece.

If it be said that Hannibal was a formidable enemy to the Romans, the Lacedæmonians were certainly the same to the Thebans. And yet it is agreed on all hands that they were thoroughly beaten by Pelopidas at Leuctra and Tegyræ, whereas, according to Polybius, Hannibal was never once defeated by Marcellus, but continued invincible till he had to do with Scipio. However, we rather believe, with Livy, Cæsar, and Cornelius Nepos, among the Latin historians, and with king Juba* among the Greek, that Marcellus did

* This historian was the son of Juba, king of Numidia, who, in the civil war, sided with Pompey, and was slain by Petreius in single combat. The son mentioned here was brought in triumph by Cæsar to Rome, where he was educated in the learning of the Greeks and Romans.

sometimes beat Hannibal, and even put his troops to flight, though he gained no advantage of him sufficient to turn the balance considerably on his side; so that one might even think that the Carthaginian then acted with the art of a wrestler, who sometimes suffers himself to be thrown. But what has been very justly admired in Marcellus is, that after such great armies had been routed, so many generals slain, and the whole empire almost totally subverted, he found means to inspire his troops with courage enough to make head against the enemy. He was the only man that, from a state of terror and dismay, in which they had long remained, raised the army to an eagerness for battle, and infused into them such a spirit, that, far from tamely giving up the victory, they disputed it with the greatest obstinancy: for those very men who had been accustomed, by a run of ill success, to think themselves happy if they could escape Hannibal by flight, were taught by Marcellus to be ashamed of coming off with disadvantage, to blush at the very thought of giving way, and to be sensibly affected if they gained not the victory.

As Pelopidas never lost a battle in which he commanded in person, and Marcellus won more than any Roman of his time, he who performed so many exploits, and was so hard to conquer, may, perhaps, be put on a level with the other, who was never beaten. On the other hand, it may be observed, that Marcellus took Syracuse, whereas Pelopidas failed in his attempt upon Sparta. Yet, I think, even to approach Sparta, and to be the first that ever passed the Eurotas in a hostile manner, was a greater achievement than the conquest of Sicily; unless it may be said that the honour of this exploit, as well as that of Leuctra, belongs rather to Epaminondas than Pelopidas; whereas the glory Marcellus gained was entirely his own: for he alone took Syracuse; he defeated the Gauls without his colleague; he made head against Hannibal, not only without the assistance, but against the remonstrances of the other generals; and, changing the face of war, he first taught the Romans to meet the enemy with a good countenance.

As for their deaths, I praise neither the one nor the other, but it is with concern and indignation that I think of the strange circumstances that attended them. At the same time I admire Hannibal, who fought such a number of battles as it would be a labour to reckon, without ever receiving a wound; and I greatly approve the behaviour of Chrysantes, in the *Cyropædia**, who, having his sword lifted up, and ready to strike, upon hearing the trumpet sound a retreat, calmly and modestly retired without giving the stroke. Pelopidas, however, was somewhat excusable, because he was not

* Mentioned at the beginning of the fourth book.

only warmed with the heat of battle, but incited by a generous desire of revenge. And, as Euripides says,

> The first of chiefs is he who laurels gains,
> And buys them not with life: the next is he
> Who dies, but dies in Virtue's arms .....

In such a man, dying is a free and involuntary act, not a passive submision to fate. But, besides his resentment, the end Pelopidas proposed to himself in conquering, which was the death of a tyrant, with reason animated him to uncommon efforts: for it was not easy to find another cause so great and glorious wherein to exert himself. But Marcellus, without any urgent occasion, without that enthusiasm which often pushes men beyond the bounds of reason in time of danger, unadvisedly exposed himself, and died, not like a general, but like a spy; risking his five consulates, his three triumphs, his trophies, and spoils of kings, against a company of Spaniards and Numidians, who had bartered with the Carthaginians for their lives and services. An accident so strange, that those very adventurers could not forbear grudging themselves such success, when they found that a man, the most distinguished of all the Romans for valour as well as power and fame, had fallen by their hands, amidst a scouting party of Fregellanians.

Let not this, however, be deemed an accusation against these great men, but rather a complaint to them of the injury done themselves, by sacrificing all their other virtues to their intrepidity, and a free expostulation with them for being so prodigal of their blood as to shed it for their own sakes, when it ought to have fallen only for their country, their friends, and their allies.

Pelopidas was buried by his friends, in whose cause he was slain, and Marcellus by those enemies that slew him. The first was a happy and desirable thing, but the other was greater and more extraordinary; for gratitude in a friend for benefits received is not equal to an enemy's admiring the virtue by which he suffers. In the first case there is more regard to interest than to merit; in the latter, real worth is the sole object of the honour paid.

ARISTIDES.

ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, and the ward of Alopece. Of his estate we have different accounts. Some say he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried, on ac-

count of their poverty*. But Demetrius the Phalerean contradicts this general opinion in his *Socrates*, and says there was a farm at Phalera which went by the name of Aristides, and that there he was buried. And to prove that there was a competent estate in his family, he produces three arguments. The first is taken from the office of archon†, which made the year bear his name, and which fell to him by lot; and for this none took their chance but such as had an income of the first degree, consisting of five hundred measures of corn, wine, and oil, who therefore were called *Pentacosiomedimni*. The second argument is founded on the *ostracism*, by which he was banished, and which was never inflicted on the meaner sort, but only on persons of quality, whose grandeur and family-pride made them obnoxious to the people. The third and last is drawn from the Tripods, which Aristides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, on account of his victory in the public games, and which are still to be seen with this inscription, "The tribe of Antiochus gained the victory, Aristides defrayed the charges, and Archestratus was the author of the play."

But this last argument, though in appearance the strongest of all, is really a very weak one. For Epaminondas, who, as every body knows, lived and died poor, and Plato the philosopher, who was not rich, exhibited very splendid shows; the one was at the expense of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the other of an entertainment of singing and dancing, performed by boys at Athens; Dion having furnished Plato with the money, and Pelopidas supplied Epaminondas. For why should good men be always averse to the presents of their friends? while they think it mean and ungenerous to receive any thing for themselves, to lay up, or to gratify an avaricious temper, they need not refuse such offers as serve the purposes of honour and magnificence, without any views of profit.

As to the Tripods, inscribed with ARISTIDES, Panætius shows plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the name: for, according to the registers, from the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there were only two of the name of Aristides who carried the prize in the choral exhibitions, and neither of them was the son of Lysimachus: for the former was son to Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters, which were not in use till after Euclid's time, and likewise from the name of the poet Archestratus, which is not found in any record or author during the

* And yet, according to a law of Solon's, the bride was to carry with her only three suits of clothes, and a little household stuff of small value.

† At Athens they reckoned their years by *Archons*, as the Romans did theirs by *Consuls*. One of the nine archons, who all had estates of the first degree, was for this purpose chosen by lot out of the rest, and his name inscribed in the public registers.

Persian wars; whereas mention is often made of a poet of that name, who brought his pieces upon the stage in the time of the Peloponnesian war*. But this argument of Panætius should not be admitted without further examination.

And as for the ostracism, every man that was distinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence, was liable to suffer by it; since it fell even upon Damon, preceptor to Pericles, because he was looked upon as a man of superior parts and policy. Besides, Idomeneus tells us, that Aristides came to be *archon*, not by lot, but by particular appointment of the people. And if he was *archon* after the battle of Platæa†, as Demetrius himself writes, it is very probable that, after such great actions, and so much glory, his virtue might gain him that office which others obtained by their wealth. But it is plain that Demetrius laboured to take the imputation of poverty, as if it were some great evil, not only from Aristides, but from Socrates too; who, he says, besides a house of his own, had seventy minæ‡ at interest in the hands of Crito.

Aristides had a particular friendship for Clisthenes, who settled the popular government at Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants‖; yet he had, at the same time, the greatest veneration for Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian, whom he considered as the most excellent of lawgivers: and this led him to be a favourer of aristocracy, in which he was always opposed by Themistocles, who listed in the party of the commons. Some, indeed say, that, being brought up together from their infancy, when boys they were always at varience, not only in serious matters, but in their very sports and diversions; and their tempers were discovered from the first by that opposition. The one was insinuating, daring, and artful; variable, and at the same time impetuous in his pursuits: the other was solid and steady, inflexibly just, incapable of using any falsehood, flattery, or deceit, even at play. But Aristo of Chios§ writes;

* It was very possible for a poet, in his own lifetime, to have his plays acted in the Peloponnesian war, and in the Persian too. And therefore the inscription which Plutarch mentions might belong to our Aristides.

† But Demetrius was mistaken; for Aristides was never archon after the battle of Platæa, which was fought in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad. In the list of archons the name of Aristides is found in the fourth year of the seventy-second Olympiad, a year or two after the battle of Marathon, and in the second year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad, four years before the battle of Platæa.

‡ But Socrates himself declares, in his apology to his judges, that, considering his poverty, they could not in reason fine him more than one mina.

‖ These tyrants were the Pisistratidæ, who were driven out about the sixty-sixth Olympiad.

§ Dacier thinks it was rather Aristo of Ceos, because, as a Peripatetic, he was more likely to write treatises of love than the other, who was a Stoic.

that their enmity, which afterwards came to such a height, took its rise from love. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Themistocles, who was an agreeable companion, gained many friends, and became respectable in the strength of his popularity. Thus, when he was told that "he would govern the Athenians extremely well, if he would but do it without respect of persons," he said, "May I never sit on a tribunal where my friends shall not find more favour from me than strangers."

Aristides, on the contrary, took a method of his own in conducting the administration: for he would neither consent to any injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them by denying all they asked: and as he saw that many, depending on their interest and friends, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never endeavoured after that support, but declared that a good citizen should place his whole strength and security in advising and doing what is just and right. Nevertheless, as Themistocles made many rash and dangerous motions, and endeavoured to break his measures in every step of government, he was obliged to oppose him as much in his turn, partly by way of self-defence, and partly to lessen his power, which daily increased through the favour of the people: for he thought it better that the commonwealth should miss some advantages, than that Themistocles, by gaining his point, should come at last to carry all before him.

Hence it was, that one day when Themistocles proposed something advantageous to the public, Aristides opposed it strenuously, and with success; but as he went out of the assembly, he could not forbear saying, "The affairs of the Athenians cannot prosper, except they throw Themistocles and myself into the barathrum*."

Another time, when he intended to propose a decree to the people, he found it strongly disputed in the council, but at last he prevailed; perceiving its inconveniencies, however, by the preceding debates, he put a stop to it, just as the president was going to put it to the question, in order to its being confirmed by the people. Very often he offered his sentiments by a third person, lest, by the opposition of Themistocles to him, the public good should be obstructed.

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his firmness was wonderful. Neither elated with honours, nor discomposed with ill success, he went on in a moderate and steady manner, persuaded that his country had a claim to his services, without the re-

* The barathrum was a very deep pit, into which condemned persons were thrown headlong.

ward either of honour or profit. Hence it was, that when those verses of Æschylus concerning Amphiaraus were repeated on the stage,

> To be, and not to seem, is this man's maxim;
> His mind reposes on its proper wisdom,
> And wants no other praise*.....

the eyes of the people in general were fixed on Aristides, as the man to whom this great encomium was most applicable. Indeed, he was capable of resisting the suggestions not only of favour and affection, but of resentment and enmity too, wherever justice was concerned: for it is said, that when he was carrying on a prosecution against his enemy, and, after he had brought his charge, the judges were going to pass sentence without hearing the person accused, he rose up to his assistance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time, when he himself sat judge between two private persons, and one of them observed, "That his adversary had done many injuries to Aristides:" "Tell me not that," said he, "but what injury he has done to thee; for it is thy cause I am judging, not my own."

When appointed public treasurer, he made it appear, that not only those of his time, but the officers that preceded him, had applied a great deal of the public money to their own use; and particularly Themistocles;

> ..... For he with all his wisdom,
> Could ne'er command his hands.

For this reason, when Aristides gave in his accounts, Themistocles raised a strong party against him, accused him of misapplying the public money, and, according to Idomeneus, got him condemned. But the principal and most respectable amongst the citizens†, incensed at this treatment of Aristides, interposed, and prevailed, not only that he might be excused the fine, but chosen again chief treasurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings were too strict, and carrying a gentler hand over those that acted under him, suffered them to pilfer the public money, without seeming to find them out, or reckoning strictly with them; so that, fattened on the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and, heartily espousing his cause, begged of the people to continue him in the same department. But when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him by their suffrages, he gave them this severe rebuke:

* These verses are to be found in the "Siege of Thebes by the Seven Captains." They are a description of the genius and temper of Amphiaraus which the courier, who brings an account of the enemy's attacks, and of the characters of the commanders, gives to Eteocles. Plutarch has changed one word in them for another that suited his purpose better; reading *dikaios*, "just," instead of *aristos*, "valiant."

† The court of Areopagus interposed in his behalf.

"While I managed your finances with all the fidelity of an honest man, I was loaded with calumnies; and now, when I suffer them to be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty good citizen: but I assure you I am more ashamed of the present honour than I was of the former disgrace; and it is with indignation and concern that I see you esteem it more meritorious to oblige bad men, than to take proper care of the public revenue." By thus speaking, and discovering their frauds, he silenced those that recommended him with so much noise and bustle, but at the same time received the truest and most valuable praise from the worthiest of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who was sent by Darius, under pretence of chastising the Athenians for burning Sardis, but in reality to subdue all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to ravage the neighbouring country. Among the generals to whom the Athenians gave the management of this war, Miltiades was first in dignity, and the next to him in reputation and authority was Aristides. In a council of war that was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle*, and Aristides seconding him, added no little weight to his scale. The generals commanded by turns, each his day; but when it came to Aristides' turn, he gave up his right to Miltiades; thus showing his colleagues that it was no disgrace to follow the directions of the wise, but that, on the contrary, it answered several honourable and salutary purposes. By this means he laid the spirit of contention, and bringing them to agree in and follow the best opinion, he strengthened the hands of Miltiades, who now had the absolute and undivided command; the other generals no longer insisting on their days, but entirely submitting to his orders†.

In this battle the main body of the Athenian army was pressed the hardest‡, because there for a long time the barbarians made their

* According to Herodotus (l. vi. c. 109.), the generals were very much divided in their opinions: some were for fighting, others not. Miltiades, observing this, addressed himself to Callimachus of Aphidnæ, who was *polemarch*, and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals. Callimachus, whose voice was decisive, according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately. Possibly Aristides might have some share in bringing Callimachus to this resolution.

† Yet he would not fight until his own proper day of command came about, for fear that, through any latent sparks of jealousy and envy, any of the generals should be led not to do their duty.

‡ The Athenians and Platæans fought with such obstinate valour on the right and left, that the barbarians were forced to fly on both sides. The Persians and Sacæ, however, perceiving that the Athenian centre was weak, charged with such force that they broke through it. This those on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the Persian army; then bending the points of the wings towards their own centre, they enclosed the hitherto victorious Persians, and cut them in pieces.

greatest efforts against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis; and Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to those tribes, exerting themselves at the head of them with all the spirit of emulation, behaved with so much vigour, that the enemy were put to flight and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks perceiving that the barbarians, instead of sailing to the isles to return to Asia, were driven in by the wind and currents towards Attica*, and fearing that Athens, unprovided for its defence, might become an easy prey to them, marched home with nine tribes, and used such expedition that they reached the city in one day†.

Aristides was left at Marathon with his own tribe to guard the prisoners and the spoils; and he did not disappoint the public opinion: for though there was much gold and silver scattered about, and rich garments and other booty in abundance were found in the tents and ships which they had taken, yet he neither had an inclination to touch any thing himself, nor permitted others to do it. But, notwithstanding his care, some enriched themselves unknown to him; among whom was Callias the torch-bearer‡. One of the barbarians happening to meet him in a private place, and probably taking him for a king, on account of his long hair and the fillet which he wore§, prostrated himself before him; and, taking him by the hand, shewed him a great quantity of gold that was hid in a well. But Callias, not less cruel than unjust, took away the gold, and then killed the man that had given him information of it, lest he should mention the thing to others. Hence, they tell us, it was, that the comic writers called his family *Laccopluti*, i. e. *enriched by the well*, jesting upon the place from whence their founder drew his wealth.

The year following, Aristides was appointed to the office of *archon*, which gave his name to that year; though, according to Demetrius the Phalerean, he was not archon till after the battle of Platæa, a lit-

* It was reported in those times, that the Alcmeonidæ encouraged the Persians to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal. However, it was the Persian fleet that endeavoured to double the Cape of Junium, with a view to surprise the city of Athens before the army could return. *Herodot.* l. vi. c. 101, &c.

† From Marathon to Athens is about forty miles.

‡ Torch bearers, styled in Greek *deduchi*, were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and admitted even to the most sacred mysteries. Pausanias speaks of it as a great happiness to a woman, that she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son, successively enjoy this office.

§ Both priests and kings wore fillets or diadems. It is well known, that in ancient times those two dignities were generally vested in the same person; and such nations as abolished the kingly office, kept the title of king for a person who ministered in the principal functions of the priesthood.

tle before his death. But in the public registers we find not any of the name of Aristides in the list of archons after Xanthippides, in whose archonship Mardonius was beaten at Platæa; whereas his name is on record immediately after Phanippus*, who was archon the same year that the battle was gained at Marathon.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the people were most struck with his justice, because the public utility was the most promoted by it. Thus he, though a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of *the Just*, which kings and tyrants have never been fond of. It has been their ambition to be styled *Poliorceti, takers of cities; Cerauni, thunderbolts; Nicanors, conquerors;* nay, some have chosen to be called *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the fame of power to that of virtue: whereas the Deity himself, to whom they want to be compared, is distinguished by three things, immortality, power, and virtue; and of these, virtue is the most excellent and divine. For space and the elements are everlasting; earthquakes, lightning, storms, and torrents, have an amazing power; but as for justice, nothing participates of that, without reasoning and thinking on God. And whereas men entertain three different sentiments with respect to the gods, namely, admiration, fear, and esteem, it should seem that they admire and think them happy by reason of their freedom from death and corruption, that they fear and dread them because of their power and sovereignty, and that they love, honour, and reverence them for their justice. Yet, though affected these three different ways, they desire only the two first properties of the Deity; immortality, which our nature will not admit of, and power, which depends chiefly upon fortune; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine quality in their power; not considering that it is justice alone which makes the life of those flourish most in prosperity and high stations, heavenly and divine, while injustice renders it grovelling and brutal.

Aristides at first was loved and respected for his surname of *the Just*, and afterwards envied as much; the latter, chiefly by the management of Themistocles, who gave it out among the people that Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature, by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and so was insensibly gaining sovereign power, though without guards and the other ensigns of it. The people, elevated with the late victory, thought themselves capable of

* From the registers it appears that Phanippus was archon in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad. It was therefore in this year that the battle of Marathon was fought, four hundred and ninety years before the birth of Christ.

every thing, and the highest respect little enough for them. Uneasy, therefore, at finding that any one citizen rose to such extraordinary honour and distinction, they assembled at Athens from all the towns in Attica, and banished Aristides by the ostracism; disguising their envy of his character under the specious pretence of guarding against tyranny.

For the *ostracism* was not a punishment for crimes and misdemeanors, but was very decently called a humbling and lessening of some excessive influence and power. In reality it was a mild gratification of envy; for, by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another, discharged his spleen, not in any thing cruel or inhuman, but only in voting a ten-year's banishment. But when it once began to fall upon mean and profligate persons, it was ever after entirely laid aside; Hyperbolus being the last that was exiled by it.

The reason of its turning upon such a wretch was this: Alcibiades and Nicias, who were persons of the greatest interest in Athens, had each his party; but perceiving that the people were going to proceed to the ostracism, and that one of them was likely to suffer by it, they consulted together, and, joining interests, caused it to fall upon Hyperbolus. Hereupon the people, full of indignation at finding this kind of punishment dishonoured and turned into ridicule, abolished it entirely.

The ostracism (to give a summary account of it) was conducted in the following manner: every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or a shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he wanted to have banished, and carried it to a part of the market-place that was enclosed with wooden rails. The magistrates then counted the number of the shells, and if it amounted not to six thousand, the ostracism stood for nothing; if it did, they sorted the shells, and the person whose name was found on the greatest number was declared an exile for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the people were inscribing the names on the shells, it is reported that an illiterate burgher came to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write Aristides upon it.—The good man, surprised at the adventure, asked him, "Whether Aristides had ever injured him?" "No," said he, "nor do I even know him; but it vexes me to hear him every where called *the Just*." Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name upon it, returned it to the man. When he quitted Athens, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and, agreeably

to his character, made a prayer very different from that of Achilles; namely, "That the people of Athens might never see the day which should force them to remember Aristides."

Three years after, when Xerxes was passing through Thessaly and Bœotia, by long marches to Attica, the Athenians reversed this decree, and by a public ordinance recalled all the exiles. The principal inducement was their fear of Aristides; for they were apprehensive that he would join the enemy, corrupt great part of the citizens, and draw them over to the interest of the barbarians. But they little knew the man. Before this ordinance of theirs, he had been exciting and encouraging the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, he assisted him both with his person and counsel, not disdaining to raise his worst enemy to the highest pitch of glory for the public good. For when Eurybiades, the commander-in-chief, had resolved to quit Salamis*, and before he could put his purpose into execution, the enemy's fleet, taking advantage of the night, had surrounded the islands, and in a manner blocked up the straits, without any one's perceiving that the confederates were so hemmed in. Aristides sailed the same night from Ægina, and passed with the utmost danger through the Persian fleet. As soon as he reached the tent of Themistocles, he desired to speak with him in private, and then addressed him in these terms: "You and I, Themistocles, if we are wise, shall now bid adieu to our vain and childish disputes, and enter upon a nobler and more salutary contention, striving which of us shall contribute most to the preservation of Greece; you in doing the duty of a general, and I in assisting you with my service and advice. I find that you alone have hit upon the best measures, in advising to come immediately to an engagement in the straits. And though the allies oppose your design, the enemy promotes it: for the sea on all sides is covered with their ships, so that the Greeks, whether they will or not, must come to action and acquit themselves like men, there being no room left for flight."

Themistocles answered, "I could have wished, Aristides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation; but I will endeavour to outdo this happy beginning of yours by my future actions." At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the barbarians†, and then desired him

* Eurybiades was for standing away for the gulph of Corinth, that he might be near the land-army. But Themistocles clearly saw, that in the straits of Salamis they could fight the Persian fleet, which was so vastly superior in numbers, with much greater advantage than in the gulph of Corinth, where there was an open sea.

† The stratagem was, to send one to acquaint the enemy that the Greeks were going

to go and make it appear to Eurybiades, that there could be no safety for them without venturing a sea-fight there: for he knew that Aristides had much greater influence over him than he. In the council of war assembled on this occasion, Cleocritus the Corinthian said to Themistocles, "Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, since he is here present, and says nothing." "You are mistaken," said Aristides, "for I should not have been silent, had not the counsel of Themistocles been the most eligible. And now I hold my peace, not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments." This, therefore, was what the Grecian officers fixed upon.

Aristides then perceiving that the little island of Psyttalia, which lies in the straits over against Salamis, was full of the enemy's troops, put on board the small transports a number of the bravest and most resolute of his countrymen, and made a descent upon the island; where he attacked the barbarians with such fury that they were all cut in pieces, except some of the principal persons, who were made prisoners. Among the latter were three sons of Sandace the king's sister, whom he sent immediately to Themistocles; and it is said, that by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, in pursuance of some oracle, they were all sacrificed to Bacchus *Omestes*. After this, Aristides placed a strong guard round the island to take notice of such as were driven ashore there, so that none of his friends might perish, nor any of the enemy escape: for about Psyttalia the battle raged the most*, and the greatest efforts were made, as appears from the trophy erected there.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said, "That great things were already done, but greater still remained; for they might conquer Asia in Europe, by making all the sail they could to the Hellespont, to break down the bridge."—But Aristides exclaimed against the proposal, and bade him think no more of it, but rather consider and inquire what would be the speediest method of driving the Persians out of Greece, lest, finding himself shut up with such immense forces, and no way left to escape, necessity might bring him to fight with the most desperate courage. Hereupon Themistocles sent to Xerxes the second time, by the eunuch Arnaces, one of the prisoners†, to acquaint him privately that the Greeks were strongly inclined to make the best of their way

to quit the straits of Salamis, and therefore, if the Persians were desirous to crush them at once, they must fall upon them immediately, before they dispersed.

* The battle of Salamis was fought in the year before Christ 480.

† This expedient answered two purposes. By it he drove the king of Persia out of Europe; and in appearance conferred an obligation upon him, which might be remembered to the advantage of Themistocles, when he came to have occasion for it.

to the Hellespont, to destroy the bridge which he had left there; but that, in order to save his royal person, Themistocles was using his best endeavours to dissuade them from it. Xerxes, terrified at this news, made all possible haste to the Hellespont, leaving Mardonius behind him with the land-forces, consisting of three hundred thousand of his best troops.

In the strength of such an army, Mardonius was very formidable; and the fears of the Greeks were heightened by his menacing letters, which were in this style: "At sea, in your wooden towers, you have defeated landmen unpractised at the oar; but there are still the wide plains of Thessaly and the fields of Bœotia, where both horse and foot may fight to the best advantage." To the Athenians he wrote in particular, being authorized by the king, to assure them that their city should be rebuilt, large sums bestowed upon them, and the sovereignty of Greece put in their hands, if they would take no farther share in the war*.

As soon as the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of these proposals, they were greatly alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Athens to entreat the people to send their wives and children to Sparta †, and to accept from them what was necessary for the support of such as were in years; for the Athenians, having lost both their city and country, were certainly in great distress. Yet, when they had heard what the ambassadors had to say, they gave them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired. They said, "They could easily forgive their enemies for thinking that every thing was to be purchased with silver and gold, because they had no idea of any thing more excellent: but they could not help being displeased that the Lacedæmonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and, forgetful of their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to fight for Greece for the paltry consideration of a supply of provisions."—Aristides having drawn up his answer in the form of a decree, and called all the ambassadors to an audience in full assembly, bade those of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, *That the people of Athens would not take all the gold, either above or under ground, for the liberties of Greece.*

As for those of Mardonius, he pointed to the sun, and told them,

* He made these proposals by Alexander king of Macedon, who delivered them in a set speech.

† They did not propose to the Athenians to send their wives and children to Sparta, but only offered to maintain them during the war. They observed, that the original quarrel was between the Persians and Athenians: that the Athenians were always wont to be the foremost in the cause of liberty: and that there was no reason to believe the Persians would observe any terms with a people they hated.

"As long as this luminary shines, so long will the Athenians carry on war with the Persians for their country, which has been laid waste, and for their temples, which have been profaned and burnt." He likewise procured an order that the priests should solemnly execrate all that should dare to propose an embassy to the Medes, or talk of deserting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the second time, the Athenians retired again to Salamis. And Aristides, who on that occasion went ambassador to Sparta, complained to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians; and pressed them to hasten to the succour of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The *Ephori* gave him the hearing*, but seemed attentive to nothing but mirth and diversion, for it was the festival of Hyacinthus†. At night, however, they selected five thousand Spartans, with orders to take each seven *helots* with him, and to march before morning, unknown to the Athenians. When Aristides came to make his remonstrances again, they smiled, and told him, "That he did but trifle or dream, since their army was at that time as far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners," for so the Lacedæmonians called the barbarians. Aristides told them, "It was not a time to jest, or to put their stratagems in practice upon their friends, but upon their enemies." This is the account Idomeneus gives of the matter; but in Aristides's decree, Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides, are said to have gone upon the embassy, and not Aristides.

Aristides, however, was appointed to command the Athenians in the battle that was expected, and marched with eight thousand foot to Platæa. There Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief of all the confederates, joined him with his Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Persian army, which was encamped along the river Asopus, occupied an immense track of ground; and they had fortified a spot ten furlongs square, for their baggage and other things of value.

In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named Tisamenus‡, who foretold certain victory to Pausanias and the Greeks in

* They put off their answer from time to time, until they had gained ten days; in which time they finished the wall across the Isthmus, which secured them against the barbarians.

† Among the Spartans the feast of Hyacinthus lasted three days: the first and last were days of sorrow and mourning for Hyacinthus's death, but the second was a day of rejoicing, celebrated with all manner of diversions.

‡ The oracle having promised Tisamenus five great victories, the Lacedæmonians were desirous of having him for their diviner, but he demanded to be admitted a citizen of

general, i. they did not attack the enemy, but stood only upon the defensive.—And Aristides having sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, received this answer: "The Athenians shall be victorious, if they address their prayers to Jupiter, to Juno of Cithæron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides*; if they sacrifice to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Democrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polydius; and if they fight only in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, and of Proserpine." This oracle perplexed Aristides not a little: for the heroes to whom he was commanded to sacrifice were the ancestors of the Platæans, and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides in one of the summits of mount Cithæron, opposite the quarter where the sun sets in the summer; and it is said in that cave there was formerly an oracle, by which many who dwelt in those parts were inspired, and therefore called *Nympholepti*. On the other hand, to have the promise of victory only on condition of fighting in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, was calling the Athenians back to Attica, and removing the seat of war.

In the mean time Arimnestus, general of the Platæans, dreamed that Jupiter *the Preserver* asked him, "What the Greeks had determined to do?" To which he answered, "To-morrow they will decamp and march to Eleusis to fight the barbarians there, agreeable to the oracle." The god replied, "They quite mistake its meaning; for the place intended by the oracle is in the environs of Platæa, and, if they seek for it, they will find it." The matter being so clearly revealed to Arimnestus, as soon as he awoke, he sent for the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen, and having advised with them, and made the best inquiry, he found that near Husiæ, at the foot of the mount Cithæron, there was an ancient temple called the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, and of Proserpine. He immediately conducted Aristides to the place, which appeared to be very commodious for drawing up an army of foot that was deficient in cavalry, because the bottom of mount Cithæron, extending as far as the temple, made the extremities of the field on that side inaccessible to the horse. In that place was also the chapel of the hero Androcrates, quite covered wi thick bushes and trees. And, that

Sparta, which was refused at first. However, upon the approach of the Persians, he obtained that privilege both for himself and his brother Hegias. This would scarce have been worth mentioning, had not those two been the only strangers that were ever made citizens of Sparta.

* The nymphs of mount Cithæron were called Sphragitides from the cave Sphragidion, which probably had its name from the silence observed in it by the persons who went thither to be inspired; silence being described by *sealing* the lips.

nothing might be wanting to fulfil the oracle, and confirm their hopes of victory, the Platæans resolved, at the motion of Arimnestus, to remove their boundaries between their country and Attica, and, for the sake of Greece, to make a grant of those lands to the Athenians, that, according to the oracle, they might fight in their own territories. This generosity of the Platæans gained them so much renown, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered Asia, he ordered the walls of Platæa to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by a herald at the Olympic games, "That the king granted the Platæans this favour, on account of their virtue and generosity in giving up their lands to the Greeks in the Persian war, and otherwise behaving with the greatest vigour and spirit."

When the confederates came to have their several posts assigned them, there was a great dispute between the Tegetæ and the Athenians; the Tegetæ insisting, that, as the Lacedæmonians were posted in the right wing, the left belonged to them, and, in support of their claim, setting forth the gallant actions of their ancestors. As the Athenians expressed great indignation at this, Aristides stepped forward, and said, "The time will not permit us to contest with the Tegetæ the renown of their ancestors and their personal bravery; but to the Spartans and to the rest of the Greeks we say, that the post neither gives valour nor takes it away; and whatever post you assign us, we will endeavour to do honour to it, and take care to reflect no disgrace upon our former achievements; for we are not come hither to quarrel with our allies, but to fight our enemies; not to make encomiums upon our forefathers, but to approve our own courage in the cause of Greece. And the battle will soon show what value our country should set on every state, every general, and private man." After this speech, the council of war declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

While the fate of Greece was in suspense, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous posture; for those of the best families and fortunes being reduced by the war, and seeing their authority in the state and their distinction gone with their wealth, and others rising to honours and employments, assembled privately in a house at Platæa, and conspired to abolish the democracy; and, if that did not succeed, to ruin all Greece, and betray it to the barbarians. When Aristides got intelligence of the conspiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was greatly alarmed at its happening at such a crisis, and unresolved at first how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter uninquired into, nor yet to sift it thoroughly, because he knew not how far the contagion had spread, and thought it advisable to sacri-

fice justice in some degree to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute many that were guilty. He therefore caused eight persons only to be apprehended, and of those eight no more than two, who were most guilty, to be proceeded against, Æschines of Lampra, and Agesias of Acharnæ; and even *they* made their escape during the prosecution. As for the rest, he discharged them, and gave them, and all that were concerned in the plot, opportunity to recover their spirits, and change their sentiments, as they might imagine that nothing was made out against them; but he admonished them at the same time, "That the battle was the great tribunal where they might clear themselves of the charge, and show that they had never followed any counsels but such as were just and useful to their country."

After this*, Mardonius, to make a trial of the Greeks, ordered his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Greeks were all encamped at the foot of Mount Cithæron, in strong and stony places; except the Megarensians, who, to the number of three thousand, were posted on the plain, and by this means suffered much by the enemy's horse, who charged them on every side. Unable to stand against such superior numbers, they dispatched a messenger to Pausanias for assistance. Pausanias hearing their request, and seeing the camp of the Megarensians darkened with the shower of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on; for he knew that his heavy-armed Spartans were not fit to act against cavalry. He endeavoured, therefore, to awaken the emulation of the generals and other officers that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to undertake the defence and succour of the Megarensians. But they all declined it, except Aristides, who made an offer of his Athenians, and gave immediate orders to Olympiodorus, one of the most active of his officers, to advance with his select band of three hundred men, and some archers intermixed. They were all ready in a moment, and ran to attack the barbarians. Masistius, general of the Persian horse, a man distinguished for his strength and graceful mein, no sooner saw them advancing, than he spurred his horse against them. The Athenians received him with great firmness, and a sharp conflict ensued; for

* The battle of Platæa was fought in the year before Christ 479, the year after that of Salamis. Herodotus was then about nine or ten years old, and had his accounts from persons that were present in the battle. And he informs us that the circumstance here related by Plutarch happened before the Greeks left their camp at Erythræ, in order to encamp round Platæa, and before the contest between the Tegeatæ and the Athenians. Lib. ix. c. 29, 30, &c.

they considered this as a specimen of the success of the whole battle. At last Masistius' horse was wounded with an arrow, and threw his rider, who could not recover himself because of the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians that strove which should do it first, because not only his body and his head, but his legs and arms, were covered with plates of gold, brass, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face open, one of them pierced him in the eye with the staff of his spear, and so dispatched him. The Persians then left the body, and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not by the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field, for that was but small, but by the mourning of the barbarians, who, in their grief for Masistius, cut off their hair, and the manes of their horses and mules, and filled all the plain with their cries and groans, as having lost the man that was next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Persian cavalry, both sides forebore the combat a long time; for the diviners, from the entrails of the victims, equally assured the Persians and the Greeks of victory, if they stood upon the defensive, and threatened a total defeat to the aggressors. But at length Mardonius, seeing but a few days provision left, and that the Grecian forces increased daily by the arrival of fresh troops, grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to pass the Asopus next morning by break of day, and fall upon the Greeks, whom he hoped to find unprepared. For this purpose he gave his orders over-night: but at midnight a man on horseback softly approached the Grecian camp, and addressing himself to the sentinels, bade them call Aristides the Athenian general to him. Aristides came immediately, and the unknown person said, "I am Alexander king of Macedon, who, for the friendship I bear you, have exposed myself to the greatest dangers to prevent your fighting under the disadvantage of a surprise: for Mardonius will give you battle to-morrow; not that he is induced to it by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, but by the scarcity of provisions; for the sooth sayers, by their ominous sacrifices and ill-boding oracles, endeavour to divert him from it; but necessity forces him either to hazard a battle, or to sit still and see his whole army perish through want." Alexander having thus opened himself to Aristides, desired him to take notice and avail himself of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other person*. Aristides, however, thought it wrong

* According to Herodotus, Alexander had excepted Pausanias out of this charge of secrecy; and this is most probable, because Pausanias was commander-in-chief.

to conceal it from Pausanias, who was commander-in-chief; but he promised not to mention the thing to any one besides, until after the battle; and assured him at the same time, that if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army should be acquainted with this kindness and glorious daring conduct of Alexander.

The king of Macedon, having dispatched this affair, returned, and Aristides went immediately to the tent of Pausanias, and laid the whole before him; whereupon the other officers were sent for, and ordered to put the troops under arms, and have them ready for battle. At the same time, according to Herodotus, Pausanias informed Aristides of his design to alter the disposition of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, and setting them to oppose the Persians; against whom they would act with the more bravery, because they had made proof of their manner of fighting, and with greater assurance of success, because they had already succeeded; as for the left wing, which would have to do with those Greeks that had embraced the Median interest, he intended to command there himself*. The other Athenian officers thought Pausanias carried it with a partial and high hand, in moving them up and down, like so many *helots*, at his pleasure, to face the boldest of the enemy's troops, while he left the rest of the confederates in their posts. But Aristides told them they were under a great mistake: "You contended," said he, "a few days ago with the Tegetæ for the command of the left wing, and valued yourselves upon the preference; and now when the Spartans voluntarily offer you the right wing, which is in effect giving up to you the command of the whole army, you are neither pleased with the honour, nor sensible of the advantage of not being obliged to fight against your countrymen and those who have the same origin with you, but against barbarians, your natural enemies."

These words had such an effect upon the Athenians that they readily agreed to change posts with the Spartans, and nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to act with bravery. They observed, "That the enemy brought neither better arms nor bolder hearts than they had at Marathon, but came with the same bows, the same embroidered vests and profusion of gold, the same effeminate bodies, and the same unmanly souls. For our part," continued they, "we have the same weapons and strength of body, together with additional spirits from our victories; and we do not, like

* Herodotus says the contrary; namely, that all the Athenian officers were ambitious of that post, but did not think proper to propose it for fear of disobliging the Spartans.

them, fight for a track of land or a single city, but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, that the people of Athens, and not Miltiades and fortune, may have the glory of them."

While they were thus encouraging each other, they hastened to their new post. But the Thebans, being informed of it by deserters, sent and acquainted Mardonius; who, either out of fear of the Athenians, or from an ambition to try his strength with the Lacedæmonians, immediately moved the Persians to his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party to the left, opposite to the Athenians. This change in the disposition of the enemy's army being known, Pausanias made another movement, and passed to the right; which Mardonius perceiving, returned to the left, and so still faced the Lacedæmonians. Thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which they determined to decamp, and take possession of a place more commodious for water, because the springs of their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy's horse.

When night was come*, and the officers began to march at the head of their troops to the place marked out for a new camp, the soldiers followed unwillingly, and could not without great difficulty be kept together; for they were no sooner out of their first intrenchments, than many of them made off to the city of Platæa, and either dispersing there, or pitching their tents without any regard to discipline, were in the utmost confusion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians alone were left behind, though against their will. For Amompharetus, an intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and uneasy to see the battle so often put off and delayed, plainly called this decampment a disgraceful flight, and declared, "He would not quit his post, but remain there with his troops, and stand it out against Mardonius." And when Pausanias represented to him, that this measure was taken in pursuance of the counsel and determination of the confederates, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pausanias' feet, said, "This is my ballot for a battle; and I despise the timid counsels and resolves of others." Pausanias was at a loss what to do, but at last sent to the Athenians, who by this time were advancing, and desired them to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body: at the same time he marched with the rest of the troops towards Platæa, hoping by that means to draw Amompharetus after him.

* On this occasion Mardonius did not fail to insult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who, as he pretended, never fled before the enemy.

By this time it was day, and Mardonius*, who was not ignorant that the Greeks had quitted their camp, put his army in order of battle, and bore down upon the Spartans; the barbarians setting up such shouts, and clanking their arms in such a manner, as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives, and not a battle. And indeed it was like to have been so; for though Pausanias, upon seeing this motion of Mardonius, stopped, and ordered every one to his post, yet, either confused with his resentment against Amompharetus, or with the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word; and for that reason they neither engaged readily, nor in a body, but continued scattered in small parties, even after the fight was begun.

Pausanias in the mean time offered sacrifice; but seeing no auspicious tokens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay down their shields at their feet, and to stand still and attend his orders, without opposing the enemy. After this he offered other sacrifices, the Persian cavalry still advancing. They were now within bow-shot, and some of the Spartans were wounded; among whom was Callicrates, a man that for size and beauty exceeded the whole army. This brave soldier being shot with an arrow, and ready to expire, said, "He did not lament his death, because he came out resolved to shed his blood for Greece; but he was sorry to die without having once drawn his sword against the enemy."

If the terror of this situation was great, the steadiness and patience of the Spartans was wonderful; for they made no defence against the enemy's charge, but, waiting the time of heaven and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain while standing in their ranks.

Some say, that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying at a little distance from the lines, certain Lydians, coming suddenly upon him, seized and scattered the sacred utensils, and that Pausanias and those about him, having no weapons, drove them away with rods and scourges. And they will have it to be in imitation of this assault of the Lydians, that they celebrate a festival at Sparta now, in which boys

* Having passed the Asopus, he came up with the Lacedæmonians and Tegetæ, who were separated from the body of the army, to the number of fifty-three thousand. Pausanias, finding himself thus attacked by the whole Persian army, dispatched a messenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another route, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies, but were attacked, and, to their great regret, prevented by those Greeks who sided with the Persians. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke into the centre of the Persian army, and, after a most obstinate resistance, put them to flight.

are scourged round the altar, and which concludes with a march called the *Lydian march.*

Pausanias, extremely afflicted at these circumstances, while the priest offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turning towards the temple of Juno, and, with tears trickling from his eyes, and uplifted hands, prayed to that goddess, the protectress of Cithæron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Platæans, "That if the fates had not decreed that the Grecians should conquer, they might at least be permitted to sell their lives dear, and show the enemy, by their deeds, that they had brave men and experienced soldiers to deal with."

The very moment that Pausanias was uttering this prayer, the token so much desired appeared in the victim, and the diviners announced him victory. Orders were immediately given the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx all at once had the appearance of some fierce animal erecting his bristles, and preparing to exert his strength. The barbarians then saw clearly that they had to do with men who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood; and therefore, covering themselves with their targets, shot their arrows against the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians, moving forward in a close compact body, fell upon the Persians, and forcing their targets from them, directed their pikes against their faces and breasts, and brought many of them to the ground. However, when they were down, they continued to give proofs of their strength and courage; for they laid hold of the pikes with their naked hands, and broke them, and then springing up, betook themselves to their swords and battle-axes, and wresting away their enemies shields, and grappling close with them, made a long and obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this while stood still, expecting the Lacedæmonians; but when the noise of the battle reached them, and an officer, as we are told, dispatched by Pausanias, gave them an account that the engagement was begun, they hastened to his assistance; and as they were crossing the plain towards the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks who sided with the enemy pushed against them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he advanced a considerable way before his troops, and calling out to them with all his force, conjured them by the gods of Greece "to renounce this impious war, and not oppose the Athenians, who were running to the succour of those that were now the first to hazard their lives for the safety of Greece." But finding that, instead of hearkening to him, they approached in a hostile manner, he quitted his design of going to assist the Lacedæmonians, and joined battle with these Greeks, who were above five thousand in number. But the greatest

part soon gave way and retreated, especially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The sharpest part of this action is said to have been with the Thebans; among whom the first in quality and power having embraced the Median interest, by their authority carried out the common people against their inclination.

The battle thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Persians; and Mardonius* himself was slain by a Spartan named Arimnestus†, who broke his skull with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold him. For Mardonius had sent a Lydian to consult this oracle, and at the same time a Carian to the cave of Trophonius‡. The priest of Trophonius answered the Carian in his own language; but the Lydian, as he slept in the temple of Amphiaraus‖, thought he saw a minister of the god approach him, who commanded him to be gone, and, upon his refusal, threw a great stone at his head, so that he believed himself killed by the blow. Such is the account we have of that affair.

The barbarians, flying before the Spartans, were pursued to their camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls; and soon after the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred persons of the first distinction on the spot. Just as the Thebans began to give way, news was brought that the barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortification: the Athenians, therefore, suffering the Greeks to escape, hastened to assist in the siege: and finding that the Lacedæmonians, unskilled in the storming of walls, made but a slow progress, they attacked and took the camp§, with a prodigious slaughter of the enemy: for it is said that of three hundred thousand men, only forty thousand escaped with Artabazus¶; whereas, of

* Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself greatly, and, at the head of a thousand chosen men, killed a great number of the enemy; but, when he fell, the whole Persian army was easily routed.

† In some copies he is called Diamnestus. Arimnestus was general of the Plataeans.

‡ The cave of Trophonius was near the city of Labadia in Bœotia, above Delphi. Mardonius had sent to consult, not only this oracle, but almost all the other oracles in the country, so restless and uneasy was he about the event of the war.

‖ Amphiaraus, in his lifetime, had been a great interpreter of dreams; and therefore, after his death, gave his oracles by dreams; for which purpose, those that consulted him slept in his temple on the skin of a ram which they had sacrificed to him.

§ The spoil was immense, consisting of vast sums of money, of gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Pausanias.

¶ Artabazus, who, from Mardonius' imprudent conduct, had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel him, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he had commanded, arrived safe at By-

those that fought in the cause of Greece, no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty; among whom were fifty-two Athenians, all, according to Clidemus, of the tribe of Aiantis, which greatly distinguished itself in that action. And therefore, by order of the Delphic oracle, the Aiantidæ offered a yearly sacrifice of thanksgiving for the victory to the nymphs *Sphragitides*, having the expense defrayed out of the treasury. The Lacedæmonians lost ninety-one, and the Tegetæ sixteen. But it is surprising that Herodotus should say that these were the only Greeks that engaged the barbarians, and that no other were concerned in the action; for both the number of the slain and the monuments show that it was the common achievement of the confederates: and the altar erected on that occasion would not have had the following inscription, if only three states had engaged, and the rest had sat still:

> The Greeks, their country freed, the Persians slain,
> Have rear'd this altar on the glorious field,
> To freedom's patron, Jove ....

This battle was fought on the fourth of Boëdromion, *September**, according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but, according to the Bœotian computation, on the twenty-fourth of the month *Panemus*. And on that day there is still a general assembly of the Greeks at Platæa, and the Platæans sacrifice to Jupiter *the Deliverer*, for the victory. Nor is this difference of days in the Grecian months to be wondered at, since even now, when the science of astronomy is so much improved, the months begin and end differently in different places.

This victory went near to the ruin of Greece: for the Athenians, unwilling to allow the Spartans the honour of the day, or to consent that they should erect the trophy, would have referred it to the decision of the sword, had not Aristides taken great pains to explain the matter, and pacify the other generals, particularly Leocrates and Myronides; persuading them to leave it to the judgment of the

zantium, and from thence passed over into Asia. Besides these, only three thousand men escaped. *Herodot.* lib. ix. c. 81—69.

* Dacier has it *October* in his translation, but he justly observes in a note, that an Athenian month does not answer exactly to one of ours, but to part of one and part of another; *Boëdromion*, for instance, begins about the fifteenth of September, and ends about the fifteenth of October. So that the battle of Platæa must, according to our computation, have been on the nineteenth of September at least; that is as near as we can fix it. Nor does Plutarch seem to have been sure; for, in the Life of Camillus, he says, this battle was fought on the third of Böedromion. But we rather think some error has crept into the text, since, being a Bœotian himself, he could not be ignorant what day the festival of that victory was held.

Greeks. A council was called accordingly, in which Theogiton gave it as his opinion, "That those two states should give up the palm to a third, if they desired to prevent a civil war." Then Cleocritus the Corinthian rose up, and it was expected he would set forth the pretensions of Corinth to the prize of valour, as the city next in dignity to Sparta and Athens; but they were most agreeably surprised when they found that he spoke in behalf of the Platæans, and proposed, "That, all disputes laid aside, the palm should be adjudged to them, since neither of the contending parties could be jealous of them." Aristides was the first to give up the point for the Athenians, and then Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians*.

The confederates thus reconciled, eighty talents were set apart for the Platæans, with which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva; adorning the temple with paintings, which to this day retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians erected trophies separately; and sending to consult the oracle at Delphi about the sacrifice they were to offer, they were directed by Apollo "to build an altar to Jupiter *the Deliverer*, but not to offer any sacrifice upon it till they had extinguished all the fire in the country (because it had been polluted by the barbarians), and supplied themselves with pure fire from the common altar at Delphi." Hereupon the Grecian generals went all over the country, and caused the fires to be put out; and Euchidas a Platæan, undertaking to fetch fire with all imaginable speed from the altar of the god, went to Delphi, sprinkled and purified himself there with water, put a crown of laurel on his head, took fire from the altar, and then hastened back to Platæa, where he arrived before sun set, thus performing a journey of a thousand furlongs in one day. But having saluted his fellow-citizens, and delivered the fire, he fell down on the spot, and presently expired. The Platæans carried him to the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, and buried him there, putting this short inscription on his tomb:

Here lies *Euchidas*, who went to Delphi, and returned the same day.

As for *Eucleia*, the generality believe her to be Diana, and call her by that name; but some say she was daughter to Hercules and Myrto, the daughter of Menœceus, and sister of Patroclus; and that, dying a virgin, she had divine honours paid her by the Bœotians and Locrians: for in the market-place of every city of theirs she has a

* As to individuals, when they came to determine which had behaved with most courage, they all gave *judgment* in favour of Aristodemus, who was the only one that had saved himself at Thermopylæ, and now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a glorious death.

statue and an altar, where persons of both sexes that are betrothed offer sacrifice before marriage.

In the first general assembly of the Greeks after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, "That deputies from all the states of Greece should meet annually at Platæa, to sacrifice to Jupiter *the Deliverer*, and that every fifth year they should celebrate the games of *liberty*: that a general levy should be made through Greece of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a hundred ships, for the war against the barbarians: and that the Platæans should be exempt, being set apart for the service of the god, to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, and consequently their persons to be esteemed sacred."

These articles passing into a law, the Platæans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place, and they continue it to this day. The ceremony is as follows: on the sixteenth day of Mainacterion, *November*, which, with the Bœotians, is the month *Alalcomenius*, the procession begins at break of day, preceded by a trumpet, which sounds the signal of battle. Then follow several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots is led a black bull. Then comes some young men that are free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk for the libations, and cruets of oil and perfumed essences; no slave being allowed to have any share in this ceremony, sacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The procession closes with the archon of Platæa, who at other times is not allowed either to touch iron, or to wear any garment but a white one; but that day he is clothed with a purple robe, and girt with a sword; and carrying in his hand a water-pot taken out of the public hall, he walks through the midst of the city to the tombs. Then he takes water in the pot out of a fountain, and, with his own hands, washes the little pillars of the monuments*, and rubs them with essences. After this he kills the bull upon a pile of wood; and having made his supplications to the terrestrial Jupiter†, and Mercury, he invites those brave men, who fell in the cause of Greece to the funeral-banquet, and the steams of blood. Last of all, he fills a bowl with wine, and pouring it out, he says, "I present this bowl to the men who died

* It appears from an epigram of Callimachus, that it was customary to place little pillars upon the monuments, which the friends of the deceased perfumed with essences, and crowned with flowers.

† The terrestrial Jupiter is Pluto, who, as well as the celestial, had his Mercury, or else borrowed the messenger of the gods of his brother. To be sure, there might be as well two Mercuries as two Jupiters; but the conducting of souls to the shades below is reckoned part of the office of that Mercury who waits upon the Jupiter of the skies.

for the liberty of Greece." Such is the ceremony still observed by the Platæans.

When the Athenians were returned home, Aristides observing that they used their utmost endeavours to make the government entirely democratical, considered, on one side, that the people deserved some attention and respect on account of their gallant behaviour, and, on the other, that, being elated with their victories, it would be difficult to force them to depart from their purpose; and therefore he caused a decree to be made, that all the citizens should have a share in the administration, and that the *archons*, should be chosen out of the whole body of them.

Themistocles having one day declared to the general assembly that he had thought of an expedient which was very salutary to Athens*, but ought to be kept secret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides only, and abide by his judgment of it. Accordingly he told him his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates: by which means the Athenians would be raised to the sovereignty of all Greece. Aristides then returned to the assembly, and acquainted the Athenians, "That nothing could be more advantageous than the project of Themistocles, nor any thing more unjust." And, upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for justice, and so much confidence in the integrity of Aristides.

Some time after this † he was joined in a commission with Cimon, and sent against the barbarians; where, observing that Pausanias and the other Spartan generals behaved with excessive haughtiness, he chose a quite different manner, showing much mildness and condescension in his whole conversation and address, and prevailing with Cimon to behave with equal goodness and affability to the whole league. Thus he insensibly drew the chief command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, horses, or ships, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the justice of Aristides, and the candour of Cimon, having made the Athenians very agreeable to the confederates, their regard was increased by the contrast they found in Pausanias' avarice and severity of manners; for he never spoke to the officers of the allies but with sharpness and anger, and he ordered many of their men to be flogged, or to stand all day with an iron anchor on their shoulders. He would not suffer any of them to provide themselves with forage or straw to lie on, or to go to the springs for water, before the Spartans were supplied, but placed his

* This was before the battle of Platæa, at the time when Xerxes was put to flight, and driven back into Asia.

† Eight years after.

servants there with rods to drive away those that should attempt it.—And when Aristides was going to remonstrate with him upon it, he knit his brows, and, telling him "He was not at leisure," refused to hear him.

From that time the sea-captains and land-officers of the Greeks, particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristides to take upon him the command of the confederate forces; and to receive them into his protection, since they had long desired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to act under the orders of the Athenians. He answered, "That he saw the necessity and justice of what they proposed, but that the proposal ought first to be confirmed by some act, which would make it impossible for the troops to depart from their resolution." Hereupon Uliades of Samos, and Antagoras of Chios, conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias' galley at the head of the fleet. Pausanias upon this insolence cried out, in a menacing tone, "He would soon show those fellows they had not offered this insult to his ship, but to their own countries!" But they told him, "The best thing he could do was to retire, and thank fortune for fighting for him at Platæa; for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action restrained the Greeks from wreaking their just vengeance on him." The conclusion was, that they quitted the Spartan banners, and ranged themselves under those of the Athenians.

On this occasion the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great lustre. For as soon as they perceived their generals were spoiled with too much power, they sent no more, but voluntarily gave up their pretensions to the chief command; choosing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modesty and tenaciousness of the laws and customs of their country, than to possess the sovereign command of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Greeks paid a certain tax towards the war; and now, being desirous that every city might be more equally rated, they begged the favour of the Athenians that Aristides might take it upon him, and give him instructions to inspect their lands and revenues, in order to proportion the burden of each to its ability.

Aristides, invested with this authority, which in a manner made him master of all Greece, did not abuse it: for, though he went out poor, he returned poorer, having settled the quotas of the several states not only justly and disinterestedly, but with so much tenderness and humanity, that his assessment was agreeable and convenient to all. And as the ancients praised the times of Saturn, so the allies of Athens blest the settlements of Aristides, calling it

the happy fortune of Greece; a compliment which soon after appeared still more just, when this taxation was twice or three times as high: for that of Aristides amounted only to four hundred and sixty talents, and Pericles increased it almost one third; for Thucydides writes, that at the beginning of the war the Athenians received from their allies six hundred talents; and, after the death of Pericles, those that had the administration in their hands raised it by little and little to the sum of thirteen hundred talents. Not that the war grew more expensive, either by its length or want of success, but because they had accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples.

The great and illustrious character which Aristides acquired by the equity of this taxation piqued Themistocles, and he endeavoured to turn the praise bestowed upon him into ridicule, by saying, "It was not the praise of a man, but of a money-chest, to keep treasure without diminution." By this he took but a feeble revenge for the freedom of Aristides: for one day Themistocles happening to say, "That he looked upon it as the principal excellence of a general to know and foresee the designs of the enemy," Aristides answered, "That is indeed a necessary qualification; but there is another very excellent one, and highly becoming a general, and that is, to have clean hands."

When Aristides had settled the articles of alliance, he called upon the confederates to confirm them with an oath, which he himself took on the part of the Athenians; and, at the same time that he uttered the execration on those that should break the articles, he threw red-hot pieces of iron into the sea*. However, when the urgency of affairs afterwards required the Athenians to govern Greece with a stricter hand than those conditions justified, he advised them to let the consequences of the perjury rest with him, and pursue the path which expediency had pointed out†. Upon the whole, Theophrastus says, that in all his own private concerns, and in those of his fellow-citizens, he was inflexibly just, but in affairs of state he did many things, according to the exigency of the case, to serve his

* As much as to say, as the fire in these pieces of iron is extinguished in a moment, so may their days be extinct who break this covenant.

† Thus even the just, the upright Aristides, made a distinction between his private and political conscience. A distinction which has no manner of foundation in truth or reason, and which, in the end, will be productive of ruin, rather than advantage; as all those nations will find, who avail themselves of injustice to serve a present occasion; for so much reputation is so much power; and states, as well as private persons, are respectable only in their character.

country, which seemed often to have need of the assistance of injustice. And he relates, that when it was debated in council, whether the treasure deposited at Delos should be brought to Athens, as the Samians had advised, though contrary to treaties, on its coming to his turn to speak, he said, "It was not just, but it was expedient."

This must be said, notwithstanding, that though he extended the dominion of Athens over so many people, he himself still continued poor, and esteemed his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had won.—The following is a clear proof of it. Callias the torch-bearer, who was his near relation, was prosecuted in a capital cause by his enemies. When they had alleged what they had against him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out into something foreign to their own charge, and thus addressed the judges:—"You know Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who is justly the admiration of all Greece. When you see with what a garb he appears in public, in what manner do you think he must live at home? Must not he, who shivers here with cold for want of clothing, be almost famished there, and destitute of all necessaries? yet this is the man whom Callias, his cousin-german, and the richest man in Athens, absolutely neglects, and leaves, with his wife and children, in such wretchedness; though he has often made use of him, and availed himself of his interest with you." Callias, perceiving that this point affected and exasperated his judges more than any thing else, called for Aristides to testify before the court that he had many times offered him considerable sums, and strongly pressed him to accept them, but he had always refused them, in such terms as these: "It better becomes Aristides to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his riches; for we see every day many people make a good as well as a bad use of riches, but it is hard to find one that bears poverty with a noble spirit; and they are only ashamed of it who are poor against their will." When Aristides had given in his evidence, there was not a man in the court who did not leave it with an inclination rather to be poor with him, than rich with Callias. This particular we have from Æschines, the disciple of Socrates. And Plato, among all that were accounted great and illustrious men in Athens, judged none but Aristides worthy of real esteem. As for Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with magnificent buildings, with wealth, and the vain superfluities of life; but virtue was the only object that Aristides had in view in the whole course of his administration.

We have extraordinary instances of the candour with which he behaved towards Themistocles: for though he was his constant enemy in all affairs of government, and the means of his banishment, yet

when Themistocles was accused of capital crimes against the state, and he had an opportunity to pay him in kind, he indulged not the least revenge; but while Alcmæon, Cimon, and many others, were accusing him, and driving him into exile, Aristides alone neither did nor said any thing to his disadvantage: for, as he had not envied his prosperity, so now he did not rejoice in his misfortunes.

As to the death of Aristides, some say it happened in Pontus, whither he had sailed about some business of the state; others say he died at Athens, full of days, honoured and admired by his fellow-citizens; but Craterus the Macedonian gives us another account of the death of this great man. He tells us, that, after the banishment of Themistocles, the insolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of villanous informers, who, attacking the greatest and best men, rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now much elated with prosperity and power. Aristides himself was not spared, but, on a charge brought against him by Diophantus of Amphitrope, was condemned for taking a bribe of the Ionians, at the time he levied the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty *minæ*, he sailed to some part of Ionia, and there died. But Craterus gives us no written proof of this assertion, nor does he allege any register of court or decree of the people, though on other occasions he is full of such proofs, and constantly cites his author. The other historians, without exception, who have given us an account of the unjust behaviour of the people of Athens to their generals, among many other instances, dwell upon the banishment of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine imposed upon Pericles, and the death of Pachas, who, upon receiving sentence, killed himself in the judgment-hall, at the foot of the tribunal. Nor do they forget the banishment of Aristides, but they say not one word of his condemnation.

Besides, his monument is still to be seen at Phalerum, and is said to have been erected at the public charge, because he did not leave enough to defray the expenses of his funeral. They inform us too, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them had three thousand *drachmæ* to her portion out of the treasury; and to his son Lysimachus the people of Athens gave a hundred *minæ* of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a pension of four drachmæ a-day*; the whole being confirmed to him by

* Though this may seem no extraordinary matter to us, being only about half a crown of our money, yet in those days it was: for an ambassador was allowed only two drachmas a-day, as appears from the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes. The poet, indeed, speaks of one sent to the king of Persia, at whose court an ambassador was pretty sure to be enriched,

a decree drawn up by Alcibiades. Callisthenes adds, that Lysimachus, at his death, leaving a daughter named Polycrite, the people ordered her the same subsistence with those that had conquered at the Olympic games. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus of Rhodes, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle himself, if the treatise concerning nobility is to be reckoned among his genuine works, relate, that Myrto, a grand-daughter of Aristides, was married to Socrates the philosopher, who had another wife at the same time, but took her because she was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is sufficiently confuted by Panætius, in his life of that philosopher.

The same Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, tells us he remembered one Lysimachus, grandson to Aristides, who plied constantly near the temple of Bacchus, having certain tables by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood; and that he himself procured a decree, by which his mother and aunt had three *oboli* a-day each allowed for their subsistence. He farther acquaints us, that when afterwards he undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of those women a drachma a-day. Nor is it to be wondered that this people took so much care of those that lived with them in Athens, when having heard that a grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived in mean circumstances in Lemnos, and continued unmarried by reason of her poverty, they sent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of a considerable family, giving her for a portion an estate in the borough of Potamos. That city, even in our days, continues to give so many proofs of her benevolence and humanity, that she is deservedly admired and applauded by all the world.

CATO THE CENSOR.

IT is said that Marcus Cato was born at Tusculum, of which place his family originally was, and that before he was concerned in civil or military affairs, he lived upon an estate which his father left him near the country of the Sabines. Though his ancestors were reckoned to have been persons of no note, yet Cato himself boasts of his father as a brave man and an excellent soldier, and assures us that his grandfather Cato received several military rewards, and that having had five horses killed under him, he had the value of them paid him out of the treasury, as an acknowledgment of his gallant beha-

viour. As the Romans always gave the appellation of *new men** to those who, having no honours transmitted to them from their ancestors, began to distinguish themselves, they mentioned Cato by the same style: but he used to say, he was indeed *new* with respect to offices and dignities, but, with regard to the services and virtues of his ancestors, he was very ancient.

His third name, at first, was not Cato, but Porcius. It was afterwards changed to that of Cato, on account of his great wisdom: for the Romans call wise men *Catos*†. He had red hair and grey eyes, as this epigram ill-naturedly enough declares:

With eyes so grey and hair so red,
With tusks‡ so sharp and keen,
Thou'lt fright the shades when thou art dead,
And hell won't let thee in.

Inured to labour and temperance, and brought up, as it were, in camps, he had an excellent constitution, with respect to strength as well as health. And he considered eloquence as a valuable contingent, an instrument of great things, not only useful, but necessary for every man who does not choose to live obscure and inactive; for which reason he exercised and improved that talent in the neighbouring boroughs and villages, by undertaking the causes of such as applied to him; so that he was soon allowed to be an able pleader, and afterwards a good orator.

From this time, all that conversed with him discovered in him such a gravity of behaviour, such a dignity and depth of sentiment, as qualified him for the greatest affairs in the most respectable government in the world. For he was not only so disinterested as to plead without fee or reward, but it appeared that the honour to be gained in that department was not his principal view; his ambition was military glory; and, when yet but a youth, he had fought so many battles that his breast was full of scars. He himself tells us he made his first campaign at seventeen years of age, when Hannibal, in the height of his prosperity, was laying Italy waste with fire and sword. In battle he stood firm, had

* The *jus imaginum* was annexed to the great offices of state, and none had their statues or pictures but such as had borne those offices. Therefore, he who had the pictures of his ancestors was called *noble;* he who had only his own was called a *new man;* and he who had neither the one nor the other was called *ignoble.* So says Asconius. But it does not appear that a man who had borne a great office, the consulate for instance, was *ignoble,* because he had not his statue or picture; for he might not choose it. Cato himself did not choose it: his reason, we suppose, was, because he had none of his ancestors, though he was pleased to assign another.

† The Latin word *catus* signifies "prudent."

‡ The epigrammatist, when he says that he was *pandaketes,* "one that bit every thing that came in his way," plays upon his name of *Porcius,* quasi *Porcus,* "hog."

a sure and executing hand, a fierce countenance, and spoke to his enemy in a threatening and dreadful accent; for he rightly judged, and endeavoured to convince others, that such a kind of behaviour often strikes an adversary with greater terror than the sword itself. He always marched on foot, and carried his own arms, followed only by one servant, who carried his provisions. And it is said he never was angry, or found fault with that servant, whatever he set before him; but when he was at leisure from military duty, he would ease and assist him in dressing it. All the time he was in the army he drank nothing but water, except that, when almost burnt up with thirst, he would ask for a little vinegar, or, when he found his strength and spirits exhausted, he would take a little wine.

Near his country seat was a cottage which formerly belonged to Manius Curius*, who was thrice honoured with a triumph. Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the smallness of the farm, and the meanness of the dwelling, used to think of the peculiar virtues of Dentatus, who, though he was the greatest man in Rome, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little spot of ground with his own hands, and, after three triumphs, lived in this cottage. Here the ambassadors of the Samnites found him in the chimney corner, dressing turnips, and offered him a large present of gold; but he absolutely refused it, and gave them this answer, *A man who can be satisfied with such a supper has no need of gold; and I think it more glorious to conquer the owners of it than to have it myself.* Full of these thoughts, Cato returned home, and taking a view of his own estate, his servants, and manner of living, added to his own labour, and retrenched his unnecessary expenses.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who was then very young†, served under him. Happening at that time to lodge with a Pythagorean philosopher named Nearchus, he desired to hear some of his doctrine; and learning from him the same maxims which Plato advances, *That pleasure is the greatest incentive to evil; that the greatest burden and calamity to the soul is the body, from which she cannot disengage herself, but by such a wise use of reason as shall wean and separate her from all corporeal passions;* he became still more attached to frugality and tem-

* Manius Curius Dentatus triumphed twice in his first consulate, in the four hundred and sixty third year of Rome, first over the Samnites, and afterwards over the Sabines. And eight years after that, in his third consulate, he triumphed over Pyrrhus. After this, he led up the less triumph, called *Ovation*, for his victory over the Lucanians.

† Fabius Maximus took Tarentum in his fifth consulate, in the year of Rome 544. Cato was then twenty-three years old; but he had made his first campaign under the same Fabius five years before.

perance. Yet it is said that he learned Greek very late, and was considerably advanced in years when he began to read the Grecian writers, among whom he improved his eloquence, somewhat by Thucydides, but by Demosthenes very greatly. Indeed, his own writings are sufficiently adorned with precepts and examples borrowed from the Greek, and among his maxims and sentences we find many that are literally translated from the same originals.

At that time there flourished a Roman nobleman of great power and eminence, called Valerius Flaccus, whose penetration enabled him to distinguish a rising genius and virtuous disposition, and whose benevolence inclined him to encourage and conduct it in the path of glory. This nobleman had an estate contiguous to Cato's, where he often heard his servants speak of his neighbour's laborious and temperate manner of life. They told him that he used to go early in the morning to the little towns in the neighbourhood, and defend the causes of such as applied to him; that from thence he would return to his own farm, where, in a coarse frock, if it was winter, and naked, if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them, and eat the same kind of bread, and drink of the same wine. They related also many other instances of his condescension and moderation, and mentioned several of his short sayings, that were full of wit and good sense. Valerius, charmed with his character, sent him an invitation to dinner. From that time, by frequent conversation, he found in him so much sweetness of temper, and ready wit, that he considered him as an excellent plant, which wanted only cultivation, and deserved to be removed to a better soil. He therefore persuaded him to go to Rome, and apply himself to affairs of state.

There his pleadings soon procured him friends and admirers; the interest of Valerius, too, greatly assisted his rise to preferment; so that he was first made a tribune of the soldiers, and afterwards quæstor. And having gained great reputation and honour in those employments, he was joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities, being his colleague both as consul and as censor.

Among all the ancient senators, he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus, not so much on account of the great power and honour he had acquired, as for the sake of his life and manners, which Cato considered as the best model to form himself upon. So that he made no scruple of differing with the great Scipio, who, though at that time but a young man, yet, actuated by a spirit of emulation, was the person who most opposed the power of Fabius. For being sent quæstor with Scipio to the war in Africa, and perceiving that he indulged himself, as usual, in an unbounded expense,

and lavished the public money upon the troops, he took the liberty to remonstrate; observing, "That the expense itself was not the greatest evil, but the consequence of that expense, since it corrupted the ancient simplicity of the soldiery, who, when they had more money than was necessary for their subsistence, were sure to bestow it upon luxury and riot." Scipio answered, "He had no need of a very exact and frugal treasurer, because he intended to spread all his sails in the ocean of war, and because his country expected from him an account of services performed, not of money expended." Upon this Cato left Sicily, and returned to Rome, where, together with Fabius, he loudly complained to the senate of "Scipio's immense profusion, and of his passing his time like a boy, in wrestling rings and theatres, as if he had not been sent out to make war, but to exhibit games and shows." In consequence of this, tribunes were sent to examine into the affair, with orders, if the accusation proved true, to bring Scipio back to Rome. Scipio represented to them, "That success depended entirely upon the greatness of the preparations;" and made them sensible, "That though he spent his hours of leisure in a cheerful manner with his friends, his liberal way of living had not caused him to neglect any great or important business." With this defence the commissioners were satisfied, and he set sail for Africa.

As for Cato, he continued to gain so much influence and authority by his eloquence, that he was commonly called the Roman Demosthenes; but he was still more celebrated for his manner of living. His excellence as a speaker awakened a general emulation among the youth to distinguish themselves the same way, and to surpass each other: but few were willing to imitate him in the ancient custom of tilling the field with their own hands, in eating a dinner prepared without fire, and a spare frugal supper; few, like him, could be satisfied with a plain dress and a poor cottage, or think it more honourable not to want the superfluities of life, than to possess them. For the commonwealth now no longer retained its primitive purity and integrity, by reason of the vast extent of its dominions; the many different affairs under its management, and the infinite number of people that were subject to its command, had introduced a great variety of customs and modes of living. Justly, therefore, was Cato entitled to admiration, when the other citizens were frightened at labour, and enervated by pleasure, and he alone was unconquered by either, not only while young and ambitious, but when old and grey-haired, after his consulship and triumph; like a brave wrestler, who, after he has come off conqueror, observes the common rules, and continues his exercises to the last.

He himself tells us that he never wore a garment that cost more than a hundred *drachmæ*, that, even when prætor or consul, he drank the same wine with his slaves; that a dinner never cost him from the market above thirty *ases;* and that he was thus frugal fo the sake af his country, that he might be able to endure the harde service in war. He adds, that having got, among some goods h was heir to, a piece of Babylonian tapestry, he sold it immediately that the walls of his country-houses were neither plastered nor white washed; that he never gave more for a slave than fifteen hundre *drachmæ*, as not requiring in his servants delicate shapes and fin faces, but strength and ability to labour, that they might be fit to b employed in his stables, about his cattle, or such like business; an these he thought proper to sell again when they grew old*, that h might have no useless persons to maintain. In a word, he though nothing cheap that was superfluous; that what a man has no need o is dear even at a penny; and that it is much better to have fields wher the plough goes, or cattle feed, than fine gardens and walks that re quire much watering and sweeping.

Some imputed these things to a narrowness of spirit, while others supposed that he betook himself to this contracted manner of living in order to correct, by his example, the growing luxury of the age. For my part, I cannot but charge his using his servants like so many beasts of burden, and turning them off, or selling them, when grown old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice; the obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, but kindness and beneficence should be extended to creatures of every species; and these still flow from the breast of a well-natured man, as streams that issue from the living fountain. A good man will take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and past service. Thus the people of Athens, when they had finished the temple called *Hecatompedon*, set at liberty the beasts of burden that had been chiefly employed in that work, suffering them to pasture at large, free from any further service. It is said that one of these afterwards came of its own accord to work, and putting itself at the head of the

* Cato says in express terms, "A master of a family should sell his old oxen, and all the horned cattle that are of a delicate frame; all his sheep that are not hardy, their wool, their very pelts; he should sell his old waggons and his old instruments of husbandry; he should sell such of his slaves as were old or infirm, and every thing else that is old or useless. A master of a family should love to sell, not to buy." What a fine contrast there is between the spirit of this old stoic, and that of the liberal-minded, the benevolent Plutarch!

labouring cattle, marched before them to the citadel. This pleased the people, and they made a decree that it should be kept at the public charge as long as it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares, with which he thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are still to be seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular marks of regard in burying the dogs which they had cherished and been fond of; and, among the rest, Xanthippus of old, whose dog swam by the side of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to abandon their city, was afterwards buried by his master upon a promontory, which to this day is called the *dog's grave*. We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like shoes or household goods, which, when worn out with use, we throw away; and, were it only to learn benevolence to human kind, we should be merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me; much less would I remove, for the sake of a little money, a man grown old in my service, from his usual place and diet; for to him, poor man! it would be as bad as banishment, since he could be of no more use to the buyer than he was to the seller. But Cato, as if he took a pride in these things, tells us, that when consul, he left his war-horse in Spain, to save the public the charge of his freight. Whether such things as these are instances of greatness or littleness of soul, let the reader judge for himself.

He was, however, a man of wonderful temperance: for, when general of the army, he took no more from the public, for himself and those about him, than three Attic *medimni* of wheat a-month, and less than a *medimnus* and a half of barley for his horses. And when he was governor of Sardinia, though his predecessors had put the province to a very great expense for pavilions, bedding, and apparel, and still more by the number of friends and servants they had about them, and by the great and sumptuous entertainments they gave, he, on the contrary, was as remarkable for his frugality. Indeed, he put the public to no manner of charge. Instead of making use of a carriage, he walked from one town to another, attended only by one officer, who carried his robe and a vessel for libations. But if in these things he appeared plain and easy to those who were under his command, he preserved a gravity and severity in every thing else. For he was inexorable in whatever related to public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders; so that the Roman government had never before appeared to that people either so awful or so amiable *.

This contrast was found not only in his manners, but in his style,

* His only amusement was to hear the instructions of the poet Ennius, under whom he learned the Greek sciences. He banished usurers from his province, and reduced the interest upon loans almost to nothing.

which was elegant, facetious, and familiar, and at the same time grave, nervous, and sententious. Thus Plato tells us, "The outside of Socrates was that of a satyr and buffoon, but his soul was all virtue, and from within him came such divine and pathetic things, as pierced the heart, and drew tears from the hearers." And as the same may justly be affirmed of Cato, I cannot comprehend their meaning who compare his language to that of Lysias. I leave this, however, to be decided by those who are more capable than myself of judging of the several sorts of style used among the Romans: and being persuaded that a man's disposition may be discovered much better by his speech than by his looks (though some are of a different opinion), I shall set down some of Cato's remarkable sayings.

One day when the Romans clamoured violently and unseasonably for a distribution of corn, to dissuade them from it, he thus began his address: *It is a difficult task, my fellow-citizens, to speak to the belly, because it has no ears.* Another time, complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he said, *It was a hard matter to save that city from ruin where a fish was sold for more than an ox.* On another occasion he said, *The Roman people were like sheep, for as those can scarce be brought to stir singly, but all in a body readily follow their leaders, just such are ye: the men whose counsel you would not take as individuals, lead you with ease in a crowd.* Speaking of the power of women, he said, *All men naturally govern the women, we govern all men, and our wives govern us.* But this might be taken from the Apophthegms of Themistocles: for, his son directing in most things through his mother, he said, *The* Athenians, *govern the* Greeks, *I govern the* Athenians, *you, wife, govern me, and your son governs you; let him then use that power with moderation, which, child as he is, sets him above all the* Greeks. Another of Cato's sayings was, *That the Roman people fixed the value, not only of the several kinds of colours, but of the arts and sciences: for,* added he, *as the dyers dy that sort of purple which is most agreeable to you, so our youth only study and strive to excel in such things as you esteem and commend.* Exhorting the people to virtue, he said, *If it is by virtue and temperance that you are become great, change not for the worse; but if by intemperance and vice, change for the better; for you are already great enough by such means as these.* Of such as were perpetually soliciting for great offices, he said, *Like men who know not their way, they wanted lictors always to conduct them.* He found fault with the people for often choosing the same persons consuls: *You either,* said he, *think the consulate of little worth, or that there are but few worthy of the consulate.* Concerning one

of his enemies who led a very profligate and infamous life, he said, *His mother takes it for a curse, and not a prayer, when any one wishes this son may survive her.* Pointing to a man who had sold a paternal estate near the sea-side, he pretended to admire him, as one that was stronger than the sea itself: *For,* said he, *what the sea could not have swallowed without difficulty, this man has taken down with all the ease imaginable.* When king Eumenes* came to Rome, the senate received him with extraordinary respect, and the great men strove which should do him the most honour; but Cato visibly neglected and shunned him. Upon which somebody said, *Why do you shun* Eumenes, *who is so good a man, and so great a friend to the* Romans? *That may be,* answered Cato, *but I look upon a king as a creature that feeds upon human flesh†; and of all the kings that have been so much cried up, I find not one to be compared with an* Epaminondas, *a* Pericles, *a* Themistocles, *a* Manius Curius, *or with* Hamilcar, *surnamed* Barcas. He used to say, that *his enemies hated him because he neglected his own concerns, and rose before day to mind those of the public. But that he had rather his good actions should go unrewarded, than his bad ones unpunished; and that he pardoned every body's faults sooner than his own.* The Romans having sent three ambassadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout, another had his skull trepanned, and the third was reckoned little better than a fool, Cato smiled, and said, *They had sent an embassy which had neither feet, head, nor heart.* When Scipio applied to him, at the request of Polybius, in behalf of the Achæan exiles‡, and the matter was much canvassed in the senate, some speaking for their being restored, and some against it, Cato rose up, and said, *As if we had nothing else to do, we sit here all day debating whether a few poor old* Greeks *shall be buried by our grave diggers, or those of their own country.* The senate then decreed that the exiles should return home; and Polybius, some days after, endeavoured to procure another meeting of that respectable body, to restore those exiles to

* Eumenes went to Rome in the year of Rome 581. Cato was then thirty-nine years old.

† This jest is taken from that expression in the first book of Homer's Iliad, *demoboros basileus,* "king that devourest thy people."

‡ The Achæans, in the first year of the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad, entered into measures for delivering up their country to the king of Persia, but, being discovered, a thousand of them were seized, and compelled to live exiles in Italy. There they continued seventeen years; after which, about three hundred, who were still living, were restored by a decree of the senate, which was particularly made in favour of Polybius, who was one of the number.

their former honours in Achaia. Upon this affair he sounded Cato, who answered smiling, *This was just as if* Ulysses *should have wanted to enter the* Cyclops' *cave again for a hat and a belt which he had left behind.* It was a saying of his, *That wise men learn more from fools, than fools from the wise; for the wise avoid the errors of fools, while fools do not profit by the examples of the wise.* Another of his sayings was, *That he liked a young man that blushed, more than one that turned pale; and that he did not like a soldier who moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and who snored louder in bed than he shouted in battle.* Jesting upon a very fat man, he said, *Of what service to his country can such a body be, which is nothing but belly?* When an epicure desired to be admitted into his friendship, he said, *He could not live with a man whose palate had quicker sensations than his heart.* He used to say, *The soul of a lover lived in the body of another:* And that *in all his life he never repented but of three things; the first was, that he had trusted a woman with a secret; the second, that he had gone by sea, when he might have gone by land; and the third, that he had passed one day without having a will by him*.* To an old debauchee, he said, *Old age has deformities enough of its own: do not add to it the deformity of vice.* A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poisoner, proposing a bad law, and taking great pains to have it passed, Cato said to him, *Young man, I know not which is most dangerous, to drink what you mix, or to enact what you propose.* Being scurrilously treated by a man who led a dissolute and infamous life, he said, *It is upon very unequal terms that I contend with you; for you are accustomed to be spoken ill of, and can speak it with pleasure; but with me it is unusual to hear it, and disagreeable to speak it.* Such was the manner of his repartees and short sayings.

Being appointed consul along with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of that part of Spain which the Romans call *Citerior*, "hither," fell to his lot†. While he was subduing some of the nations there by arms, and winning others by kindness, a great army of barbarians fell upon him, and he was in danger of being driven out with

* This has been misunderstood by all the translators, who have agreed in rendering it, "that he had passed one day idly."

† As Cato's troops consisted, for the most part, of raw soldiers, he took great pains to discipline them, considering that they had to deal with the Spaniards, who, in their wars with the Romans and Carthaginians, had learned the military art, and were naturally brave and courageous. Before he came to action, he sent away his fleet, that his soldiers might place all their hopes in their valour. With the same view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compass, and posted his army behind them in the plain; so that the Spaniards were between him and his camp.

dishonour. On this occasion he sent to desire succours of his neighbours the Celtiberians, who demanded two hundred talents for that service. All the officers of his army thought it intolerable that the Romans should be obliged to purchase assistance of the barbarians; but Cato said, *It is no such great hardship; for if we conquer, we shall pay them at the enemy's expence; and, if we are conquered, there will be nobody either to pay or make the demand.* He gained the battle, and every thing afterwards succeeded to his wish. Polybius tells us, that the walls of all the Spanish towns on this side the river Bætis were razed by his command in one day*, notwithstanding the towns were numerous, and their inhabitants brave. Cato himself says, he took more cities than he spent days in Spain; nor is it a vain boast, for they were actually no fewer than four hundred. Though this campaign afforded the soldiers great booty, he gave each of them a pound weight of silver besides, saying, *It was better that many of the* Romans *should return with silver in their pockets, than a few with gold.* And for his own part, he assures us, that of all that was taken in the war, nothing came to his share but what he ate and drank. *Not that I blame,* says he, *those that seek their own advantage in these things; but I had rather contend for valour with the brave, than for wealth with the rich, or in rapaciousness with the covetous.* And he not only kept himself clear of extortion, but all that were immediately under his direction. He had five servants with him in this expedition; one of whom, named Paccus, had purchased three boys that were among the prisoners; but when he knew that his master was informed of it, unable to bear the thoughts of coming into his presence, he hanged himself. Upon which Cato sold the boys, and put the money into the public treasure.

While he was settling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wanted to break the course of his success, and have the finishing of the war himself, managed matters so as to get himself appointed his successor. After which he made all possible haste to take the command of the army from him. But Cato, hearing of his march, took five companies of foot, and five hundred horse, as a convoy to attend upon Scipio, and as he went to meet him, defeated the Lecetanians, and took among them six hundred Roman

* As the dread of his name procured him great respect in all the provinces beyond the Iberus, he wrote the same day private letters to the commanders of several fortified towns, ordering them to demolish without delay their fortifications; and assuring them that he would pardon none but such as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders, believing the orders to be sent only to himself, immediately beat down their walls and towers. *Liv.* l. xxxiv. c. 15.

deserters, whom he caused to be put to death. And upon Scipio's expressing his displeasure at this, he answered ironically, *Rome would be great indeed, if men of birth would not yield the palm of virtue to the commonalty, and if plebeians, like himself, would contend for excellence with men of birth and quality.* Besides, as the senate had decreed that nothing should be altered which Cato had ordered and established, the post which Scipio had made so much interest for rather tarnished his own glory than that of Cato; for he continued inactive during that government.

In the mean time, Cato was honoured with a triumph. But he did not act afterwards like those whose ambition is only for fame, and not for virtue, and who, having reached the highest honours, borne the office of consul, and led up triumphs, withdraw from public business, and give up the rest of their days to ease and pleasure. On the contrary, like those who are just entered upon business, and thirst for honour and renown, he exerted himself as if he was beginning his race anew, his services being always ready both for his friends in particular, and for the citizens in general, either at the bar or in the field: for he went with the consul Tiberius Sempronius to Thrace and the Danube*, as his lieutenant. And, as legionary tribune he attended Manius Acilius Glabrio into Greece, in the war against Antiochus the Great, who, next to Hannibal, was the most formidable enemy the Romans ever had: for having recovered almost all the provinces of Asia which Seleucus Nicanor had possessed, and reduced many warlike nations of barbarians, he was so much elated as to think the Romans the only match for him in the field. Accordingly he crossed the sea with a powerful army, colouring his design with the specious pretence of restoring liberty to the Greeks, of which, however, they stood in no need; for, being lately delivered by the favour of the Romans from the yoke of Philip and the Macedonians, they were free already, and were governed by their own laws.

At his approach, all Greece was in great commotion, and unresolved how to act, being corrupted with the splendid hopes infused by the orators whom Antiochus had gained. Acilius, therefore, sent ambassadors to the several states, Titus Flaminius appeased the disturbances, and kept most of the Greeks in the Roman interest, without using any violent means, as I have related in his life; and Cato confirmed the people of Corinth, as well as those of Patræ and Ægium in their duty. He also made a considerable stay at Athens; and it is said there is still extant a speech of his, which he delivered

* The year after his consulship, and the second year of the hundred and forty-sixth Olympiad.

to the Athenians in Greek, expressing his admiration of the virtue of their ancestors, and his satisfaction in beholding the beauty and grandeur of their city. But this account is not true, for he spoke to them by an interpreter. Not that he was ignorant of Greek, but chose to adhere to the customs of his country, and laugh at those who admired nothing but what was Greek. He therefore ridiculed Posthumius Albinus, who had written a history in that language, and made an apology for the improprieties of expressions, saying, *He ought to be pardoned, as he wrote it by command of the* Amphictyons. We are assured that the Athenians admired the strength and conciseness of his language; for what he delivered in few words, the interpreter was obliged to make use of many to explain; insomuch that he left them in the opinion that the expressions of the Greeks flowed only from the lips, while those of the Romans came from the heart*.

Antiochus having blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylæ with his troops, and added walls and intrenchments to the natural fortifications of the place, sat down there unconcerned, thinking the war could not touch him. And indeed the Romans despaired of forcing the pass. But Cato, recollecting the circuit the Persians had taken on a like occasion†, set out in the night with a proper detachment.

When they had advanced a considerable height, the guide, who was one of the prisoners, missed his way, and wandering about among impracticable places and precipices, threw the soldiers into inexpressible dread and despair. Cato, seeing the danger, ordered his forces to halt, while he, with one Lucius Manlius, who was dexterous in climbing the steep mountains‡, went forward with great difficulty, and at the hazard of his life, at midnight, without any moon, scrambling among wild olive-trees and steep rocks, that still more impeded his view, and added darkness to the obscurity. At last they hit upon a path which seemed to lead down to the enemy's camp. There they set up marks upon some of the most conspicu-

* There cannot be a stronger instance than this, that the brief expression of the Spartans was owing to the native simplicity of their manners, and the sincerity of their hearts. It was the expression of nature.—Artificial and circumlocutory expression, like licentious paintings, are the consequences of licentious life.

† In the Persian war, Leonidas, with three hundred Spartans only, sustained the shock of an innumerable multitude in the pass of Thermopylæ, until the barbarians fetching a compass round the mountains by by-ways, came up upon him behind, and cut his party in pieces.

‡ The mountains to the east of the straits of Thermopylæ are comprehended under the name of Œta, and the highest of them is called Callidromus, at the foot of which is a road sixty feet broad. *Liv.* l. xxxvi. c. 15.

ous rocks on the top of the mountain Callidromus; and, returning the same way, took the whole party with them; whom they conducted by the direction of the marks, and so regained the little path, where they made a proper disposition of the troops. They had marched but a little farther when the path failed them, and they saw nothing before them but a precipice, which distressed them still more, for they could not yet perceive that they were near the enemy.

The day now began to appear, when one of them thought he heard the sound of human voices, and a little after they saw the Grecian camp and the advanced guard at the foot of the rock. Cato therefore made a halt, and sent to acquaint the Firmians that he wanted to speak with them in private*. These were troops whose fidelity and courage he had experienced on the most dangerous occasions. They hastened into his presence, when he thus addressed them: "I want to take one of the enemy alive, to learn of him who they are that compose this advanced guard, and how many in number; and to be informed what is the disposition and order of their whole army, and what preparations they have made to receive us; but the business requires the speed and impetuosity of lions who rush into a herd of timorous beasts."

When Cato had done speaking, the Firmians, without further preparation, poured down the mountain, surprised the advanced guard, dispersed them, took one armed man, and brought him to Cato. The prisoner informed him that the main body of the army was encamped with the king in the narrow pass, and that the detachment which guarded the heights consisted of six hundred select Ætolians. Cato despising these troops, as well on account of their small number as their negligence, drew his sword, and rushed upon them with all the alarm of voices and trumpets. The Ætolians no sooner saw him descend from the mountains than they fled to the main body, and put the whole in the utmost confusion.

At the same time Manius forced the intrenchments of Antiochus below, and poured into the pass with his army. Antiochus himself being wounded in the mouth with a stone, and having some of his teeth struck out, the anguish obliged him to turn his horse and retire.—After his retreat, no part of his army could stand the shock of the Romans; and though there appeared no hopes of escaping by flight, by reason of the straitness of the road, the deep marshes on one side, and rocky precipices on the other, yet they crowded along through those narrow passages, and pushing each other down, perished miserably, out of fear of being destroyed by the Romans.

Cato, who was never sparing in his own praises, and thought

* Firmium was a Roman colony in the Picene.

boasting a natural attendant on great actions, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says, "That those who saw him charging the enemy, routing and pursuing them, declared that Cato owed less to the people of Rome than the people of Rome owed to Cato; and that the consul Manius himself, coming hot from the fight, took him in his arms as he too came panting from the action, and embracing him a long time, cried out in a transport of joy, that neither he nor the whole Roman people could sufficiently reward Cato's merit.

Immediately after the battle, the consul sent him with an account of it to Rome, that he might be the first to carry the news of his own achievements. With a favourable wind he sailed to Brundusium; from thence he reached Tarentum in one day: and having travelled four days more, he arrived at Rome the fifth day after he landed, and was the first that brought the news of the victory. His arrival filled the city with sacrifices and other testimonies of joy, and gave the people so high an opinion of themselves, that they now believed there could be no bounds to their empire or their power.

These are the most remarkable of Cato's actions; and, with respect to civil affairs, he appears to have thought the impeaching of offenders, and bringing them to justice, a thing that well deserved his attention: for he prosecuted several, and encouraged and assisted others in carrying on their prosecutions. Thus he set up Petilius against Scipio the Great: but, secure in the dignity of his family, and his own greatness of mind, Scipio treated the accusation with the utmost contempt. Cato, perceiving he would not be capitally condemned, dropped the accusation; but, with some others who assisted him in the cause, impeached his brother, Lucius Scipio, who was sentenced to pay a fine which his circumstances could not answer, so that he was in danger of imprisonment; and it was not without great difficulty, and appealing to the tribunes, that he was dismissed.

We have also an account of a young man who had procured a verdict against an enemy of his father, who was lately dead, and had him stigmatized. Cato met him as he was passing through the *forum*, and taking him by the hand, addressed him in these words: "It is thus we are to sacrifice to the *manes* of our parents, not with the blood of goats and lambs, but with the tears and condemnation of their enemies."

Cato, however, did not escape these attacks; but when, in the business of the state, he gave the least handle, was certainly prosecuted, and sometimes in danger of being condemned: for it is said that near fifty impeachments were brought against him, and the last when he was eighty-six years of age: on which occasion he made

use of that memorable expression, *It is hard that I who have lived with men of one generation should be obliged to make my defence to those of another.* Nor was this the end of his contests at the bar; for, four years after, at the age of ninety*, he impeached Servilius Galba: so that, like Nestor, he lived three generations, and, like him, was always in action. In short, after having constantly opposed Scipio in matters of government, he lived until the time of young Scipio, his adopted grandson, and son of Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus and the Macedonians.

Ten years after his consulship, Cato stood for the office of censor, which was the highest dignity in the republic: for, beside the other power and authority that attended this office, it gave the magistrate a right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens.—The Romans did not think it proper that any one should be left to follow his own inclinations without inspection or control, either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his table, or in the company he kept. But, convinced that in these private scenes of life a man's real character was much more distinguishable than in his public and political transactions, they appointed two magistrates, the one out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians, to inspect, to correct, and to chastise such as they found giving into dissipation and licentiousness, and deserting the ancient and established manner of living. These great officers they called censors: and they had power to deprive a Roman knight of his horse, or to expel a senator that led a vicious and disorderly life. They likewise took an estimate of each citizen's estate, and enrolled them according to their pedigree, quality, and condition.

This office has several other great prerogatives annexed to it; and therefore, when Cato solicited it, the principal senators opposed him. The motive to this opposition with some of the patricians was envy; for they imagined it would be a disgrace to the nobility, if persons of a mean and obscure origin were elevated to the highest honour in the state; with others it was fear; for, conscious that their lives were vicious, and that they had departed from the ancient simplicity of manners, they dreaded the austerity of Cato, because they believed he would be stern and inexorable in his office. Having consulted

* Plutarch here is not consistent with himself. Towards the beginning of this Life he says that Cato was but seventeen years old at the time of Hannibal's success in Italy; and at the conclusion he tells that Cato died just at the beginning of the third Punic war. But Hannibal came into Italy in the year of Rome 534; and the third Punic war broke out seventy years after, in the year of Rome 604. According to this computation, Cato could not be more than eighty-seven years old when he died; and this account is confirmed by Cicero.

and prepared their measures, they put seven candidates in opposition to Cato; and imagining that the people wanted to be governed with an easy hand, they soothed them with hopes of a mild censorship. Cato, on the contrary, without condescending to the least flattery or complaisance, in his speeches from the rostrum, professed his resolution to punish every instance of vice, and loudly declaring that the city wanted great reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise, to choose not the mildest but the severest physician. He told them that *he* was one of that character, and, among the patricians, Valerius Flaccus was another; and that, with him for his colleague, and him only, he could hope to render good service to the commonwealth, by effectually cutting off, like another *hydra*, the spreading luxury and effeminacy of the times. He added, that he saw others pressing into the censorship in order to exercise that office in a bad manner, because they were afraid of such as would discharge it faithfully.

The Roman people on this occasion showed themselves truly great and worthy of the best of leaders: for, far from dreading the severity of this inflexible man, they rejected those smoother candidates that seemed ready to consult their pleasure in every thing, and chose Valerius Flaccus with Cato; attending to the latter, not as a man that solicited the office of censor, but as one who, already possessed of it, gave out his orders by virtue of his authority.

The first thing Cato did was to name his friend and colleague, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, chief of the senate, and to expel many others the house; particularly Lucius Quintus, who had been consul seven years before, and, what was still a greater honour, was brother to Titus Flaminius*, who overthrew king Philip.

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He expelled also Manilius, another senator, whom the general opinion had marked out for consul, because he had given his wife a kiss in the day-time in the sight of his daughter: "For his own part," he said, "his wife never embraced him but when it thundered dreadfully;" adding, by way of joke, "That he was happy when Jupiter pleased to thunder."

He was censured as having merely indulged his envy when he degraded Lucius, who was brother to Scipio the Great, and had been honoured with a triumph; for he took from him his horse; and it was believed he did it to insult the memory of Scipio Africanus. But there was another thing that rendered him more generally obnoxious, and that was the reformation he introduced in point of luxury. It was impossible for him to begin his attacks upon it openly,

* Polybius, Livy, and Cicero, make the surname of this family Flaminius.

because the whole body of the people was infected, and therefore he took an indirect method. He caused an estimate to be taken of all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture, and utensils; and whatever exceeded fifteen hundred *drachmæ* in value, he rated at ten times as much, and imposed a tax according to that valuation; for every thousand *ases* he made them pay three; that finding themselves burdened with the tax, while the modest and frugal, with equal substance, paid much less to the public, they might be induced to retrench their appearance. This procured him many enemies, not only among those who, rather than part with their luxury, submitted to the tax, but among those who lessened the expense of their figure to avoid it: for the generality of mankind think that prohibition to show their wealth is the same thing as taking it away, and that opulence is seen in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life. And this (we are told) was what surprised Aristo the philosopher; for he could not comprehend why those that are possessed of superfluities should be accounted happy, rather than such as abound in what is necessary and useful. But Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked him for something that could be of little use to him, and gave him that as a reason why he should grant his request, made answer, "It is in these useless and superfluous things that I am rich and happy." Thus the desire of wealth, far from being a natural passion, is a foreign and adventitious one, arising from vulgar opinion.

Cato paid no regard to these complaints, but became more severe and rigid. He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and demolished all the buildings that projected out into the streets. He lowered the price of public works, and farmed out the public revenues at the highest rent they could bear. By these things he brought upon himself the hatred of vast numbers of people: so that Titus Flaminius and his party attacked him, and prevailed with the senate to annul the contracts he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings, as detrimental to the state. Nor did they stop here, but incited the boldest of the tribunes to accuse him to the people, and fine him two talents. They likewise opposed him very much in his building, at the public charge, a hall below the senate-house by the *forum*, which he finished notwithstanding, and called the *Porcian* hall.

The people, however, appear to have been highly pleased with his behaviour in this office: for, when they erected his statue in the temple of *Health*, they made no mention on the pedestal of his victories and triumph, but the inscription was to this effect: "In honour

of Cato the censor, who, when the Roman commonwealth was degenerating into licentiousness, by good discipline and wise institutions restored it."

Before this, he laughed at those who were fond of such honours, and said, "They were not aware that they plumed themselves upon the workmanship of founders, statuaries, and painters, while the Romans bore about a more glorious image of him in their hearts." And to those that expressed their wonder, that while many persons of little note had their statues, Cato had none, he said, *He had much rather it should be asked why he had not a statue, than why he had one.* In short, he was of opinion that a good citizen should not even accept of his due praise, unless it tended to the advantage of the community. Yet of all men he was the most forward to commend himself: for he tells us, that those who are guilty of misdemeanors, and afterwards reproved for them, used to say, "They were excusable; they were not Catos:" and that such as imitated some of his actions, but did it awkwardly, were called *left-handed* Catos. He adds, "That the senate, in difficult and dangerous times, used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers in a ship do upon the pilot in a storm:" and, "That, when he happened to be absent, they frequently put off the consideration of matters of importance." These particulars, indeed, are confirmed by other writers; for his life, his eloquence, and his age, gave him great authority in Rome.

He was a good father, a good husband, and an excellent economist. And as he did not think the care of his family a mean and trifling thing, which required only a superficial attention, it may be of use to give some account of his conduct in that respect.

He chose his wife rather for her family than her fortune; persuaded that though both the rich and the high-born have their pride, yet women of good families are more ashamed of any base and unworthy action, and more obedient to their husbands in every thing that is good and honourable. He used to say, that they who beat their wives or children laid their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world; and that he preferred the character of a good husband to that of a great senator. And he admired nothing more in Socrates than his living in an easy and quiet manner with an ill-tempered wife and stupid children. When he had a son born, no business, however urgent, except it related to the public, could hinder him from being present while his wife washed and swaddled the infant; for she suckled it herself; nay, she often gave the breast to the sons of her servants, to inspire them with a brotherly regard for her own.

As soon as the dawn of understanding appeared, Cato took upon

him the office of schoolmaster to his son, though he had a slave named Chilo who was a good grammarian, and taught several other children.—But he tells us, he did not choose that his son should be reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by the ears, if he happened to be slow in learning; or that he should be indebted to so mean a person for his education. He was therefore himself his preceptor in grammar, in law, and in the necessary exercises: for he taught him not only how to throw a dart, to fight hand to hand, and to ride, but to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim the most rapid rivers. He further acquaints us, that he wrote histories for him with his own hand in large characters, that, without stirring out of his father's house, he might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans, and of the customs of his country.—He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the vestal virgins; nor did he ever bathe with him. A regard to decency in this respect was indeed at that time general among the Romans: for even sons-in-law avoided bathing with their fathers-in-law, not choosing to appear naked before them; but afterwards the Greeks taught them not to be so scrupulous in uncovering themselves, and they in their turn taught the Greeks to bathe naked even before the women.

While Cato was taking such excellent measures for forming his son to virtue, he found him naturally ductile both in genius and inclination; but as his body was too weak to undergo much hardship, his father was obliged to relax the severity of his discipline, and to indulge him a little in point of diet. Yet, with this constitution, he was an excellent soldier, and particularly distinguished himself under Paulus Æmilius in the battle against Perseus. On this occasion, his sword happening to be struck from his hand, the moisture of which prevented him from grasping it firmly, he turned to some of his companions with great concern, and begged their assistance in recovering it. He then rushed with them into the midst of the enemy, and having, with extraordinary efforts, cleared the place where the sword was lost, he found it, with much difficulty, under heaps of arms, and dead bodies of friends as well as enemies, piled upon each other. Paulus Æmilius admired this gallant action of the young man; and there is a letter still extant, written by Cato to his son, in which he extremely commends his high sense of honour expresseed in the recovery of that sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, daughter to Paulus Æmilius, and sister to young Scipio; the honour of which alliance was as much owing to his own as to his father's merit. Thus Cato's care in the education of his son answered the end proposed.

He had many slaves whom he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest, and such as were most capable of instruction, like whelps or colts that may be trained at pleasure. None of these slaves ever went into any other man's house, except they were sent by Cato or his wife; and if any of them was asked what his master was doing, he always answered, he did not know: for it was a rule with Cato to have his slaves either employed in the house or asleep; and he liked those best that slept the most kindly, believing that they were better tempered than others that had not so much of that refreshment, and fitter for any kind of business. And as he knew that slaves will stick at nothing to gratify their passion for women, he allowed them to have the company of his female slaves, upon paying a certain price; but under a strict prohibition of approaching any other women.

When he was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with any thing that was served up to his table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant on account of his palate. Yet afterwards, when he was possessed of an easy fortune, and made entertainments for his friends and the principal officers, as soon as dinner was over, he never failed to correct with leathern thongs such of his slaves as had not given due attendance, or had suffered any thing to be spoiled. He contrived means to raise quarrels among his servants, and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity.

When any of them were guilty of a capital crime, he gave them a formal trial, and put them to death in the presence of their fellow-servants. As his thirst after wealth increased, and he found that agriculture was rather amusing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to surer dependencies, and employed his money in purchasing ponds, hot-baths, places proper for fullers, and estates in good condition, having pasture-ground and wood-lands. From these he had a great revenue, *such a one*, he used to say, *as* Jupiter *himself could not disappoint him of.*

He practised usury upon ships in the most blameable manner. His method was to insist that those whom he furnished with money should take a great number into partnership. When there were full fifty of them, and as many ships, he demanded one share for himself, which he managed by Quintio his freed-man, who sailed and trafficked along with them. Thus, though his gain was great, he did not risk his capital, but only a small part of it.

He likewise lent money to such of his slaves as chose it, and they employed it in purchasing boys, who were afterwards instructed and fitted for service at Cato's expense; and being sold at the year's end

by auction, Cato took several of them himself at the price of the highest bidder, deducting it out of what he had lent. To incline his son to the same economy, he told him, *That to diminish his substance was not the part of a man, but of a widow-woman.* Yet he carried the thing to extravagance, when he hazarded this assertion, *That the man truly wonderful and godlike, and fit to be registered in the lists of glory, was he by whose accounts it should at last appear that he had more than doubled what he had received from his ancestors.*

When Cato was very far advanced in years, there arrived at Rome two ambassadors from Athens*, Carneades the *Academic*, and Diogenes the *Stoic*. They were sent to beg off a fine of five hundred talents which had been imposed on the Athenians for contumacy by the Sicyonians, at the suit of the people of Oropus†.—Upon the arrival of these philosophers, such of the Roman youth as had a taste for learning went to wait on them, and heard them with wonder and delight. Above all, they were charmed with the graceful manners of Carneades, the force of whose eloquence being great, and his reputation equal to his eloquence, had drawn an audience of the most considerable and the politest persons in Rome, and the sound of his fame, like a mighty wind, had filled the whole city. The report ran, that there was come from Greece a man of astonishing powers, whose eloquence, more than human, was able to soften and disarm the fiercest passions, and who had made so strong an impression upon the youth, that, forgetting all other pleasures and diversions, they were quite possessed with an enthusiastic love of philosophy.

The Romans were delighted to find it so; nor could they without uncommon pleasure behold their sons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and follow these wonderful men. But Cato, from the beginning, was alarmed at it. He no sooner perceived this passion for the Grecian learning prevail, but he was afraid that the youth would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to that of deeds of arms. But when he found that the reputation of these philosophers rose still higher, and their first speeches were translated into Latin by Caius Acilius, a senator of great distinction, who had earnestly begged the favour of interpreting them, he had no longer patience, but resolved to dismiss these philosophers upon some decent and specious pretence.

He went, therefore, to the senate, and complained of the magis-

* Aulus Gellius mentions a third ambassador, Critolaus the *Peripatetic*.

† The Athenians had plundered the city of Oropus. Upon complaint made by the inhabitants, the affair was referred to the determination of the Sicyonians, and the Athenians not appearing to justify themselves, were fined five hundred talents.

trates for detaining so long such ambassadors as those, who could persuade the people to whatever they pleased. "You ought," said he, "to determine their affair as speedily as possible, that, returning to their schools, they may hold forth to the Grecian youth, and that our young men may again give attention to the laws and the magistrates." Not that Cato was induced to this by any particular pique to Carneades, which some suppose to have been the case, but by his aversion to philosophy, and his making it a point to show his contempt of the polite studies and learning of the Greeks. Nay, he scrupled not to affirm, "That Socrates himself was a prating seditious fellow, who used his utmost endeavours to tyrannise over his country, by abolishing its customs, and drawing the people over to opinions contrary to the laws." And, to ridicule the slow methods of Isocrates' teaching, he said, "His scholars grew old in learning their art, as if they intended to exercise it in the shades below, and to plead causes there." And to dissuade his son from those studies, he told him, in a louder tone than could be expected from a man of his age, and, as it were, in an oracular and prophetic way, *That when the* Romans *came thoroughly to imbibe the* Grecian *literature, they would lose the empire of the world.* But time has shown the vanity of that invidious assertion; for Rome was never at a higher pitch of greatness than when she was most perfect in the Grecian erudition, and most attentive to all manner of learning*.

Nor was Cato an enemy to the Grecian philosophers only, but looked upon the physicians also with a suspicious eye. He had heard, it seems, of the answer which Hippocrates gave the king of Persia, when he sent for him, and offered him a reward of many talents, "I will never make use of my art in favour of barbarians who are enemies to the Greeks." This, he said, was an oath which all the physicians had taken, and therefore he advised his son to beware of them all.—He added, that he himself had written a little treatise, in which he had set down his method of cure†, and the regimen he prescribed when any of his family were sick; that he never recommended fasting, but allowed them herbs, with duck, pigeon, or hare; such kind of diet being light and suitable for sick people, having no

* Rome had, indeed, a very extensive empire in the Augustine age, but, at the same time, she lost her ancient constitution and her liberty. Not that the learning of the Romans contributed to that loss; but their irreligion, their luxury, and corruption, occasioned it.

† Cato was a worse quack than Dr. Hill. His medical recipes, which may be found in his treatise of country affairs, are either very simple or very dangerous; and fasting, which he exploded, is better than them all. Duck, pigeon, and hare, which, if we may believe Plutarch, he gave his sick people as a light diet, are certainly the strongest and most indigestible kinds of food, and their making them dream was a proof of it.

other inconvenience but its making them dream; and that, with these remedies and this regimen, he preserved himself and his family. But his self-sufficiency in this respect went not unpunished; for he lost both his wife and son. He himself, indeed, by his strong make and good habit of body, lasted long; so that even in old age he frequently indulged his inclination for the sex, and at an unseasonable time of life married a young woman. It was on the following pretence.

After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, the sister of Scipio, and continued a widower, but had a young female slave that came privately to his bed. It could not, however, be long a secret in a small house, with a daughter-in-law in it; and one day as the favourite slave passed by with a haughty and flaunting air to go to the censor's chamber*, young Cato gave her a severe look, and turned his back upon her, but said not a word. The old man was soon informed of this circumstance; and finding that this kind of commerce displeased his son and his daughter-in-law, he did not expostulate with them, nor take the least notice. Next morning he went to the *forum*, according to custom, with his friends about him; and, as he went along, he called aloud to one Salonius, who had been his secretary, and now was one of his train, and asked him, "Whether he had provided a husband for his daughter?" Upon his answering, "That he had not, nor should, without consulting his best friend;" Cato said, "Why, then, I have found out a very fit husband for her, if she can bear with the disparity of age; for in other respects he is unexceptionable, but he is very old." Salonius replying, "That he left the disposal of her entirely to him, for she was under his protection, and had no dependence but upon his bounty;" Cato said, without farther ceremony, "Then I will be your son-in-law." The man at first was astonished at the proposal, as may easily be imagined, believing Cato past the time of life for marrying, and knowing himself far beneath an alliance with a family that had been honoured with the consulate and a triumph. But when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he embraced the offer with joy, and the marriage contract was signed as soon as they came to the *forum*.

While they were busied in preparing for the nuptials, young Cato, taking his relations with him, went and asked his father, "What offence he had committed, that he was going to put a mother-in-law upon him?" Cato immediately answered, "Ask not such a ques-

* Ille Pater rectorque deûm, cui dextra trisulcis
Ignibus armata est, qui nutu concutit orbem,
Induitur faciem tauri..... *Ovid. Met.* lib. 2.

tion, my son; for, instead of being offended, I have reason to praise your whole conduct; I am only desirous of having more such sons, and leaving more such citizens to my country." But this answer is said to have been given long before by Pisistratus the Athenian tyrant, who, when he had sons by a former wife already grown up, married a second, Timonassa of Argos, by whom he is said to have had two sons more, Jophon and Thessalus.

By this wife Cato had a son, whom he called Salonius, after his mother's father. As for his eldest son Cato, he died in his prætorship. His father often makes mention of him in his writings as a brave and worthy man. He bore this loss with the moderation of a philosopher, applying himself, with his usual activity, to affairs of state. For he did not, like Lucius Lucullus afterwards, and Metellus Pius, think age an exemption from the service of the public, but considered that service as his indispensable duty; nor yet did he act as Scipio Africanus had done, who, finding himself attacked and opposed by envy in his course of glory, quitted the administration, and spent the remainder of his days in retirement and inaction. But, as one told Dionysius, that the most honourable death was to die in possession of sovereign power, so Cato esteemed that the most honourable old age which was spent in serving the commonwealth. The amusements in which he passed his leisure hours were the writing of books, and tilling the ground; and this is the reason of our having so many treatises on various subjects, and histories of his composing*.

In his younger days he applied himself to agriculture, with a view to profit; for he used to say, he had only two ways of increasing his income, *labour* and *parsimony;* but, as he grew old, he regarded it only by way of theory and amusement. He wrote a book concerning country affairs†, in which, among other things, he gives rules for making cakes, and preserving fruit; for he was desirous to be thought curious and particular in every thing. He kept a better table in the country than in the town; for he always invited some of his acquaintance in the neighbourhood to sup with him. With these he passed the time in cheerful conversation, making himself agreeable not only to those of his own age, but to the young; for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, and had either seen himself, or heard from others, a variety of things that were curious and en-

* Besides a hundred and fifty orations, and more, that he left behind him, he wrote a treatise on *military discipline*, and books of *antiquities*. In two of these he treats of the foundation of the cities of Italy; the other five contained the Roman history, particularly a narrative of the first and second Punic war.

† This is the only work of his that remains entire; of the rest we have only fragments.

tertaining. He looked upon the table as one of the best means of forming friendships; and at his, the conversation generally turned upon the praises of great and excellent men among the Romans; as for the bad and the unworthy, no mention was made of them, for he would not allow in his company one word, either good or bad, to be said of such kind of men.

The last service he is said to have done the public, was the destruction of Carthage. The younger Scipio indeed gave the finishing stroke to that work, but it was undertaken chiefly by the advice and at the instance of Cato. The occasion of the war was this: the Carthaginians, and Massinissa king of Numidia, being at war with each other, Cato was sent into Africa to inquire into the causes of the quarrel. Massinissa from the first had been a friend to the Romans, and the Carthaginians were admitted into their alliance after the great overthrow they received from Scipio the elder, but upon terms which deprived them of great part of their dominions, and imposed a heavy tribute*. When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found that city not in the exhausted and humble condition which the Romans imagined, but full of men fit to bear arms, abounding in money, in arms, and warlike stores, and not a little elated in the thought of its being so well provided. He concluded, therefore, that it was now time for the Romans to endeavour to settle the points in dispute between the Numidians and Carthage; and that if they did not soon make themselves masters of that city, which was their old enemy, and retained strong resentments of the usage she had lately received, and which had not only recovered herself after her losses, but was prodigiously increased in wealth and power, they would soon be exposed to all their former dangers. For this reason he returned in all haste to Rome, where he informed the senate, "That the defeats and other misfortunes which had happened to the Carthaginians, had not so much drained them of their forces, as cured them of their folly; and that, in all probability, instead of a weaker, they had made them a more skilful and warlike enemy; that their war with the Numidians was only a prelude to future combats with the Romans; and that the late peace was a mere name, for they considered it only as a suspension of arms, which they were willing to avail themselves of, till they had a favourable opportunity to renew the war."

It is said that, at the conclusion of his speech, he shook the lap of

* Scipio Africanus obliged the Carthaginians, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, to deliver up their fleet to the Romans, yield to Massinissa part of Syphax's dominions, and pay the Romans ten thousand talents. This peace was made in the third year of the hundred and forty-fourth Olympiad, two hundred years before the Christian era.

his gown, and purposely dropped some Libyan figs; and when he found the senators admired them for their size and beauty, he told them, "That the country where they grew was but three days' sail from Rome." But what is a stronger instance of his enmity to Carthage, he never gave his opinion in the senate upon any other point whatever, without adding these words, "And my opinion is, that Carthage should be destroyed." Scipio, surnamed Nasica, made it a point to maintain the contrary, and concluded all his speeches, thus, "And my opinion is, that Carthage should be left standing." It is very likely that this great man, perceiving that the people were come to such a pitch of insolence as to be led by it into the greatest excesses (so that, in the pride of prosperity, they could not be restrained by the senate, but by their overgrown power were able to draw the government what way they pleased), thought it best that Carthage should remain to keep them in awe, and to moderate their presumption; for he saw that the Carthaginians were not strong enough to conquer the Romans, and yet too respectable an enemy to be despised by them. On the other hand, Cato thought it dangerous, while the people were thus inebriated and giddy with power, to suffer a city, which had always been great, and which was now grown sober and wise through its misfortunes, to lie watching every advantage against them. It appeared to him, therefore, the wisest course to have all outward dangers removed from the commonwealth, that it might be at leisure to guard against internal corruption.

Thus Cato, they tell us, occasioned the third and last war against the Carthaginians. But, as soon as it began, he died, having first prophesied of the person that should put an end to it; who was then a young man, and had only a tribune's command in the army, but was giving extraordinary proofs of his conduct and valour. The news of these exploits being brought to Rome, Cato cried out.

> ..... He is the soul of council;
> The rest are shadows vain.

This Scipio soon confirmed by his actions.

Cato left one son by his second wife, who, as we have already observed, was surnamed Salonius, and a grandson by the son of his first wife, who died before him. Salonius died in his prætorship, leaving a son named Marcus, who came to be consul, and was grandfather* to Cato the philosopher, the best and most illustrious man of his time.

* This is a mistake in Plutarch; for Salonius was the grandfather, and Marcus, the father of Cato of Utica.

ARISTIDES AND CATO

COMPARED.

HAVING thus given a detail of the most memorable actions of these great men, if we compare the whole life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to discern the difference between them, the eye being attracted by so many striking resemblances. But if we examine the several parts of their lives distinctly, as we do a poem or a picture, we shall find, in the first place, this common to them both, that they rose to high stations and great honour in their respective commonwealths, not by the help of family connections, but merely by their own virtue and abilities. It is true, that when Aristides raised himself, Athens was not in her grandeur, and the demagogues and chief magistrates he had to deal with were men of moderate and nearly equal fortunes. For estates of the highest class were then only five hundred *medimni;* of those of the second order, who were knights, three hundred; and of those of the third order, who were called *Zeugitæ*, two hundred. But Cato, from a little village and a country life, launched into the Roman government, as into a boundless ocean, at a time when it was not conducted by the Curii, the Fabricii, and Hostilii, not received for its magistrates and orators men of narrow circumstances, who worked with their own hands, from the plough and the spade, but was accustomed to regard greatness of family, opulence, distributions among the people, and servility in courting their favour; for the Romans, elated with their power and importance, loved to humble those who stood for the great offices of state. And it was not the same thing to be rivalled by a Themistocles, who was neither distinguished by birth nor fortune (for he is said not to have been worth more than three, or at the most five talents, when he first applied himself to public affairs), as to have to contest with a Scipio Africanus, a Servius Galba, or a Quintius Flaminius, without any other assistance or support but a tongue accustomed to speak with freedom in the cause of justice.

Besides, Aristides was only one among ten that commanded at Marathon and Platæa; whereas Cato was chosen one of the two consuls, from a number of competitors, and one of the two censors, though opposed by seven candidates, who were some of the greatest and most illustrious men in Rome.

It should be observed, too, that Aristides was never principal in any action; for Miltiades had the chief honour of the victory at Marathon; Themistocles of that at Salamis; and the palm of the im-

portant day at Platæa, as Herodotus tells us, was adjudged to Pausanias. Nay, even the second place was disputed with Aristides by Sophanes, Aminias, Callimachus, and Cynægirus, who greatly distinguished themselves on that occasion.

On the other hand, Cato not only stood first in courage and conduct during his own consulate, and in the war with Spain, but when he acted at Thermopylæ only as a tribune, under the auspices of another, he gained the glory of the victory; for he it was that unlocked the pass for the Romans to rush upon Antiochus, and that brought the war upon the back of the king, who minded only what was before him. That victory, which was manifestly the work of Cato, drove Asia out of Greece, and opened the passage for Scipio to that continent afterwards.

Both of them were equally victorious in war, but Aristides miscarried in the administration, being banished and oppressed by the faction of Themistocles; whilst Cato, though he had for antagonists almost all the greatest and most powerful men in Rome, who kept contending with him even in his old age, like a skilful wrestler, always held his footing. Often impeached before the people, and often the manager of an impeachment, he generally succeeded in his prosecution of others, and was never condemned himself, secure in that bulwark of life, the defensive and offensive armour of eloquence; and to this, much more justly than to fortune, or his guardian *genius*, we may ascribe his maintaining his dignity unblemished to the last: for Antipater bestowed the same encomium upon Aristotle the philosopher, in what he wrote concerning him after his death, that, among his other qualities, he had the very extraordinary one of persuading people to whatever he pleased.

That the art of governing cities and commonwealths is the chief excellence of man, admits not of a doubt; and it is generally agreed, that the art of governing a family is no small ingredient in that excellence; for a city, which is only a collection of families, cannot be prosperous in the whole, unless the families that compose it be flourishing and prosperous. And Lycurgus, when he banished gold and silver out of Sparta, and gave the citizens, instead of it, money made of iron that had been spoiled by the fire, did not design to excuse them from attending to economy, but only to prevent luxury, which is a tumour and inflamation caused by riches, that every one might have the greater plenty of the necessaries and conveniences of life. By this establishment of his, it appears that he saw farther than any other legislator, since he was sensible that every society has more to apprehend from its needy members, than from the rich: for this reason Cato, was no less attentive to the management of his domestic concerns than to that of

public affairs; and he not only increased his own estate, but became a guide to others in economy and agriculture, concerning which he collected many useful rules.

But Aristides by his indigence brought a disgrace upon justice itself, as if it were the ruin and impoverishment of families, and a quality that is profitable to any one rather than the owner. Hesiod, however, has said a good deal to exhort us both to justice and economy, and inveighs against idleness as the source of injustice. The same is well represented by Homer*.

> The culture of the field, which fills the stores
> With happy harvests; and domestic cares,
> Which rear the smiling progeny, no charms
> Could boast for me; 'twas mine to sail
> The gallant ship, to sound the trump of war,
> To point the polish'd spear, and hurl the quivering lance.

By which the poet intimates, that those who neglect their own affairs generally support themselves by violence and injustice. For what the physicians say of oil, that, used outwardly, it is beneficial, but pernicious when taken inwardly, is not applicable to the just man; nor is it true that he is useful to others, and unprofitable to himself and his family. The politics of Aristides seem, therefore, to have been defective in this respect, if it is true (as most writers assert) that he left not enough either for the portions of his daughters, or for the expences of his funeral.

Thus Cato's family produced prætors and consuls to the fourth generation; for his grandsons and their children bore the highest offices; whereas, though Aristides was one of the greatest men in Greece, yet the most distressful poverty prevailing among his descendents, some of them were forced to get their bread by showing tricks of slight of hand, or telling fortunes, and others to receive public alms, and not one of them entertained a sentiment worthy of their illustrious ancestor.

It is true, this point is liable to some dispute; for poverty is not dishonourable in itself, but only when it is the effect of idleness, intemperance, prodigality, and folly. And when on the contrary, it is associated with all the virtues in the sober, the industrious, the just, and valiant statesman, it speaks a great and elevated mind. For an attention to little things renders it impossible to do any thing that is great; nor can he provide for the wants of others whose own are numerous and craving. The great and necessary provision for a statesman is not riches, but a contented mind, which, requiring no superfluities for itself, leaves a man at full liberty to serve the commonwealth. God is absolutely exempt from wants; and the virtuous man, in proportion as he reduces his wants, approaches nearer to the

* *Odys.* lib. iv.

divine perfection. For as a body well built for health needs nothing exquisite either in food or clothing, so a rational way of living, and a well-governed family, demands a very moderate support. Our possessions, indeed, should be proportioned to the use we make of them: he that amasses a great deal, and uses but little, is far from being satisfied and happy in his abundance; for if, while he is solicitous to increase it, he has no desire of those things which wealth can procure, he is foolish; if he does desire them, and yet, out of meanness of spirit, will not allow himself their enjoyment, he is miserable.

I would fain ask Cato himself this question: "If riches are to be enjoyed, why, when possessed of a great deal, did he plume himself on being satisfied with a little?" If it be a commendable thing, as indeed it is, to be contented with coarse bread, and such wine as our servants and labouring people drink, and not to covet purple and elegantly plaistered houses, then Aristides, Epaminondas, Manius Curius, and Caius Fabricius, were perfectly right in neglecting to acquire what they did not think proper to use. For it was by no means necessary for a man who, like Cato, could make a delicious meal on turnips, and loved to boil them himself, while his wife baked the bread, to talk so much about a farthing, and to write by what means a man might soonest grow rich. Indeed, simplicity and frugality are then only great things when they free the mind from the desire of superfluities and the anxieties of care. Hence it was that Aristides, in the trial of Callias, said, *It was fit for none to be ashamed of poverty, but those that were poor against their wills; and that they who, like him, were poor out of choice, might glory in it.* For it is ridiculous to suppose, that the poverty of Aristides was to be imputed to sloth, since he might, without being guilty of the least baseness, have raised himself to opulence by the spoil of one barbarian, or the plunder of one tent. But enough of this.

As to military achievements, those of Cato added but little to the Roman empire, which was already very great; whereas the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, the most glorious and important actions of the Greeks, are numbered among those of Aristides. And surely Antiochus is not worthy to be mentioned with Xerxes, nor the demolishing of the walls of the Spanish towns, with the destruction of so many thousands of barbarians both by sea and land. On these great occasions Aristides was inferior to none in real service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did the wealth, to others who had more need of them, because he was above them.

I do not blame Cato for perpetually boasting, and giving himself the preference to others, though in one of his pieces he says, *It is absurd for a man either to commend or depreciate himself;* but I

think the man who is often praising himself not so complete in virtue as the modest man who does not even want others to praise him; for modesty is a very proper ingredient in the mild and engaging manner necessary for a statesman. On the other hand, he who demands any extraordinary respect is difficult to please, and liable to envy. Cato was very subject to this fault, and Aristides entirely free from it. For Aristides, by co-operating with his enemy Themistocles in his greatest actions, and being as it were a guard to him while he had the command, restored the affairs of Athens; whereas Cato, by counteracting Scipio, had well nigh blasted and ruined that expedition of his against Carthage, which brought down Hannibal, who till then was invincible. And he continued to raise suspicions against him, and to persecute him with calumnies, till at last he drove him out of Rome, and got his brother stigmatized with the shameful crime of embezzling the public money.

As for temperance, which Cato always extolled as the greatest of virtues, Aristides preserved it in its utmost purity and perfection; while Cato, by marrying so much beneath himself, and at an unseasonable time of life, stood justly impeached in that respect; for it was by no means decent, at his great age, to bring home to his son and daughter-in-law a young wife, the daughter of his secretary, a man who received wages of the public. Whether he did it merely to gratify his appetite, or to revenge the affront which his son put upon his favourite slave, both the cause and the thing were dishonourable. And the reason which he gave to his son was ironical and groundless: for if he was desirous of having more children like him, he should have looked out before for some woman of family, and not have put off the thoughts of marrying again till his commerce with so mean a creature was discovered; and when it was discovered, he ought to have chosen for his father-in-law, not the man who would most readily accept his proposals, but one whose alliance would have done him the most honour.

PHILOPŒMEN.

AT Mantinea there was a man of great quality and power, named Cassander*, who, being obliged by a reverse of fortune to quit his own country, went and settled at Megalopolis. He was induced to fix there chiefly by the friendship which subsisted between him and

* Pausanias calls him *Cleander;* and some manuscripts of Plutarch agree with him. So it is also in the translation of Guarini.

Crausis*, the father of Philopœmen, who was in all respects an extraordinary man. While his friend lived, he had all that he could wish; and being desirous, after his death, to make some return for his hospitality, he educated his orphan son in the same manner as Homer says Achilles was educated by Phœnix, and formed him from his infancy to generous sentiments and royal virtues.

But when he was past the years of childhood, Ecdemus and Demophanes† had the principal care of him. They were both Megalopolitans, who, having learned the academic philosophy of Arcesilaus‡, applied it, above all the men of their time, to action and affairs of state. They delivered their country from tyranny, by providing persons privately to take off Aristodemus; they were assisting to Aratus in driving out Neocles the tyrant of Sicyon; and at the request of the people of Cyrene, whose government was in great disorder, they sailed thither, settled it on the foundation of good laws, and thoroughly regulated the commonwealth. But, among all their great actions, they valued themselves most on the education of Philopœmen, as having rendered him, by the principles of philosophy, a common benefit to Greece. And indeed, as he came the last of so many excellent generals, Greece loved him extremely, as the child of her old age, and, as his reputation increased, enlarged his power: for which reason, a certain Roman calls him *the last of the Greeks*, meaning that Greece had not produced one great man, or one that was worthy of her, after him.

His visage was not very homely§, as some imagine it to have been; for we see his statue still remaining at Delphi. As for the mistake of his hostess at Megara, it is said to be owing to his easiness of behaviour, and the simplicity of his garb. She having word brought that the general of the Achæans was coming to her house, was in great care and hurry to provide his supper, her husband happening to be out of the way. In the mean time Philopœmen came, and, as his habit was ordinary, she took him for one of his own servants, or for a harbinger, and desired him to assist her in the business of the kitchen. He presently threw off his cloak, and began to cleave some wood; when the master of the house returning, and seeing him so employed, said, "What is the meaning of this, Philopœmen?"

* Cragis in Pausanias; in the inscription of a statue of Philopœmen at Tegea, and in an ancient collection of epigrams.

† In Pausanias their names are Ecdelus and Megalophanes.

‡ Arcesilaus was founder of the middle Academy, and made some alteration in the doctrine which had obtained.

§ Pausanias assures us that his visage was homely, but at the same time declares, that, in point of size and strength, no man in Peloponnesus exceeded him.

He replied, in broad Doric, "I am paying the fine of my deformity." Titus Flaminius, rallying him one day upon his make, said, "What fine hands and legs you have! but then you have no belly!" and he was indeed very slender in the waist. But this raillery might rather be referred to the condition of his fortune; for he had good soldiers, both horse and foot, but very often wanted money to pay them. These stories are subjects of disputation in the schools.

As to his manners, we find that his pursuits of honour were too much attended with roughness and passion. Epaminondas was the person whom he adopted as his pattern; and he succeeded in imitating his activity, his shrewdness, and contempt of riches; but his choleric contentious humour prevented his attaining to the mildness, the gravity, and candour of that great man in political disputes; so that he seemed rather fit for war than for the civil administration. Indeed, from a child, he was fond of every thing in the military way, and readily entered into the exercises which tended to that purpose; those of riding, for instance, and handling of arms. As he seemed well formed for wrestling, too, his friends and governors advised him to improve himself in that art; which gave him occasion to ask, whether that might be consistent with his proficiency as a soldier? They told him the truth; that the habit of body and manner of life, the diet and exercise of a soldier and a wrestler were entirely different; that the wrestler must have much sleep and full meals, stated times of exercise and rest, every little departure from his rules being very prejudicial to him; whereas the soldier should be prepared for the most irregular changes of living, and should chiefly endeavour to bring himself to bear the want of food and sleep without difficulty. Philopœmen, hearing this, not only avoided and derided the exercise of wrestling himself, but afterwards, when he came to be general, to the utmost of his power exploded the whole art by every mark of disgrace and expression of contempt, satisfied that it rendered persons who were the most fit for war quite useless, and unable to fight on necessary occasions.

When his governors and preceptors had quitted their charge, he engaged in those private incursions into Laconia which the city of Megalopolis made for the sake of booty; and in these he was sure to be the first to march out, and the last to return.

His leisure he spent either in the chace, which increased both his strength and activity, or in the tillage of the field; for he had a handsome estate twenty furlongs from the city, to which he went every day after dinner, or after supper; and at night he threw himself upon an ordinary mattress, and slept as one of the labourers. Early in the morning he rose and went to work along with his vine-dressers or

ploughmen; after which he returned to the town, and employed his time about the public affairs with his friends, and with the magistrates. What he gained in the wars he laid out upon horses or arms, or in the redeeming of captives; but he endeavoured to improve his own estate the justest way in the world, by agriculture I mean*. Nor did he apply himself to it in a cursory manner, but in full conviction that the surest way not to touch what belongs to others is to take care of one's own.

He spent some time in hearing the discourses and studying the writings of philosophers, but selected such as he thought might assist his progress in virtue. Among the poetical images of Homer, he attended to those which seemed to excite and encourage valour; and as to other authors, he was most conversant in the *tactics* of Evangelus †, and in the histories of Alexander; being persuaded that learning ought to conduce to action, and not be considered as mere pastime and a useless fund for talk. In the study of *tactics*, he neglected those plans and diagrams that are drawn upon paper, and exemplified the rules in the field; considering with himself as he travelled, and pointing out to those about him the difficulties of steep or broken ground; and how the ranks of an army must be extended or closed, according to the difference made by rivers, ditches, and defiles.

He seems, indeed, to have set rather too great a value on military knowledge; embracing war as the most extensive exercise of virtue, and despising those that were not versed in it as persons entirely useless.

He was now thirty years old, when Cleomenes ‡, king of the Lacedæmonians, surprised Megalopolis in the night; and, having forced the guards, entered and siezed the market-place. Philopœmen ran to succour the inhabitants, but was not able to drive out the enemy, though he fought with the most determined and desperate valour. He prevailed, however, so far as to give the people opportunity to steal out of the town, by maintaining the combat with the pursuers,

* Columella says, agriculture is next akin to philosophy. It does, indeed, afford a person, who is capable of speculation, an opportunity of meditating on nature; and such meditations enlarge the mind.

† This author is mentioned by Arrian, who also wrote a discourse on Tactics. He observes that the treatise of Evangelus, as well as those of several other writers on that subject, were become of little use in his time, because they had omitted several things as sufficiently known in their days, which, however, then wanted explication. This may serve as a caution to future writers on this and such like subjects.

‡ Cleomenes made himself master of Megalopolis in the second year of the hundred and thirty-ninth Olympiad, which was the two hundred and twenty-first before the Christian era.

and drawing Cleomenes upon himself, so that he retired the last with difficulty, and after prodigious efforts, being wounded, and having his horse killed under him. When they had gained Messene, Cleomenes made them an offer of their city with their lands and goods. Philopœmen perceiving they were glad to accept the proposal, and in haste to return, strongly opposed it, representing to them, in a set speech, that Cleomenes did not want to restore them their city, but to be master of the citizens, in order that he might be more secure in keeping the place; that he could not sit still long to watch empty houses and walls, for the very solitude would force them away. By this argument he turned the Megalopolitans from their purpose, but at the same time furnished Cleomenes with a pretence to plunder the town, and demolish the greater part of it, and to march off loaded with booty.

Soon after, Antigonus came to assist the Achæans against Cleomenes; and finding that he had possessed himself of the heights of Sellasia, and blocked up the passages, Antigonus drew up his army near him, with a resolution to force him from his post. Philopœmen, with his citizens, was placed among the cavalry, supported by the Illyrian foot, a numerous and gallant body of men, who closed that extremity. They had orders to wait quietly until, from the other wing, where the king fought in person, they should see a red robe lifted up upon the point of a spear. The Achæans kept their ground as they were directed; but the Illyrian officers with their corps attempted to break in upon the Lacedæmonians. Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, seeing this opening made in the enemy's army, immediately ordered a party of his light-armed infantry to wheel about and attack the rear of the Illyrians thus separated from the horse. This being put in execution, and the Illyrians harassed and broken, Philopœmen perceived that it would be no difficult matter to drive off that light-armed party, and that the occasion called for it. First he mentioned the thing to the king's officers, but they rejected the hint, and considered him as no better than a madman, his reputation being not yet respectable enough to justify such a movement. He, therefore, with his Megalopolitans, falling upon that light armed corps himself, at the first encounter put them in confusion, and soon after routed them with great slaughter. Desirous yet farther to encourage Antigonus' troops, and quickly to penetrate into the enemy's army, which was now in some disorder, he quitted his horse; and advancing on foot, in his horseman's coat of mail, and other heavy accoutrements, upon rough uneven ground, that was full of springs and bogs, he was making his way with extreme difficulty, when he had both his thighs struck through with a javelin, so that

the point came through on the other side, and the wound was great, though not mortal. At first he stood still as if he had been shackled, not knowing what method to take: for the thong in the middle of the javelin rendered it difficult to be drawn out, nor would any about him venture to do it. At the same time, the fight being at the hottest, and likely to be soon over, honour and indignation pushed him on to take his share in it; and therefore, by moving his legs this way and that, he broke the staff, and then ordered the pieces to be pulled out. Thus set free, he ran sword in hand through the first ranks to charge the enemy; at the same time animating the troops, and firing them with emulation.

Antigonus having gained the victory, to try his Macedonian officers, demanded of them, "Why they had brought on the cavalry before he gave them the signal?" By way of apology, they said, "They were obliged, against their will, to come to action, because a young man of Megalopolis had begun the attack too soon." "That young man," replied Antigonus smiling, "has performed the office of an experienced general."

This action, as we may easily imagine, lifted Philopœmen into great reputation, so that Antigonus was very desirous of having his services in the wars, and offered him a considerable command, with great appointments; but he declined it, because he knew he could not bear to be under the direction of another.—Not choosing, however, to lie idle, and hearing there was a war in Crete, he sailed thither to exercise and improve his military talents. When he had served there a good while along with a set of brave men, who were not only versed in all the stratagems of war, but temperate besides, and strict in their manner of living, he returned with so much renown to the Achæans, that they immediately appointed him general of horse. He found that the cavalry made use of small and mean horses, which they picked up as they could when they were called to a campaign; that many of them shunned the wars, and sent others in their stead; and that shameful ignorance of service, with its consequence, timidity, prevailed among them all. The former generals had connived at this, because, it being a degree of honour among the Achæans to serve on horseback, the cavalry had great power in the commonwealth, and considerable influence in the distribution of rewards and punishments. But Philopœmen would not yield to such considerations, or grant them the least indulgence. Instead of that, he applied to the several towns, and to each of the young men in particular, rousing them to a sense of honour, punishing where necessity required, and practising them in exercise, reviews, and mock-battles, in places of the greatest resort. By these means, in a little

time, he brought them to surprising strength and spirit; and, what is of most consequence in discipline, rendered them so light and quick, that all their evolutions and movements, whether performed separately or together, were executed with so much readiness and address, that their motion was like that of one body actuated by an internal voluntary principle. In the great battle which they fought with the Ætolians and Eleans near the river Larissus*, Demophantus, general of the Elean horse, advanced before the lines, at full speed, against Philopœmen. Philopœmen, preventing his blow, with a push of his spear brought him dead to the ground. The enemy, seeing Demophantus fall, immediately fled. And now Philopœmen was universally celebrated, as not inferior to the young in personal valour, nor to the old in prudence, and as equally well qualified both to fight and to command.

Aratus was, indeed, the first who raised the commonwealth of the Achæans to dignity and power; for whereas before they were in a low condition, dispersed in unconnected cities, he united them in one body, and gave them a moderate civil government, worthy of Greece. And as it happens in running waters that when a few small bodies stop, others stick to them, and one part strengthening another, the whole becomes one firm and solid mass, so it was with Greece. At a time when she was weak and easy to be broken, dispersed as she was in a variety of cities, which stood each upon its own bottom, the Achæans first united themselves, and then drawing some of the neighbouring cities to them, by assisting them to expel their tyrants, while others voluntarily joined them for the sake of that unanimity which they beheld in so well-constituted a government, they conceived the great design of forming Peloponnesus into one community. It is true, that while Aratus lived, they attended the motions of the Macedonians, and made their court first to Ptolemy, and afterwards to Antigonus and Philip, who all had a great share in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopœmen had taken upon him the administration, the Achæans, finding themselves respectable enough to oppose their strongest adversaries, ceased to call in foreign protectors. As for Aratus, not being so fit for conflicts in the field, he managed most of his affairs by address, by moderation, and by the friendships he had formed with foreign princes, as we have related in his life. But Philopœmen, being a great warrior, vigorous and bold, and successful withal in the first battles that he fought, raised the ambition of the Achæans together with their power; for under him they were used to conquer.

* This battle was fought the fourth year of the hundred and forty second Olympiad, when Philopœmen was in his forty-fourth year.

In the first place he corrected the errors of the Achæans in drawing up their forces, and in the make of their arms; for hitherto they had made use of bucklers, which were easy to manage on account of their smallness, but too narrow to cover the body, and lances that were much shorter than the Macedonian pikes; for which reason they answered the end in fighting at a distance, but were of little use in close battle. As for the order of battle, they had not been accustomed to draw up in a *spiral* form*, but in the square battalion which having neither a front of pikes, nor shields fit to lock together like that of the Macedonians, was easily penetrated and broken Philopœmen altered both; persuading them, instead of the buckler and lance, to take the shield and pike; to arm their heads, bodies thighs, and legs, and, instead of a light and desultory manner of fighting, to adopt a close and firm one. After he had brought the youth to wear complete armour, and on that account to consider themselves as invincible, his next step was to reform them with respect to luxury and love of expense. He could not, indeed, entirely cure them of the distemper with which they had long been infected the vanity of appearance, for they had vied with each other in fine clothes, in purple carpets, and in the rich service of their tables But he began with diverting their love of show from superfluous things to those that were useful and honourable, and soon prevailed with them to retrench their daily expense upon their persons, and to give into a magnificence in their arms and the whole equipage of war. The shops, therefore, were seen strewed with plate broken in pieces, while breast-plates were gilt with the gold, and shields and bridles studded with the silver. On the parade the young men were managing horses, or exercising their arms. The women were seen adorning helmets and crests with various colours, or embroidering military vests both for the cavalry and infantry. The very sight of these things inflaming their courage, and calling forth their vigour, made them venturous and ready to face any danger: for much expense, in other things that attract our eyes, tempts to luxury, and too often produces effeminacy, the feasting of the senses relaxing the vigour of the mind; but in this instance it strengthens and improves it. Thus Homer represents Achilles, at the sight of his new armour, exulting with joy †, and burning with impatience

* The Macedonian phalanx occasionally altered their position from the square to the *spiral* or orbicular form, whenever they were surrounded, in order that they might face and fight the enemy on every side; and sometimes to that of the *cuneus* or wedge.

† She drops the radiant burden on the ground;
Clang the strong arms, and ring the shores around.
Back shrink the Myrmidons with dread surprise,
And from the broad effulgence turn their eyes.

to use it. When Philopœmen had persuaded the youth thus to arm and adorn themselves, he mustered and trained them continually, and they entered with pride and pleasure into his exercise: for they were greatly delighted with the new form of the battalion, which was so cemented that it seemed impossible to break it. And their arms became easy and light in the wearing, because they were charmed with their richness and beauty, and they longed for nothing more than to use them against the enemy, and to try them in a real encounter.

At that time the Achæans were at war with Machanidas, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who, with a powerful army, was watching his opportunity to subdue all Peloponnesus. As soon as news was brought that he was fallen upon the Mantineans, Philopœmen took the field, and marched against them. They drew up their armies near Mantinea, each having a good number of mercenaries in pay, beside the whole force of their respective cities. The engagement being begun, Machanidas with his foreign troops attacked and put to flight the spear-men and the Tarentines, who were placed in the Achæan front; but afterwards, instead of falling upon that part of the army who stood their ground, and breaking them, he went upon the pursuit of the fugitives*; and when he should have endeavoured to rout the main body of the Achæans, left his own uncovered. Philopœmen, after so indifferent a beginning, made light of the misfortune, and represented it as no great matter, though the day seemed to be lost. But when he saw what an error the enemy committed in quitting their foot, and going upon the pursuit, by which they left him a good opening, he did not try to stop them in their career after the fugitives, but suffered them to pass by. When the pursuers were got at a great distance, he rushed upon the Lacedæmonian infantry, now left unsupported by their right wing. Stretching, therefore, to the left, he took them in flank, destitute as they were of a general, and far from expecting to come to blows; for they thought Machanidas absolutely sure of victory when they saw him upon the pursuit.

After he had routed this infantry with great slaughter (for it is said that four thousand Lacedæmonians were left dead upon the spot), he marched against Machanidas, who was now returning with his

> Unmov'd, the hero kindles at the show,
> And feels with rage divine his bosom glow;
> From his fierce eye-balls living flames expire,
> And flash incessant like a stream of fire. *Pope*, Iliad, 19.

* See Polybius, book xi.

mercenaries from the pursuit. There was a broad and deep ditch between them, where both strove awhile, the one to get over and fly the other to hinder him. Their appearance was not like that of a combat between two generals, but between two wild beasts (or rather between a hunter and a wild beast) whom necessity reduces to fight Philopœmen was the great hunter.—The tyrant's horse being strong and spirited, and violently spurred on both sides, ventured to leap into the ditch, and was raising his fore feet in order to gain the opposite bank, when Simmias and Polyænus, who always fought by the side of Philopœmen, both rode up and levelled their spears against Machanidas. But Philopœmen prevented them; and perceiving that the horse, with his head high reared, covered the tyrant's body he turned his own a little, and pushing his spear at him with all his force, tumbled him into the ditch. The Achæans, in admiration of this exploit, and of his conduct in the whole action, set up his statue in brass at Delphi, in the attitude in which he killed the tyrant.

It is reported, that at the Nemean games, a little after he had gained the battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen, then chosen general the second time, and at leisure on account of that great festival, first caused this phalanx, in the best order and attire, to pass in review before the Greeks, and to make all the movements which the art of war teaches, with the utmost vigour and agility. After this he entered the theatre, while the musicians were contending for the prize. He was attended by the youth in their military cloaks and scarlet vests.—These young men were all well made, of the same age and stature; and though they showed great respect for their general, yet they seemed not a little elated themselves with the many glorious battles they had fought. In the moment that they entered, Pylades the musician happened to be singing to his lyre the *Persæ* of Timotheus*, and was pronouncing this verse, with which it begins,

The palm of Liberty for Greece I won;

when the people, struck with the grandeur of the poetry, sung by a voice equally excellent, from every part of the theatre turned their eyes upon Philopœmen, and welcomed him with the loudest plaudits They caught in idea the ancient dignity of Greece, and in their present confidence aspired to the lofty spirit of former times.

As young horses require their accustomed riders, and are wild and unruly when mounted by strangers, so it was with the Achæans When their forces were under any other commander, on every great emergency, they grew discontented, and looked about for Philopœ-

* Timotheus was a dithyrambic poet, who flourished about the ninety-fifth Olympiad, three hundred and ninety-eight years before the Christian era.

men; and if he did but make his appearance, they were soon satisfied again, and fitted for action by the confidence which they placed in him; well knowing that he was the only general whom their enemies durst not look in the face, and that they were ready to tremble at his very name.

Philip, king of Macedon, thinking he could easily bring the Achæans under him again, if Philopœmen was out of the way, privately sent some persons to Argos to assassinate him. But this treachery was timely discovered, and brought upon Philip the hatred and contempt of all the Greeks. The Bœotians were besieging Megara, and hoped to be soon masters of the place, when a report, though not a true one, being spread among them, that Philopœmen was approaching to the relief of the besieged, they left their scaling-ladders, already planted against the walls, and took to flight. Nabis, who was tyrant of Lacedæmon after Machanidas, had taken Messene by surprise; and Philopœmen, who was out of command, endeavoured to persuade Lysippus, then general of the Achæans, to succour the Messenians: but not prevailing with him, because he said the enemy was within, and the place irrecoverably lost, he went himself, taking with him his own citizens, who waited neither for form of law nor commission, but followed him upon this natural principle, that he who excels should always command. When he was got pretty near, Nabis was informed of it; and not daring to wait, though his army lay quartered in the town, stole out at another gate with his troops, and marched off precipitately, thinking himself happy if he could escape. He did indeed escape, but Messene was rescued.

Thus far every thing is great in the character of Philopœmen. But as for his going a second time into Crete at the request of the Gortynians, who were engaged in war, and wanted him for general, it has been blamed, either as an act of cowardice in deserting his own country when she was distressed by Nabis, or as an unseasonable ambition to show himself to strangers.—And it is true, the Megalopolitans were then so hard pressed, that they were obliged to shut themselves up within their walls, and to sow corn in their very streets; the enemy having laid waste their lands, and encamped almost at their gates. Philopœmen, therefore, by entering into the service of the Cretans at such a time, and taking a command beyond sea, furnished his enemies with a pretence to accuse him of basely flying from the war at home.

Yet it is said, that as the Achæans had chosen other generals, Philopœmen, being unemployed, bestowed his leisure upon the Gortynians, and took a command among them at their request. For he had an extreme aversion to idleness, and was desirous, above all

things, to keep his talents, as a soldier and a general, in constant practice. This was clear from what he said of Ptolemy. Some were commending that prince for daily studying the art of war, and improving his strength by martial exercise: "Who," said he, "can praise a prince of his age, that is always preparing, and never performs?"

The Megalopolitans, highly incensed at his absence, and looking upon it as a desertion, were inclined to pass an outlawry against him. But the Achæans prevented them, by sending their general Aristænetus* to Megalopolis, who, though he differed with Philopœmen about matters of government, would not suffer him to be declared an outlaw. Philopœmen, finding himself neglected by his citizens, drew off from them several of the neighbouring boroughs, and instructed them to allege that they were not comprised in their taxations, nor originally of their dependencies. By assisting them to maintain this pretext, he lessened the authority of Megalopolis in the general assembly of the Achæans. But these things happened some time after.

Whilst he commanded the Gortynians in Crete, he did not, like a Peloponnesian or Arcadian, make war in an open generous manner, but, adopting the Cretan customs, and using their artifices and slights, their stratagems and ambushes against themselves, he soon showed that their devices were like the short-sighted schemes of children, when compared with the long reach of an experienced general.

Having greatly distinguished himself by these means, and performed many exploits in that country, he returned to Peloponnesus with honour. Here he found Philip beaten by T. Q. Flaminius, and Nabis engaged in war both with the Romans and Achæans. He was immediately chosen general of the Achæans; but, venturing to act at sea, he fell under the same misfortune with Epaminondas; he saw the great ideas that had been formed of his courage and conduct vanish in consequence of his bad success in a naval engagement. Some say, indeed, that Epaminondas was unwilling that his countrymen should have any share of the advantages of the sea, lest, of good soldiers (as Plato expresses it), they should become licentious and dissolute sailors; and therefore chose to return from Asia and the isles without effecting any thing. But Philopœmen, being persuaded that his skill in the land service would ensure his success at sea, found to his cost how much experience contributes to victory, and how much practice adds in all things to our powers. For he was not only worsted in the sea-fight for want of skill, but having fitted up an old ship which had been a famous vessel forty years before,

* Polybius and Livy call him Aristænus.

and manned it with his townsmen, it proved so leaky that they were in danger of being lost. Finding that, after this, the enemy despised him as a man who disclaimed all pretensions at sea, and that they had insolently laid siege to Gythium, he set sail again; and as they did not expect him, but were dispersed without any precaution, by reason of their late victory, he landed in the night, burnt their camp, and killed a great number of them.

A few days after, as he was marching through a difficult pass, Nabis came suddenly upon him. The Achæans were in great terror, thinking it impossible to escape out of so dangerous a passage, which the enemy had already seized. But Philopœmen, making a little halt, and seeing at once the nature of the ground, showed that skill in drawing up an army is the capital point in the art of war; for, altering a little the disposition of his forces, and adapting it to the present occasion without any bustle, he easily disengaged them from the difficulty, and then falling upon the enemy, put them entirely to the route. When he saw that they fled not to the town, but dispersed themselves about the country, as the ground was woody and uneven, and, on account of the brooks and ditches, impracticable for the horse, he did not go on the pursuit, but encamped before the evening. Concluding, however, that the fugitives would return as soon as it grew dark, and draw up in a straggling manner to the city, he placed in ambush, by the brooks and hills that surrounded it, many parties of the Achæans with their swords in their hands. By this means the greatest part of the troops of Nabis were cut off: for not returning in a body, but as the chance of flight dispersed them, they fell into the enemy's hands, and were caught like so many birds, ere they could enter the town.

Philopœmen being received on this account with great honour and applause in all the theatres of Greece, it gave some umbrage to Flaminius, a man naturally ambitious. For, as a Roman consul, he thought himself entitled to much greater marks of distinction among the Achæans than a man of Arcadia, and that, as a public benefactor, he was infinitely above him; having, by one proclamation, set free all that part of Greece which had been enslaved by Philip and the Macedonians*. After this, Flaminius made peace with Nabis; and Nabis was assassinated by the Ætolians. Hereupon, Sparta being in great confusion, Philopœmen, seizing the opportunity, came upon it with his army, and, partly by force, partly by persuasion, brought that city to join in the Achæan league. The gaining over a city of such dignity and power made him perfectly adored among the Achæans. And, indeed, Sparta was an acquisition of vast importance

* Dacier reads *Lacedæmonians*, but does not mention his authority.

to Achaia, of which she was now become a member. It was also a grateful service to the principal Lacedæmonians, who hoped now to have him for the guardian of their liberty. For which reason, having sold the house and goods of Nabis by a public decree, they gave the money, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents, to Philopœmen, and determined to send it by persons deputed from their body.

On this occasion it appeared how clear his integrity was; that he not only seemed, but *was* a virtuous man; for not one of the Spartans chose to speak to a person of his character about a present; but, afraid of the office, they all excused themselves, and put it upon Timolaus, to whom he was bound by the rights of hospitality. Timolaus went to Megalopolis, and was entertained at Philopœmen's house; but when he observed the gravity of his discourse, the simplicity of his diet, and his integrity of manners, quite impregnable to the attacks and deceits of money, he said not a word about the present, but, having assigned another cause for his coming, returned home. He was sent a second time, but could not mention the money. In a third visit he brought it out with much difficulty, and declared the benevolence of Sparta to him. Philopœmen heard with pleasure what he had to say, but immediately went himself to the people of Lacedæmon, and advised them not to try to tempt good men with money, who were already their friends, and of whose virtues they might freely avail themselves, but to buy and corrupt bad men, who opposed their measures in council, that, thus silenced, they might give them the less trouble; it being much better to stop the mouths of their enemies than of their friends. Such was Philopœmen's contempt of money.

Some time after, Diophanes, being general of the Achæans, and hearing that the Lacedæmonians had thoughts of withdrawing from the league, determined to chastise them*. Meanwhile they prepared for war, and raised great commotions in Peloponnesus. Philopœmen tried to appease Diophanes, and keep him quiet; representing to him, "That while Antiochus and the Romans were contending in the heart of Greece with two such powerful armies, an Achæan general should turn his attention to them; and, instead of lighting up a war at home, should overlook and pass by some real injuries." When he found that Diophanes did not hearken to him, but marched along with Flaminius into Laconia, and that they took their route towards Sparta, he did a thing which cannot be vindicated by law and strict justice, but which discovers a great and noble daring. He got

* The same year, Caius Livius with the Roman fleet defeated that of Antiochus near Ephesus.

into the town himself, and, though but a private man, shut the gates against an Achæan general and a Roman consul; healed the divisions among the Lacedæmonians, and brought them back to the league.

Yet afterwards, when he was general himself, upon some new subject of complaint against that people, he restored their exiles, and put eighty citizens to death, as Polybius tells us, or, according to Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty. He demolished their walls, took from them great part of their territory, and added it to that of Megalopolis. All who had been made free of Sparta by the tyrants, he disfranchised and carried into Achaia, except three thousand, who refused to quit the place, and those he sold for slaves. By way of insult, as it were, upon Sparta, with the money arising thence he built a portico in Megalopolis. Pursuing his vengeance against that unhappy people, who had already suffered more than they deserved, he added one cruel and most unjust thing to fill up the measure of it; he destroyed their constitution; he abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, compelled them to give their children and youth an Achæan education, instead of that of their own country, being persuaded that their spirit could never be humbled while they adhered to the institutions of their great lawgiver. Thus brought, by the weight of their calamities, to have the sinews of their city cut by Philopœmen, they grew tame and submissive. Some time after, indeed, upon application to the Romans, they shook off the Achæan customs, and re-established their ancient ones, as far as it could be done, after so much misery and corruption.

When the Romans were carrying on the war with Antiochus in Greece, Philopœmen was in a private station. And when he saw Antiochus sit still at Chalcis, and spend his time in youthful love, and a marriage unsuitable to his years, while the Syrians roamed from town to town without discipline and without officers, and minded nothing but their pleasures, he repined extremely that he was not then general of the Achæans, and scrupled not to declare that he envied the Romans their victory: "For, had I been in command," said he, "I would have cut them all in pieces in the taverns." After Antiochus was overcome, the Romans pressed still harder upon Greece, and hemmed in the Achæans with their power; the orators, too, inclined to their interest. Under the auspices of Heaven, their strength prevailed over all; and the point was at hand where fortune, who had long veered, was to stand still. In these circumstances, Philopœmen, like a good pilot, struggled with the storm. Sometimes he was forced to give way a little, and yield to the times; but, on most occasions, maintaining the conflict, he endeavoured to

draw all that were considerable, either for their eloquence or riches, to the side of liberty. Aristænetus, the Megalopolitan, who had great interest among the Achæans, but always courted the Romans, declared it in counsel as his opinion, "That they ought not to be opposed or disobliged in any thing." Philopœmen heard him with silent indignation; and at last, when he could refrain no longer, said to him, "And why in such haste, wretched man, to see an end of Greece?" Manius*, the Roman consul, after the defeat of Antiochus, moved the Achæans to permit the Lacedæmonian exiles to return, and Titus seconded him in his application; but Philopœmen opposed it, not out of any ill-will to the exiles, but because he was willing they should be indebted for that benefit to himself and the Achæans, and not to the favour of Titus and the Romans; for the next year, when he was general himself, he restored them. Thus his gallant spirit led him to contend with the prevailing powers.

He was elected general of the Achæans, the eighth time, when seventy years of age; and now he hoped not only to pass the year of his magistracy without war, but the remainder of his life in quiet. For as the force of distempers abates with the strength of the body, so in the states of Greece the spirit of contention failed with their power. Some avenging deity, however, threw him down at last, like one who, with matchless speed, runs over the race, and stumbles at the goal. It seems that, being in company where a certain general was mentioned as an extraordinary man, Philopœmen said, "There was no great account to be made of a man who suffered himself to be taken alive." A few days after this, Dinocrates the Messenian, who was particularly on bad terms with Philopœmen, and, indeed, not upon good ones with any one, by reason of his profligate and wicked life, found means to draw Messene off from the league; and it was also said that he was going to sieze a little place called Colonis†. Philopœmen was then at Argos, sick of a fever; but upon this news he pushed to Megalopolis, and reached it in one day, though it was at the distance of four hundred furlongs. From thence he presently drew out a body of horse, consisting of the nobility, but all young men, who, from affection to his person, and ambition for glory, followed him as volunteers. With these he marched towards Messene, and meeting Dinocrates on Evander's hill‡, he attacked

* Manius Acilius Glabrio.

† There is no such place known as *Colonis*. Livy (lib. xxxix.) calls it *Corone*; and Plutarch probably wrote *Corona*, or *Coronis*. Strabo mentions the latter as a place in the neighbourhood of Messene.

‡ *Evander's hill* is likewise unknown. Polybius, and after him Pausanias, mentions a hill called *Evan*, (which name it probably had from the cries of the Bacchanals) not far from Messene.

and put him to flight. But five hundred men, who guarded the flat country, suddenly coming up, the others who were routed, seeing them, rallied again about the hills. Hereupon Philopœmen, afraid of being surrounded, and desirous of saving his young cavalry, retreated upon rough and difficult ground, while he was in the rear, often turning upon the enemy, and endeavouring to draw them entirely upon himself. Yet none of them dared to encounter him; they only shouted and rode about him at a distance. As he often faced about, and left his main body, on account of his young men, each of whom he was solicitous to put out of danger, at last he found himself alone amidst a number of the enemy. Even then they durst not attack him hand to hand, but, hurling their darts at a distance, they drove him upon steep and craggy places, where he could scarcely make his horse go, though he spurred him continually. He was still active through exercise, and for that reason his age was no hinderance to his escape; but being weakened by sickness, and extremely fatigued with his journey, his horse threw him, now heavy and encumbered, upon the stones. His head was wounded with the fall, and he lay a long time speechless, so that the enemy, thinking him dead, began to turn him, in order to strip him of his arms. But finding that he raised his head and opened his eyes, they gathered thick about him, bound his hands behind his back, and led him off with such unworthy treatment and gross abuse, as Philopœmen could never have supposed he should come to suffer even from Dinocrates.

The Messenians, elated at the news, flocked to the gates. But when they saw Philopœmen dragged along in a manner so unworthy of the glory of his achievements and trophies, most of them were touched with pity and compassion for his misfortune. They shed tears, and contemned all human greatness as a faithless support, as vanity and nothing. Their tears, by little and little, turned to kind words, and they began to say they ought to remember his former benefits, and the liberty he had procured them by expelling the tyrant Nabis. A few there were, indeed, who, to gratify Dinocrates, talked of putting Philopœmen to torture and to death, as a dangerous and implacable enemy, and the more to be dreaded by Dinocrates, if he escaped after being made prisoner, and treated with such indignity. At last they put him in a dungeon called the *Treasury**, which had neither air nor light from without, and which, having no doors, was closed with a great stone. In this dungeon they shut him up with the stone, and placed a guard around it.

* The public treasure was kept there; and it was shut up with an immense stone, moved to it by an engine. *Liv.* l. xxxix.

Meanwhile, the Achæan cavalry, recollecting themselves after their flight, found that Philopœmen was not with them, and probably had lost his life. They made a stand, and called him with loud cries, blaming each other for making a base and shameful escape, by abandoning their general, who had been prodigal of his own life in order to save theirs. By much search and inquiry about the country, they got intelligence that he was taken prisoner, and carried the heavy news to the states of Achaia, who, considering it as the greatest of losses, resolved to send an embassy to demand him of the Messenians, and in the mean time prepared for war.

While the Achæans were taking these resolutions, Dinocrates, who most of all dreaded time, as the thing most likely to save Philopœmen, determined to be before-hand with the league. Therefore, when night was come, and the multitude retired, he opened the dungeon, and sent in one of his servants with a dose of poison, and orders not to leave him till he had taken it. Philopœmen was laid down in his cloak, but not asleep: vexation and resentment kept him awake. When he saw the light, and the man standing by him with a cup of poison, he raised himself up as well as his weakness would permit, and, receiving the cup, asked him, "Whether he had heard any thing of his cavalry, and particularly of Lycortas?" The executioner answering that they almost all escaped, he nodded his head in sign of satisfaction; and looking kindly upon him, said, "Thou bringest good tidings, and we are not in all respects unhappy." Without uttering another word, or breathing the least sigh, he drank off the poison, and laid down again. He was already brought so low, that he could not make much struggle with the fatal dose, and it dispatched him presently.

The news of his death filled all Achaia with grief and lamentation. All the youth immediately repaired with the deputies of the several cities to Megalopolis, where they resolved, without loss of time, to take their revenge: for this purpose, having chosen Lycortas* for their general, they entered Messene, and ravaged the country, till the Messenians, with one consent, opened their gates and received them. Dinocrates prevented their revenge by killing himself; and those who voted for having Philopœmen put to death followed his example. But such as were for having him put to the torture were taken by Lycortas, and reserved for more painful punishments.

* This was in the second year of the hundred and forty-ninth Olympiad. Lycortas was father to Polybius the historian, who was in the action, and might be then about twenty years of age.

When they had burnt his remains, they put the ashes in an urn, and returned, not in a disorderly and promiscuous manner, but uniting a kind of triumphal march with the funeral solemnity. First came the foot, with crowns of victory on their heads, and tears in their eyes, and attended by their captive enemies in fetters. Polybius, the general's son, with the principal Achæans about him, carried the urn, which was so adorned with ribbons and garlands that it was hardly visible. The march was closed by the cavalry, completely armed and superbly mounted; they neither expressed in their looks the melancholy of such a mourning, nor the joy of a victory. The people of the towns and villages on their way flocked out, as if it had been to meet him returning from a glorious campaign, touched the urn with great respect, and conducted it to Megalopolis. The old men, the women, and children, who joined the procession, raised such a bitter lamentation, that it spread through the army, and was re-echoed by the city, which, besides her grief for Philopœmen, bemoaned her own calamity, as in him she thought she lost the chief rank and influence among the Achæans.

His interment was suitable to his dignity, and the Messenian prisoners were stoned to death at his tomb. Many statues were set up*, and many honours decreed him by the Grecian cities. But when Greece was involved in the dreadful misfortunes of Corinth, a certain Roman attempted to get them all pulled down†, accusing him in form, as if he had been alive, of implacable enmity to the Romans. When he had finished the impeachment, and Polybius had answered his calumnies, neither Mummius nor his lieutenants would suffer the monuments of so illustrious a man to be defaced, though he had opposed both Flaminius and Glabrio not a little. For they made a proper distinction between virtue and interest, between honour and advantage; well concluding that rewards and grateful acknowledgments are always due from persons obliged to their benefactors, and honour and respect from men of merit to each other. So much concerning Philopœmen.

* Pausanias, in his Arcadic, gives us the inscription the Tegeans put upon one of those statues.

† This happened thirty-seven years after his death, that is, the second year of the hundred and forty-eighth Olympiad, one hundred and forty-five years before the Christian era.

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

THE person whom we put in parallel with Philopœmen is Titus Quinctius Flaminius*. Those who are desirous of being acquainted with his countenance and figure need but look upon the statue in brass which is erected at Rome, with a Greek inscription upon it, opposite the *Circus Maximus*, near the great statue of Apollo, which was brought from Carthage. As to his disposition, he was quick both to resent an injury, and to do a service. But his resentment was not in all respects like his affection, for he punished lightly, and soon forgot the offence; but his attachments and services were lasting and complete. For the persons whom he had obliged he ever retained a kind regard; as if, instead of receiving, they had conferred a favour; and considering them as his greatest treasure, he was always ready to protect and to promote them. Naturally covetous of honour and fame, and not choosing to let others have any share in his great and good actions, he took more pleasure in those whom he could assist, than in those who could give him assistance; looking upon the former as persons who afforded room for the exertion of virtue, and the latter as his rivals in glory.

From his youth he was trained up to the profession of arms; for Rome having then many important wars upon her hands, her youth betook themselves betimes to arms, and had early opportunities to qualify themselves to command. Flaminius served like the rest, and was first a legionary tribune under the consul Marcellus †, in the war with Hannibal. Marcellus fell into an ambuscade, and was slain; after which Flaminius was appointed governor of Tarentum, newly retaken, and of the country about it. In this commission he grew no less famous for his administration of justice than for his military

* It ought to be written *Flamininus*, and not *Flaminius*. Polybius, Livy, and all the other historians, write it *Flaminius*. Indeed, the Flaminii were a very different family from the Flaminini. The former were patricians, the latter plebeians. Caius Flaminius, who was killed in the battle at the lake of Thrasymenus, was of the plebeian family. Besides, some manuscripts, for instance, the *Vulcob. an Anon.* and one that Dacier consulted, have it Flamininus; which would be sufficient authority to correct it. But that would occasion some inconvenience, because Plutarch has called him Flaminius in other places, as well as here in his life; and, indeed, several modern writers have done the same.

† He was appointed a tribune at the age of twenty, in the fourth year of the hundred and forty-second Olympiad; consequently he was born in the first year of the hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad, which was the year of Rome 526. Livy tells us, he was thirty-three years of age when he proclaimed liberty to Greece.

skill; for which reason he was appointed chief director of the two colonies that were sent to the cities of Narnia and Cossa.

This inspired him with such lofty thoughts, that, overlooking the ordinary previous steps by which young men ascend, I mean the offices of tribune, prætor, and ædile, he aimed directly at the consulship. Supported by those colonists, he presented himself as a candidate; but the tribunes Fulvius and Manlius opposed him, insisting that it was a strange and unheard-of thing for a man so young, who was not yet initiated in the first mysteries of government, to intrude, in contempt of the laws, into the highest office in the state. The senate referred the affair to the suffrages of the people; and the people elected him consul, though he was not yet thirty years old, with Sextus Ælius. The lots being cast for the provinces, the war with Philip and the Macedonians fell to Flaminius; and this happened very fortunately for the Roman people, as that department required a general who did not want to do every thing by force and violence, but rather by gentleness and persuasion: for Macedonia furnished Philip with a sufficient number of men for his wars, but Greece was his principal dependence for a war of any length. She it was that supplied him with money and provisions; with strong holds and places of retreat; and, in a word, with all the materials of war; so that, if she could not be disengaged from Philip, the war with him could not be decided by a single battle. Besides, the Greeks as yet had but little acquaintance with the Romans; it was now first to be established by the intercourse of business; and, therefore, they would not so soon have embraced a foreign authority, instead of that they had been so long accustomed to, if the Roman general had not been a man of great good-nature, who was more ready to avail himself of treaty than of the sword; who had a persuasive manner where he applied, and was affable and easy of access when applied to, and who had a constant and invariable regard to justice. But this will better appear from his actions themselves.

Titus finding that Sulpitius and Publius*, his predecessors in command, had not entered Macedonia till late in the season, and then did not prosecute the war with vigour, but spent their time in skirmishing to gain some particular post or pass, or to intercept some provisions, determined not to act like them. They had wasted the year of their consulate in the enjoyment of their new honours and administration of domestic affairs, and towards the close of the year they repaired to their province; by which artifice they got their command continued another year, being the first year in character of

* Publius Sulpitius Galba was consul two years before. Publius Villius Tappulus was consul the year after Sulpitius, and next before Flaminius.

consul, and the second of pro-consul. But Titus, ambitious to distinguish his consulship by some important expedition, left the honours and prerogatives he had in Rome; and having requested the senate to permit his brother Lucius to command the naval forces, and selected three thousand men, as yet in full vigour and spirits, and the glory of the field, from those troops who, under Scipio, had subdued Asdrubal in Spain, and Hannibal in Africa, he crossed the sea, and got safe into Epirus. There he found Publius encamped over against Philip, who had been a long time defending the fords of the river Apsus and the adjoining straits; and that Publius had not been able to effect any thing, by reason of the natural strength of the place.

Titus having taken the command of the army, and sent Publius home, set himself to consider the nature of the country. Its natural fortifications are equal to those of Tempe, but it is not like Tempe in the beauty of the woods and groves, and the verdure of vallies and delicious meads. To the right and left there is a chain of lofty mountains, between which there is a deep and long channel. Down this runs the river Apsus, like the Peneus, both in its appearance and rapidity. It covers the foot of the hills on each side, so that there is left only a narrow craggy path, cut out close by the stream, which is not easy for an army to pass at any time, and, when guarded, is not passable at all.

There were some, therefore, who advised Flaminius to take a compass through Dassaretus along the Lycus, which was an easy passage. But he was afraid that if he removed too far from the sea into a country that was barren and little cultivated, while Philip avoided a battle, he might come to want provisions, and be constrained, like the general before him, to retreat to the sea without effecting any thing. This determined him to make his way up the mountains sword in hand, and to force a passage. But Philip's army, being possessed of the heights, showered down their darts and arrows upon the Romans from every quarter. Several sharp contests ensued, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, but none that were likely to be decisive.

In the mean time, some shepherds of those mountains came to the consul with the discovery of a winding way neglected by the enemy, by which they promised to bring his army to the top in three days at the farthest; and to confirm the truth of what they had said, they brought Charops, the son of Machatas, prince of the Epirots, who was a friend to the Romans, and privately assisted them out of fear of Philip. As Flaminius could confide in him, he sent away a tribune with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. The shep-

herds, in bonds, led the way. In the day-time they lay still in the hollows of the woods, and in the night they marched; for the moon was then at full. Flaminius, having detached this party, let his main body rest the three days, and only had some slight skirmishes with the enemy to take up their attention. But the day that he expected those who had taken the circuit to appear upon the heights, he drew out his forces early, both the heavy and light-armed, and dividing them into three parts, himself led the van, marching his men along the narrowest path by the side of the river. The Macedonians galled him with their darts; but he maintained the combat, notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground; and the other two parties fought with all the spirit of emulation, and clung to the rocks with astonishing ardour.

In the mean time the sun arose, and smoke appeared at a distance, not very strong, but like the mist of the hills. Being on the back of the enemy, they did not observe it, for it came from the troops who had reached the top. Amidst the fatigue of the engagement, the Romans were in doubt whether it was a signal or not, but they inclined to believe it the thing they wished.—And when they saw it increase, so as to darken the air, and to mount higher and higher, they were well assured that it came from the fires which their friends had lighted. Hereupon they set up loud shouts, and charging the enemy with greater vigour, pushed them into the most craggy places. The shouts were re-echoed by those behind at the top of the mountain; and now the Macedonians fled with the utmost precipitation. Yet there were not above two thousand slain, the pursuit being impeded by the difficulty of the ascent. The Romans, however, pillaged the camp, seized the money and slaves, and became absolute masters of the pass.

They then traversed all Epirus, but with such order and discipline, that though they were at a great distance from their ships and the sea, and had not the usual monthly allowance of corn, or convenience of markets, yet they spared the country, which at the same time abounded in every thing. For Flaminius was informed that Philip, in his passage or rather flight through Thessaly, had compelled the people to quit their habitations, and retire to the mountains; had burnt the towns, and had given as plunder to his men what was too heavy or cumbersome to be carried off; and so had in a manner yielded up the country to the Romans. The consul, therefore, made a point of it to prevail with his men to spare it as their own, to march through it as land already ceded to them.

The event soon showed the benefit of this good order: for as soon as they entered Thessaly, all its cities declared for them, and the

Greeks within Thermopylæ longed for the protection of Flaminius, and gave up their hearts to him. The Achæans renounced their alliance with Philip, and by a solemn decree resolved to take part with the Romans against him. And though the Ætolians, who at that time were strongly attached to the Romans, made the Opuntians an offer to garrison and defend their city, they refused it; and, having sent for Flaminius, put themselves in his hands.

It is reported of Pyrrhus, when, from an eminence, he had first a prospect of the disposition of the Roman army, that he said, "I see nothing barbarian-like in the ranks of these barbarians." Indeed, all who once saw Flaminius spoke of him in the same terms. They had heard the Macedonians represent him as the fierce commander of a host of barbarians, who was come to ruin and destroy, and to reduce all to slavery: and when afterwards they met a young man of a mild aspect, who spoke very good Greek, and was a lover of true honour, they were extremely taken with him, and excited the kind regards of their cities to him, as to a general who would lead them to liberty.

After this, Philip seeming inclined to treat, Flaminius came to an interview with him*, and offered him peace and friendship with Rome, on condition that he left the Grecians free, and withdrew his garrisons from their cities. And as he refused those terms, it was obvious even to the partisans of Philip that the Romans were not come to fight against the Greeks, but for Greece against the Macedonians.

The rest of Greece acceding voluntarily to the confederacy, the consul entered Bœotia, but in a peaceable manner, and the chief of the Thebans came to meet him. They were inclined to the Macedonian interest on account of Barchyllas, but they honoured and respected Flaminius, and were willing to preserve the friendship of both. Flaminius received them with great goodness, embraced them, and went on slowly with them, asking various questions, and entertaining them with discourse, on purpose to give his soldiers time to come up. Thus advancing insensibly to the gates of Thebes, he entered the city with them. They did not indeed quite relish the thing, but they were afraid to forbid him, as he came so well attended. Then, as if he had been no ways master of the town, he endeavoured by persuasion to bring it to declare for the Romans; king Attalus seconding him, and using all his rhetoric to the Thebans. But that prince, it seems, in his eagerness to serve Flaminius, exerting himself more than his age could bear, was seized, as he was speaking, with a giddiness or rheum, which made him swoon away. A few days

* See Polybius, book xvii.

after, his fleet conveyed him into Asia, and he died there. As for the Bœotians, they took part with the Romans.

As Philip sent an embassy to Rome, Flaminius also sent his agents to procure a decree of the senate, prolonging his commission if the war continued, or else empowering him to make peace. For his ambition made him apprehensive that, if a successor were sent, he should be robbed of all the honour of the war.—His friends managed matters so well for him, that Philip failed in his application, and the command was continued to Flaminius. Having received the decree, he was greatly elevated in his hopes, and marched immediately into Thessaly to carry on the war against Philip. His army consisted of more than twenty-six thousand men, of whom the Ætolians furnished six thousand foot and three hundred horse. Philip's forces were not inferior in number. They marched against each other, and arrived near Scotusa, where they proposed to decide the affair with the sword. The vicinity of two such armies had not the usual effect to strike the officers with a mutual awe; on the contrary, it increased their courage and ardour; the Romans being ambitious to conquer the Macedonians, whose valour and power Alexander had rendered so famous, and the Macedonians hoping, if they could beat the Romans, whom they looked upon as a more respectable enemy than the Persians, to raise the glory of Philip above that of Alexander. Flaminius, therefore, exhorted his men to behave with the greatest courage and gallantry, as they had to contend with brave adversaries in so glorious a theatre as Greece. On the other side, Philip, in order to address his army, ascended an eminence without his camp, which happened to be a burying-place, either not knowing it to be so, or, in the hurry, not attending to it. There he began an oration, such as is usual before a battle; but the omen of a sepulchre spreading a dismal melancholy among the troops, he stopped and put off the action till another day

Next morning at day-break, after a rainy night, the clouds turning into a mist darkened the plain; and as the day came on, a foggy thick air descending from the hills, covered all the ground between the two camps. Those, therefore, that were sent out on both sides to sieze posts or to make discoveries, soon meeting unawares, engaged at the *Cynoscephalæ*, which are sharp tops of hills standing opposite each other, and so called from their resemblance to the heads of dogs. The success of these skirmishes was various, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, the same parties sometimes flying and sometimes pursuing; and reinforcements were sent on both sides, as they found their men hard pressed and giving way; till at length the day clearing up, the action became general. Philip,

who was in the right wing, advanced from the rising ground with his whole phalanx against the Romans, who could not, even the bravest of them, stand the shock of the united shields and the projected spears*. But the Macedonian left wing being separated and intersected by the hills†, Flaminius observing that, and having no hopes on the side where his troops gave way, hastened to the other, and there charged the enemy, where, on account of the inequality and roughness of the country, they could not keep in the close form of a phalanx, nor line their ranks to any great depth, but were forced to fight man to man, in heavy and unwieldy armour. For the Macedonian phalanx is like an animal of enormous strength, while it keeps in one body, and preserves its union of locked shields; but, when that is broken, each particular soldier loses of his force, as well because of the form of his armour, as because the strength of each consists rather in his being a part of the whole, than in his single person. When these were routed, some gave chace to the fugitives, others took those Macedonians in flank who were still fighting; the slaughter was great, and the wing lately victorious soon broke in such a manner that they threw down their arms and fled. There were no less than eight thousand slain, and about five thousand were taken prisoners. That Philip himself escaped was chiefly owing to the Ætolians, who took to plundering the camp, while the Romans were busied in the pursuit, so that at their return there was nothing left for them.

This from the first occasioned quarrels and mutual reproaches. But afterwards Flaminius was hurt much more sensibly, when the Ætolians ascribed the victory to themselves‡, and endeavoured to prepossess the Greeks that the fact was really so. This report got such ground, that the poets and others, in the verses that were composed and sung on this occasion, put them before the Romans. The verses most in vogue were the following:

> Stranger! unwept, unhonour'd with a grave,
> See thrice ten thousand bodies of the brave!
> The fierce Ætolians, and the Latin power,
> Led by Flaminius, rul'd the vengeful hour;
> Emathia's scourge, beneath whose stroke they bled;
> And swifter than the roe the mighty Philip fled.

* The pike of the fifth man in file projected beyond the front. There was, therefore, an amazing strength in the phalanx while it stood firm. But it had its inconveniences. It could not act at all except in a level and clear field. *Polyb.* lib. xvii. sub fin.

† Plutarch makes no mention of the elephants, which, according to Livy and Polybius, were very serviceable to Flaminius.

‡ Polybius informs us, that the Macedonians in the first encounter had the advantage and beat the Romans from the tops of the mountains they had gained. And he affirms,

Alcæus wrote this epigram in ridicule of Philip, and purposely misrepresented the number of the slain. The epigram was indeed in every body's mouth; but Flaminius was much more hurt by it than Philip: for the latter parodied Alcæus as follows:

Stranger! unleav'd, unhonour'd e'en with bark,
See this sad tree, the gibbet of Alcæus!

Flaminius, who was ambitious of the praise of Greece, was not a little provoked at this, and therefore managed every thing afterwards by himself, paying very little regard to the Ætolians. They, in their turn, indulged their resentment; and when Flaminius had admitted proposals for an accommodation, and received an embassy for that purpose from Philip, the Ætolians exclaimed, in all the cities of Greece, that he sold the peace to the Macedonian, at a time when he might have put a final period to the war, and have destroyed that empire which first enslaved the Grecians. These speeches, though groundless, greatly perplexed the allies; but Philip coming in person to treat, and submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of Flaminius and the Romans, removed all suspicion.

Thus Flaminius put an end to the war. He restored Philip his kingdom, but obliged him to quit all claim to Greece: he fined him a thousand talents, took away all his ships except ten, and sent Demetrius, one of his sons, hostage to Rome. In this pacification he made a happy use of the present, and wisely provided for the time to come: for Hannibal the Carthaginian, an inveterate enemy to the Romans, and now an exile, being at the court of Antiochus*, exhorted him to meet fortune, who opened her arms to him; and Antiochus himself, seeing his power very considerable, and that his exploits had already gained him the title of Great, began now to think of universal monarchy, and particularly of setting himself against the Romans. Had not Flaminius, therefore, in his great wisdom foreseen this, and made peace†, Antiochus might have joined Philip in the war with Greece, and those two kings, then the most powerful in the world, have made a common cause of it, which would have called Rome again to as great conflicts and dangers as she had experienced in the war with Hannibal. But Flaminius, by thus putting an intermedi-

that in all probability the Romans would have been put to flight, had they not been supported by the Ætolian cavalry.

* This is a mistake: Hannibal did not come to the court of Antiochus till the year after Flaminius had proclaimed liberty to Greece at the Isthmian games; Cato and Valerius Flaccus, who were then consuls, having sent an embassy to Carthage to complain of him.

† Polybius tells us, Flaminius was induced to conclude a peace upon the intelligence he had received, that Antiochus was marching towards Greece with a powerful army; and he was afraid Philip might lay hold on that advantage to continue the war.

ate space of peace between the two wars, and finishing the one before the other began, cut off at once the last hope of Philip, and the first of Antiochus.

The ten commissioners now sent by the senate to assist Flamininus advised him to set the rest of Greece free, but to keep garrisons in the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, to secure them in case of a war with Antiochus. But the Ætolians, always severe in their accusations, and now more so than ever, endeavoured to excite a spirit of insurrection in the cities, calling upon Flaminius to knock off the shackles of Greece; for so Philip used to term those cities. They asked the Greeks, "If they did not find their chain very comfortable, now it was more polished, though heavier than before; and if they did not consider Flaminius as the greatest of benefactors, for unfettering their feet, and binding them by the neck." Flaminius, afflicted at these clamours, begged of the council of deputies, and at last prevailed with them, to deliver those cities from the garrisons, in order that his favour to the Grecians might be perfect and entire.

They were then celebrating the Isthmian games, and an innumerable company was seated to see the exercises. For Greece, now enjoying full peace after a length of wars, and big with the expectations of liberty, had given into these festivals on that occasion. Silence being commanded by sound of trumpet, a herald went forth and made proclamation, "That the Roman senate, and Titus Quinctius Flaminius, the general and proconsul, having vanquished king Philip and the Macedonians, took off all impositions, and withdrew all garrisons from Greece, and restored liberty, and their own laws and privileges, to the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, Eubœans, Achæans, Phthistæ, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians."

At first the proclamation was not generally or distinctly heard, but a confused murmur ran through the theatre; some wondering, some questioning, and others calling upon the herald to repeat what he had said. Silence being again commanded, the herald raised his voice, so as to be heard distinctly by the whole assembly. The shout which they gave in the transport of joy was so prodigious, that it was heard as far as the sea. The people left their seats; there was no further regard paid to the diversions; all hastened to embrace and to address the preserver and protector of Greece. The hyperbolical accounts that have been given of the effect of loud shouts were verified on that occasion; for the crows which then happened to be flying over their heads fell into the theatre. The breaking of the air seems to have been the cause: for the sound of many united voices being violently strong, the parts of the air are separated by it, and a void is left, which affords the birds no support: or, perhaps, the force of the sound

strikes the birds like an arrow, and kills them in an instant: or, possibly, a circular motion is caused in the air, as a whirlpool is produced in the sea by the agitations of a storm.

If Flaminius, as soon as he saw the assembly risen, and the crowd rushing towards him, had not avoided them, and got under covert, he must have been surrounded, and, in all probability, suffocated by such a multitude. When they had almost spent themselves in acclamations about his pavilion, and night was now come, they retired; and whatever friends or fellow-citizens they happened to see, they embraced and caressed again, and then went and concluded the evening together in feasting and merriment. There, no doubt, redoubling their joy, they began to recollect and talk of the state of Greece: they observed, "That notwithstanding the many great wars she had been engaged in for liberty, she had never gained a more secure or agreeable enjoyment of it than now, when others had fought for her; that glorious and important prize now hardly costing them a drop of blood, or a tear: that of human excellencies, valour and prudence were but rarely met with, but that justice was still more uncommon: that such generals as Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, knew how to manage a war, and to gain victories both by sea and land; but they knew not how to apply their success to generous and noble purposes. So that if one excepted the battles of Marathon, of Salamis, of Platæa, and Thermopylæ, and the actions of Cimon upon the Eurymedon, and near Cyprus, Greece had fought to no other purpose but to bring the yoke upon herself; all the trophies she had erected were monuments of her dishonour, and at last her affairs were ruined by the unjust ambition of her chiefs. But these strangers, who had scarce a spark of any thing Grecian left*, who scarce retained a faint tradition of their ancient descent from us, from whom the least inclination, or even word in our behalf, could not have been expected; these strangers have run the greatest risks, and submitted to the greatest labours, to deliver Greece from her cruel and tyrannic masters, and to crown her with liberty again."

These were the reflections the Grecians made; and the actions of Flaminius justified them, being quite agreeable to his proclamation: for he immediately dispatched Lentulus into Asia to set the Bargyllians free, and Titillius† into Thrace, to draw Philip's garrisons out of the towns and adjacent islands. Publius Villius set sail in order to treat with Antiochus about the freedom of the Grecians under him:

* According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Rome was stocked with inhabitants at first, chiefly from those Grecian colonies which had settled in the south of Italy before the time of Romulus.

† Polybius and Livy call him Lucius Stertinius.

and Flaminius himself went to Chalcis, and sailed from thence to Magnesia, where he removed the garrison, and put the government again in the hands of the people.

At Argos, being appointed director of the Nemean games, he settled the whole order of them in the most agreeable manner, and on that occasion caused liberty to be proclaimed again by the crier.—And as he passed through the other cities, he strongly recommended to them an adherence to law, a strict course of justice, and domestic peace and unanimity. He healed their divisions; he restored their exiles. In short, he had less pleasure in the conquest of the Macedonians, than in reconciling the Greeks to each other; and their liberty appeared the least of the benefits he conferred upon them.

It is said that when Lycurgus the orator had delivered Xenocrates the philosopher out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were hurrying him to prison for the tax paid by strangers, and had prosecuted them for their insolence; Xenocrates afterwards meeting the children of Lycurgus, said to them, "Children I have made a noble return to your father for the service he did me; for all the world praise him for it." But the returns which attended Flaminius and the Romans, for their beneficence to the Greeks, terminated not in praises only, but justly procured them the confidence of all mankind, and added greatly to their power: for now a variety of people not only accepted the governors set over them by Rome, but even sent for them, and begged to be under their government. And not only cities and commonwealths, but kings, when injured by other kings, had recourse to their protection; so that, the divine assistance too perhaps cooperating, in a short time the whole world became subject to them. Flaminius also valued himself most upon the liberty he had bestowed on Greece: for having dedicated some silver bucklers, together with his own shield, at Delphi, he put upon them the following inscription:

Ye Spartan twins, who tam'd the foaming steed,
Ye friends, ye patrons of each glorious deed,
Behold Flaminius, of Æneas' line,
Presents this offering at your awful shrine.
Ye sons of love, your generous paths he trod,
And snatch'd from Greece each little tyrant's rod

He offered also to Apollo a golden crown inscribed with these verses:

See grateful Titus homage pay
To thee, the glorious god of day;
See him with gold thy locks adorn,
Thy locks which shed th' ambrosial morn.
O grant him fame and ev'ry gift divine,
Who led the warriors of Æneas' line.

The Grecians have had the noble gift of liberty twice conferred on them in the city of Corinth; by Flaminius then, and by Nero in our

times. It was granted in both cases during the celebration of the Isthmian games. Flaminius had it proclaimed by a herald; but Nero himself declared the Grecians free, and at liberty to be governed by their own laws, in an oration which he made from the rostrum in the public assembly. This happened long after*.

Flaminius next undertook a very just and honourable war against Nabis, the wicked and abandoned tyrant of Lacedæmon; but in this instance he disappointed the hopes of Greece: for, though he might have taken him prisoner, he would not; but struck up a league with him, and left Sparta unworthily in bondage! whether it was that he feared, if the war was drawn out to any length, a successor would be sent him from Rome, who would rob him of the glory of it; or whether, in his passion for fame, he was jealous of the reputation of Philopœmen, a man who on all occasions had distinguished himself among the Greeks, and in that war particularly had given wonderful proofs both of courage and conduct; insomuch that the Achæans gloried in him as much as in Flaminius, and paid him the same respect in their theatres. This greatly hurt Flaminius; he could not bear that an Arcadian, who had only commanded in some inconsiderable wars upon the confines of his own country, should be held in equal admiration with a Roman consul, who had fought for all Greece. Flaminius, however, did not want apologies for his conduct: for he said, "He put an end to the war, because he saw he could not destroy the tyrant without involving all the Spartans in the mean time in great calamities†."

The Achæans decreed Flaminius many honours, but none seemed equal to his services, unless it were one present, which pleased him above all the rest. It was this: the Romans who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal, were sold for slaves, and dispersed in various places. Twelve hundred of them were now in Greece. That sad reverse of fortune made them always unhappy, but now (as might be expected) they were still more so, when they met their sons, their brothers, or their acquaintance, and saw them free, while they were slaves; and conquerors, while they were captives.

* Two hundred and sixty-three years.

† Livy touches upon this reason; but at the same time he mentions others more to the honour of this great man. Winter was now coming on, and the siege of Sparta might have lasted a considerable time. The enemy's country was so exhausted, that it could not supply him with provisions, and it was difficult to get convoys from any other quarter. Besides, Villius was returned from the court of Antiochus, and brought advice that the peace with that prince was not to be depended upon. In fact, he had already entered Europe with a fleet and army more numerous than before. And what forces had they to oppose him in case of a rupture, if Flaminius continued to employ his in the siege of Sparta? *Liv.* l. xxxiv. c. 33, 34.

Flaminius did not pretend to take them from their masters, though his heart sympathized with their distress. But the Achæans redeemed them at the rate of five minæ a man, and having collected them together, made Flaminius a present of them, just as he was going on board; so that he set sail with great satisfaction, having found a glorious recompence for his glorious services, a return suitable to a man of such humane sentiments, and such a lover of his country. This indeed made the most illustrious part of his triumph: for these poor men got their heads shaved, and wore the cap of liberty, as the custom of slaves is upon their manumission, and in this habit they followed the chariot of Flaminius. But to add to the splendour of the show, there were the Grecian helmets, the Macedonian targets and spears, and the other spoils, carried in great pomp before him. And the quantity of money was not small: for, as Itanus relates it, there were carried in this triumph three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds of unwrought gold, forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy of silver, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen pieces of coined gold, called Philippics; besides which, Philip owed a thousand talents. But the Romans were afterwards prevailed upon, chiefly by the mediation of Flaminius, to remit this debt; Philip was declared their ally, and his son, who had been with them as a hostage, sent home.

After this Antiochus passed over into Greece with a great fleet and a powerful army, and solicited the states to join him. The Ætolians who had been a long time ill affected to the Romans, took his part, and suggested this pretence for the war, that he came to bring the Grecians liberty. The Grecians had no want of it, for they were free already; but, as he had no better cause to assign, they instructed him to cover his attempt with that splendid pretext.

The Romans, fearing on this account a revolt in Greece, as well as the strength of Antiochus, sent the consul Manius Acilius to command in the war, but appointed Flaminius his lieutenant*, for the sake of his influence in Greece. His appearance there immediately confirmed such as were yet friends in their fidelity, and prevented those who were wavering from an entire defection. This was effected by the respect they bore him; for it operated like a potent remedy at the beginning of a disease. There were few, indeed, so entirely gained and corrupted by the Ætolians that his interest did not prevail upon; yet even these, though he was much exasperated against them at present, he saved after the battle; for Antiochus, being defeated at Thermopylæ, and forced to fly, immediately embarked for

* According to Livy, it was not Titus, but Lucius Quinctius, who was appointed lieutenant to Glabrio.

Asia. Upon this, the consul Manius went against some of the Ætolians, and besieged their towns, abandoning others to Philip. Thus great ravages were committed by the Macedonians among the Dolopians and Magnesians on one hand, and among the Athamanians and Aperantians on the other; and Manius himself having sacked the city of Heraclea, besieged Naupactus, then in the hands of the Ætolians. But Flaminius, being touched with compassion for Greece, went from Peloponnesus to the consul by water. He began with remonstrating, that the consul, though he had won the victory himself, suffered Philip to reap the fruits of it: and that while, to gratify his resentment, he spent his time about one town, the Macedonians were subduing whole provinces and kingdoms. The besieged happening to see Flaminius, called to him from the walls, stretched out their hands, and begged his interposition. He gave them no answer, but turned round and wept, and then immediately withdrew. Afterwards, however, he discoursed with Manius so effectually, that he appeased his anger, and procured the Ætolians a truce, and time to send deputies to Rome, to petition for favourable terms.

But he had much greater difficulties to combat when he applied to Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. The consul was highly incensed at them on account of the marriage which Antiochus celebrated among them, even after the war was begun; a marriage every way unsuitable as well as unseasonable; for he was far advanced in years, and the bride very young. The person he thus fell in love with was daughter to Cleoptolemus, and a virgin of incomparable beauty. This match brought the Chalcidians entirely into the king's interest, and they suffered him to make use of their city as a place of arms. After the battle, he fled with great precipitation to Chalcis, and taking with him his young wife, his treasures, and his friends, sailed from thence to Asia. And now Manius in his indignation marching directly against Chalcis, Flaminius followed, and endeavoured to appease his resentment. At last he succeeded by his assiduities with him and the most respectable Romans who were likely to have an influence upon him. The Chalcidians, thus saved from destruction, consecrated the most beautiful and the noblest of their public edifices to Titus Flaminius; and such inscriptions as these are to be seen upon them to this day: "The people dedicated this Gymnasium to Titus and Hercules: The people consecrate the Delphinium to Titus and Apollo." Nay, what is more, even in our days a priest of Titus is formally elected and declared; and on occasions of sacrifice to him, when the libations are over, they sing a hymn, the greatest part of which I omit, on account of its length:

While Rome's protecting power we prove,
Her faith adore, her virtues love,
Still, as our strains to heaven aspire,
Let Rome and Titus wake the lyre!
To these our grateful altars blaze,
And our long pæans pour immortal praise.

The rest of the Grecians conferred upon him all due honours: and what realized those honours, and added to their lustre, was the extraordinary affection of the people, which he had gained by his lenity and moderation: for if he happened to be at variance with any one upon account of business, or about a point of honour, as, for instance, with Philopœmen, and with Diophanes, general of the Achæans, he never gave into malignity, or carried his resentment into action, but let it expire in words, in such expostulations as the freedom of public debates may seem to justify. Indeed, no man ever found him vindictive, but he often discovered a hastiness and passionate turn. Setting this aside, he was the most agreeable man in the world; and a pleasantry, mixed with strong sense, distinguished his conversation. Thus, to divert the Achæans from their purpose of conquering the island of Zacynthus, he told them, "It was as dangerous for them to put their heads out of Peloponnesus, as it was for the tortoise to trust his out of his shell." In the first conference which Philip and he had about peace, Philip taking occasion to say, "Titus, you come with a numerous retinue, whereas I come quite alone:" Flaminius answered, "No wonder if you come alone, for you have killed all your friends and relations." Dinocrates the Messenian, being in company at Rome, drank until he was intoxicated, and then put on a woman's habit, and danced in that disguise. Next day he applied to Flaminius, and begged his assistance in a design which he had conceived, to withdraw Messene from the Achæan league. Flaminius answered, "I will consider of it; but I am surprised that you, who conceived such great designs, can sing and dance at a carousal." And when the ambassadors of Antiochus represented to the Achæans how numerous the king's forces were, and, to make them appear still more so, reckoned them up by all their different names: "I supped once," said Flaminius, "with a friend; and upon my complaining of the great number of dishes, and expresing my wonder how he could furnish his table with such a vast variety, be not uneasy about that, said my friend, for it is all hog's flesh, and the difference is only in the dressing and the sauce. In like manner, I say to you, my Achæan friend, be not astonished at the number of Antiochus' forces, at these pikemen, these halberdiers

and cuirassiers; for they are all Syrians, only distinguished by the trifling arms they bear."

After these great actions in Greece, and the conclusion of the war with Antiochus, Flaminius was created censor. This is the chief dignity in the state, and the crown, as it were, of all its honours. He had for colleague the son of Marcellus, who had been five times consul. They expelled four senators who were men of no great note: and they admitted as citizens all who offered, provided that their parents were free. But they were forced to this by Terentius Culeo, a tribune of the people, who, in opposition to the nobility, procured such orders from the commons. Two of the greatest and most powerful men of those times, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were then at variance with each other. Flaminius appointed the former of these president of the senate, as the first and best man in the commonwealth; and with the latter he entirely broke, on the following unhappy occasion. Titus had a brother named Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, unlike him in all respects, and quite abandoned to his pleasures, and regardless of decorum. This Lucius had a favourite boy whom he carried with him, even when he commanded armies and governed provinces. One day, as they were drinking, the boy, making his court to Lucius, said, "I love you so tenderly, that preferring your satisfaction to my own, I left a show of gladiators to come to you, though I have never seen a man killed." Lucius, delighted with the flattery, made answer, "If that be all, you need not be in the least uneasy, for I shall soon satisfy your longing." He immediately ordered a convict to be brought from the prison, and having sent for one of his lictors, commanded him to strike off the man's head in the room where they were carousing. Valerius Antias writes, that this was done to gratify a mistress. And Livy relates, from Cato's writings, that a Gaulish deserter being at the door with his wife and children, Lucius took him into the banqueting-room, and killed him with his own hand; but it is probable that Cato said this to aggravate the charge: for that the person killed was not a deserter, but a prisoner, and a condemned one too, appears from many writers, and particularly from Cicero, in his Treatise on Old Age, where he introduces Cato himself giving that account of the matter.

Upon this account, Cato, when he was censor, and set himself to remove all obnoxious persons from the senate, expelled Lucius, though he was of consular dignity. His brother thought this proceeding reflected dishonour upon himself; and they both went into the assembly in the form of suppliants, and besought the people, with tears, that Cato might be obliged to assign his reason for fixing

such a mark of disgrace upon so illustrious a family. The request appeared reasonable. Cato, without the least hesitation, came out, and standing up with his colleague, interrogated Titus whether he knew any thing of that feast. Titus answering in the negative, Cato related the affair, and called upon Lucius to declare upon oath, whether it was not true. As Lucius made no reply, the people determined the vote of infamy to be just, and conducted Cato home with great honour from the tribunal.

Titus, greatly concerned at his brother's misfortune, leagued with the inveterate enemies of Cato, and gaining a majority in the senate, quashed and annulled all the contracts, leases, and bargains which Cato had made relating to the public revenues, and stirred up many and violent prosecutions against him. But I know not whether he acted well, or agreeably to good policy, in thus becoming a mortal enemy to a man who had only done what became a lawful magistrate and a good citizen, for the sake of one who was a relation indeed, but an unworthy one, and who had met with the punishment he deserved. Some time after, however, the people being assembled in the theatres to see the shows, and the senate seated, according to custom, in the most honourable place, Lucius was observed to go, in a humble and dejected manner, and sit down upon one of the lowest benches. The people could not bear to see this, but called out to him to go up higher, and ceased not until he went to the consular bench, who made room for him.

The native ambition of Flaminius was applauded, while it found sufficient matter to employ itself upon, in the wars we have given account of. And his serving in the army as a tribune, after he had been consul, was regarded with a favourable eye, though no one required it of him. But when he was arrived at an age that excused him from all employments, he was blamed for indulging a violent passion for fame, and a youthful impetuosity in that inactive season of life. To some excess of this kind seems to have been owing his behaviour with respect to Hannibal*, at which the world was much offended. For Hannibal, having fled his country took refuge first at the court of Antiochus; but Antiochus, after he had lost the battle of Phrygia, gladly accepting conditions of peace, Hannibal was again

* Flaminius was no more than forty-four years of age when he went ambassador to Prusias. It was not therefore an unseasonable desire of a public character, or extravagant passion for fame, which was blamed in him on this occasion, but an unworthy persecution of a great though unfortunate man. We are inclined, however, to think, that he had secret instructions from the senate for what he did: for it is not probable that a man of his mild and humane disposition would choose to hunt down an old unhappy warrior; and Plutarch confirms this opinion afterwards.

forced to fly, and, after wandering through many countries, at length settled in Bithynia, and put himself under the protection of Prusias. The Romans knew this perfectly well, but they took no notice of it, considering him now as a man enfeebled by age, and overthrown by fortune. But Flaminius, being sent by the senate upon an embassy to Prusias about other matters, and seeing Hannibal at his court, could not endure that he should be suffered to live. And though Prusias used much intercession and entreaty in behalf of a man who came to him as a suppliant, and lived with him under the sanction of hospitality, he could not prevail.

It seems there was an ancient oracle which thus prophesied concerning the end of Hannibal,

Libyssan earth shall hide the bones of Hannibal.

He therefore thought of nothing but ending his days at Carthage, and being buried in Lybia. But in Bithynia there is a sandy place near the sea, which has a small village in it called Libyssa. In this neighbourhood Hannibal lived. But having always been apprised of the timidity of Prusias, and distrusting him on that account, and dreading withal the attempts of the Romans, he had some time before ordered several subterraneous passages to be dug under his house, which were continued a great way under ground, and terminated in several different places, but were all undiscernible without. As soon as he was informed of the orders which Flaminius had given, he attempted to make his escape by those passages; but finding the king's guards at the outlets, he resolved to kill himself. Some say, he wound his cloak about his neck, and ordered his servant to put his knees upon his back, and pull with all his force, and not to leave twisting till he had quite strangled him. Others tell us, that, like Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. But Livy writes, that having poison in readiness, he mixed it for a draught, and taking the cup in his hand, "Let us deliver the Romans," said he, "from their cares and anxieties, since they think it too tedious and dangerous to wait for the death of a poor hated old man. Yet shall not Titus gain a conquest worth envying, or suitable to the generous proceedings of his ancestors, who sent to caution Pyrrhus, though a victorious enemy, against the poison that was prepared for him."

Thus Hannibal is said to have died. When the news was brought to the senate, many in that august body were highly displeased. Flaminius appeared too officious and cruel in his precautions to procure the death of Hannibal, now tamed by his misfortunes, like a bird that through age had lost its tail and feathers, and suffered to live so. And as he had no orders to put him to death, it was plain that he did it out of a passion for fame, and to be mentioned in after times

as the destroyer of Hannibal*. On this occasion they recollected and admired more than ever the humane and generous behaviour of Scipio Africanus; for when he had vanquished Hannibal in Africa, at a time when he was extremely formidable, and deemed invincible, he neither insisted on his banishment, nor demanded him of his fellow-citizens; but as he had embraced him at the conference which he had with him before the battle, so, after it, when he settled the conditions of peace, he offered not the least affront or insult to his misfortunes.

It is reported that they met again at Ephesus, and Hannibal, as they walked together, taking the upper hand, Africanus suffered it, and walked on without the least concern. Afterwards they fell into conversation about great generals, and Hannibal asserted that Alexander was the greatest general the world had ever seen, that Pyrrhus was the second, and himself the third. Scipio smiled at this, and said, "But what rank would you have placed yourself in, if I had not conquered you?" "O Scipio!" said he, "then I would not have placed myself the third, but the first."

The generality, admiring this moderation of Scipio, found the greater fault with Flaminius for taking the spoils of an enemy whom another man had slain. There were some indeed who applauded the thing, and observed, "That while Hannibal lived, they must have looked upon him as a fire, which wanted only to be blown into a flame: that when he was in the vigour of his age, it was not his bodily strength or his right hand which was so dreadful to the Romans, but his capacity and experience, together with his innate rancour and hatred to their name; and that these are not altered by age, for the native disposition still overrules the manners; whereas fortune, far from remaining the same, changes continually, and by new hopes invites those to new enterprises who were ever at war with us in their hearts." And the subsequent events contributed still more to the justification of Flaminius: for, in the first place, Aristonicus, the son of a harper's daughter, on the strength of his being reputed the natural son of Eumenes, filled all Asia with tumult and rebellion; and, in the next place, Mithridates, after such strokes as he had met with from Sylla and Fimbria, and so terrible a destruction among his troops and officers, rose up stronger than ever against Lucullus, both by sea and land. Indeed, Hannibal was never brought so low as Caius Marius had been: for Hannibal enjoyed the friendship of a

* If this was really the motive of Flaminius, and nothing of a political tendency entered into this dastardly destruction of that great general, it would hardly be possible for all the virtues, all the triumphs of the Romans, to redeem him from the infamy of so base an action.

king, from whom he received liberal supplies, and with those officers, both in the navy and army, he had important connexions; whereas Marius was a wanderer in Africa, and forced to beg his bread: but the Romans, who had laughed at his fall, soon after bled, in their own streets, under his rods and axes, and prostrated themselves before him. So true it is, that there is nothing either great or little, at this moment, which is sure to hold so in the days to come; and that the changes we have to experience only terminate with our lives. For this reason, some tell us, that Flaminius did not do this of himself, but that he was joined in commission with Lucius Scipio, and that the sole purpose of their embassy was to procure the death of Hannibal. As we have no account after this of any political or military act of Flaminius, and only know that he died in his bed, it is time to come to the comparison.

FLAMINIUS AND PHILOPŒMEN

COMPARED.

IF we consider the extensive benefits which Greece received from Flaminius, we shall find that neither Philopœmen, nor other Grecians more illustrious than Philopœmen, will stand the comparison with him: for the Greeks always fought against Greeks; but Flaminius, who was not of Greece, fought for that country. And at a time when Philopœmen, unable to defend his fellow-citizens, who were engaged in a dangerous war, passed over into Crete, Flaminius having vanquished Philip in the heart of Greece, set cities and whole nations free. If we examine into their battles, it will appear that Philopœmen, while he commanded the Achæan forces, killed more Greeks than Flaminius, in asserting the Grecian cause, killed Macedonians.

As to their failings, ambition was the fault of Flaminius, and obstinacy that of Philopœmen. The former was passionate, and the latter implacable. Flaminius left Philip in his royal dignity, and pardoned the Ætolians; whereas Philopœmen, in his resentment against his country, robbed her of several of her dependencies. Besides, Flaminius was always a firm friend to those whom he had once served; but Philopœmen was ever ready to destroy the merit of his former kindnesses, only to indulge his anger; for he had been a great benefactor to the Lacedæmonians; yet afterwards he demolished their walls, and ravaged their country; and, in the end, entirely

changed and overturned their constitution. Nay, he seems to have sacrificed his life to his passion and perverseness, by too hastily and unseasonably invading Messenia, instead of taking, like Flaminius, every precaution for his own security and that of his troops.

But Philopœmen's military knowledge and experience was perfected by his many wars and victories: and, whereas Flaminius decided his dispute with Philip in two engagements, Philopœmen, by conquering in an incredible number of battles, left fortune no room to question his skill.

Flaminius, moreover, availed himself of the power of a great and flourishing commonwealth, and raised himself by its strength; but Philopœmen distinguished himself at a time when his country was upon the decline: so that the success of the one is to be ascribed solely to himself, and that of the other to all the Romans.—The one had good troops to command, and the other made those so which he commanded: and though the great actions of Philopœmen, being performed against Grecians, do not prove him a fortunate man, yet they prove him a brave man; for, where all other things are equal, great success must be owing to superior excellence. He had to do with two of the most warlike nations among the Greeks; the Cretans, who were the most artful, and the Lacedæmonians, who were the most valiant: and yet he mastered the former by policy, and the latter by courage. Add to this, that Flaminius had his men ready armed and disciplined to his hand; whereas Philopœmen had the armour of his to alter, and to new-model their discipline; so that the things which contribute most to victory were the invention of the one, while the other only practised what was already in use. Accordingly Philopœmen's personal exploits were many and great; but we find nothing of that kind remarkable in Flaminius: on the contrary, a certain Etolian said, by way of raillery, "Whilst I ran with my drawn sword to charge the Macedonians, who stood firm, and continued fighting, Titus was standing still, with his hands lifted up towards heaven, and praying."

It is true, all acts of Flaminius were glorious, while he was general, and during his lieutenancy too; but Philopœmen showed himself no less serviceable and active among the Achæans, when in a private capacity, than when he had the command: for, when commander-in-chief, he drove Nabis out of the city of Messene, and restored the inhabitants to their liberty; but he was only in a private station when he shut the gates of Sparta against the general Diophanes, and against Flaminius, and by that means saved the Lacedæmonians.—Indeed, nature had given him such talents for command, that he knew not only how to govern according to the laws, but how to go-

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